

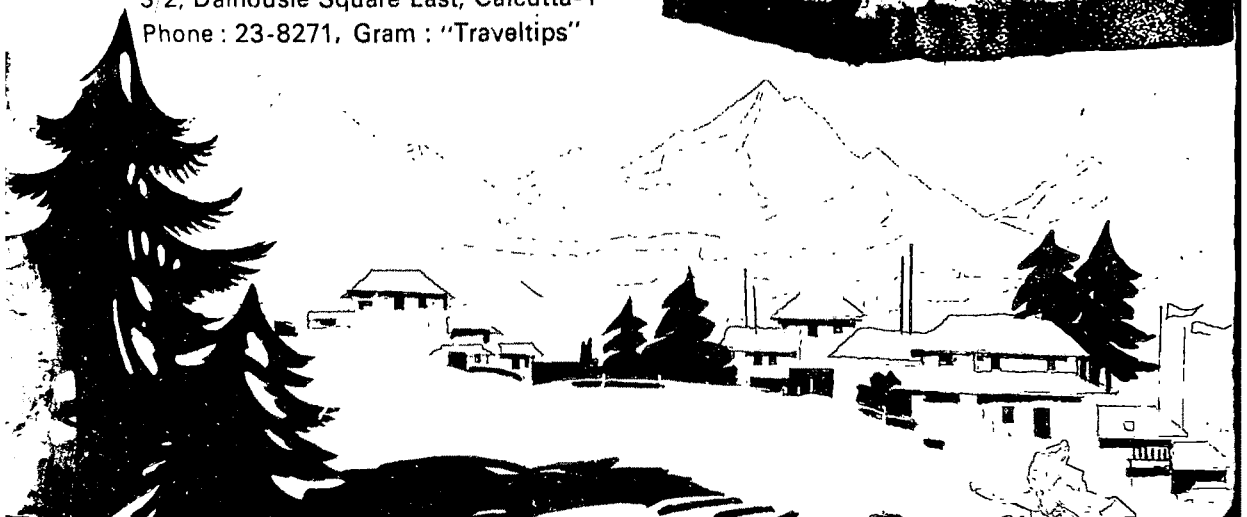
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1968

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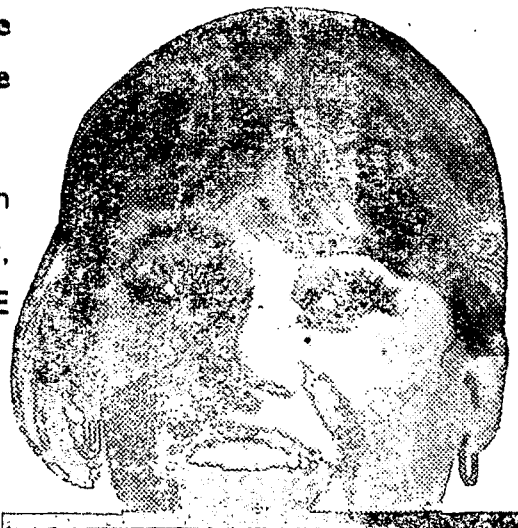
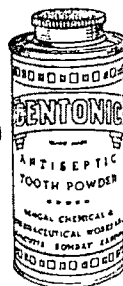
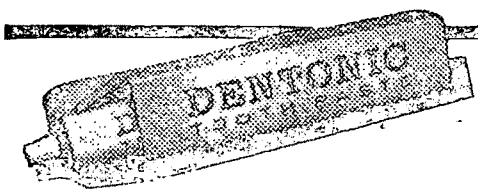
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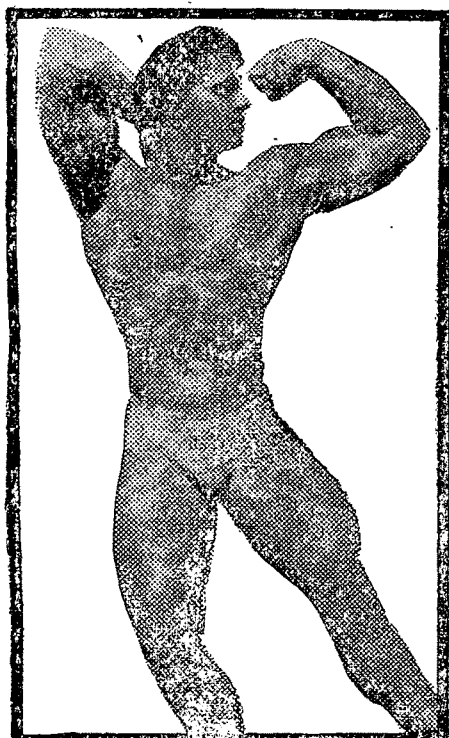
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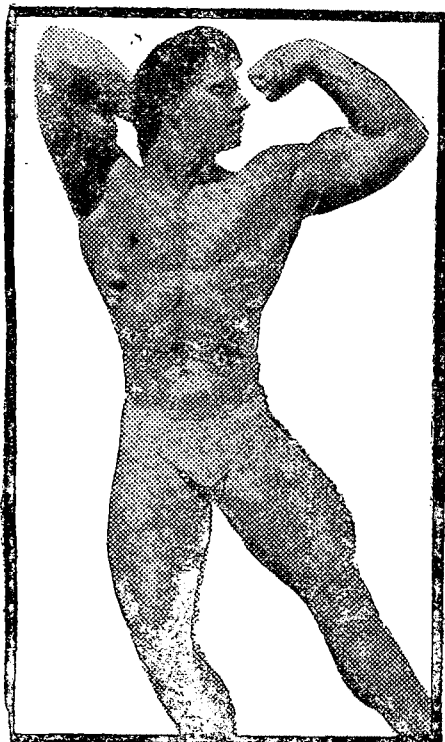
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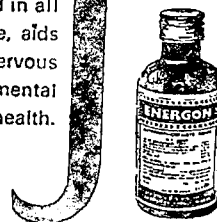
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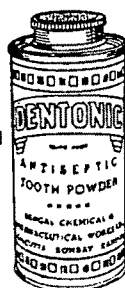
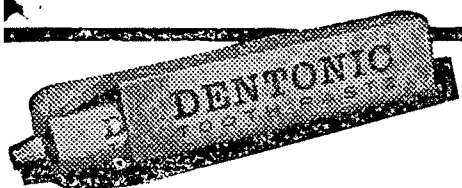
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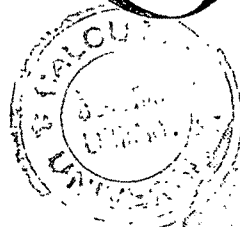
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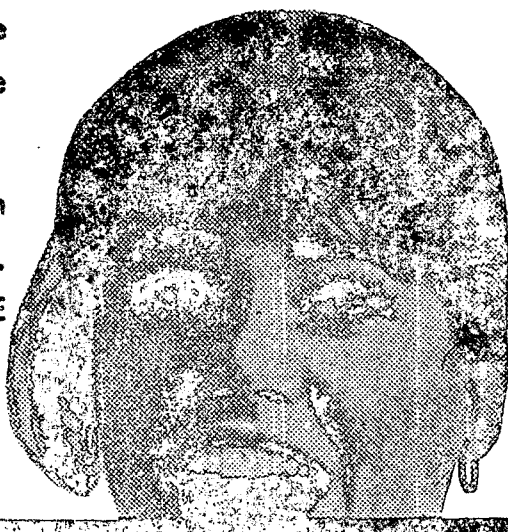
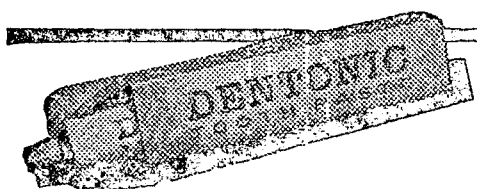
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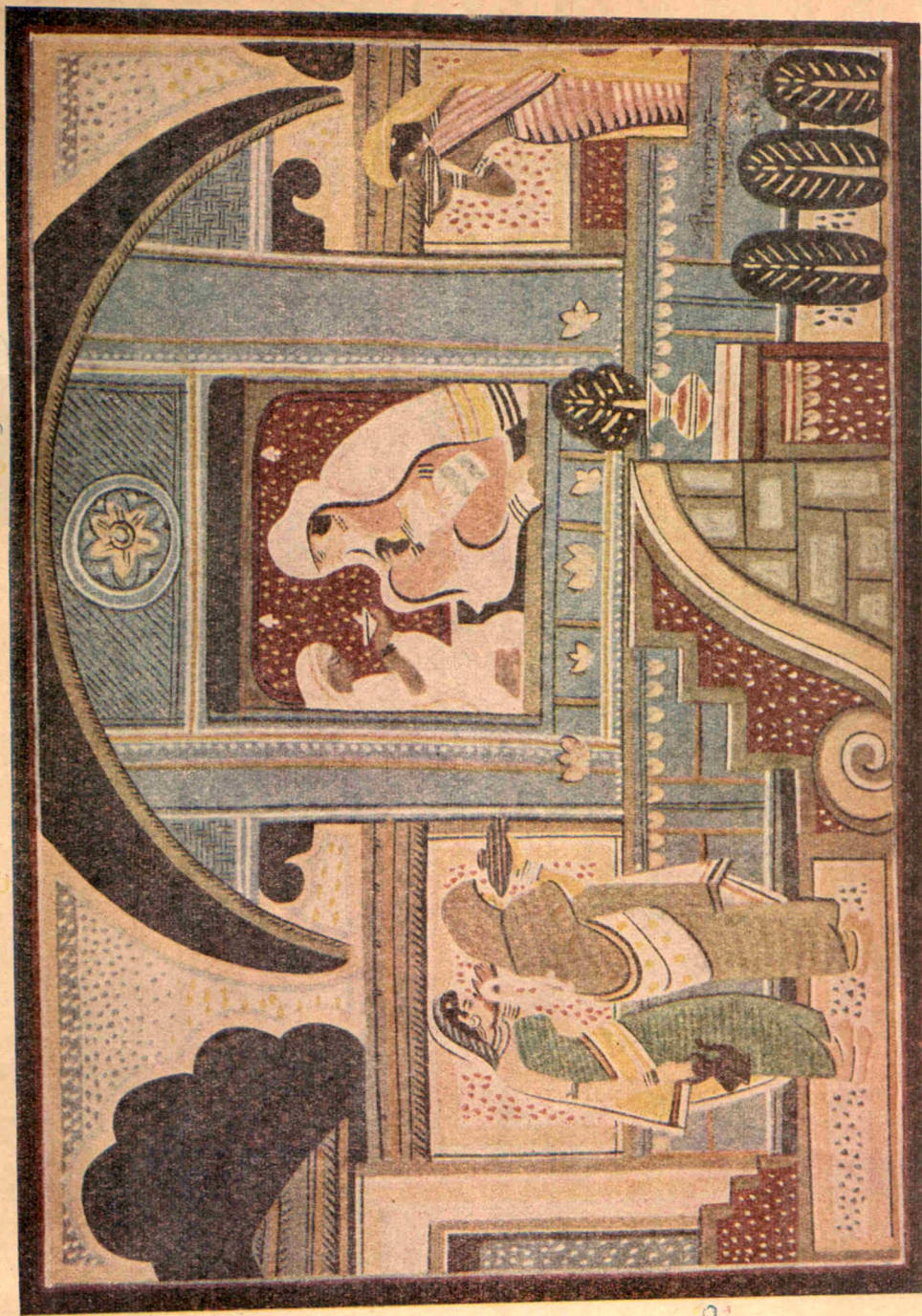
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BIRTH OF CHAITANYA

—Nandalal Bose

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FOUNDED BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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JANUARY



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NOTES

1967

The year is now over and we all hope that 1968 will bring us better days. Better political sense and better economic conditions which India so badly needs. The disintegration of the country which was begun by the Congress and the Muslim League by a division of the country had been going on ever since August 1947. The small political cliques which the various States abound in are formed apparently for the advantage of the people of India ; but, in fact the advantages accrue mostly to the members of the cliques. The people pay for all conferences, travelling, halting, employment of relations, engagement of inefficient nominees as contractors and dishonest suppliers to the governments. But the people only pay and get nothing in return. The clique members thrive. Then the people have to suffer the constant political battles which the cliques start and the various new acquisition of powers by the Governments for improving the life of the people, which never really gets done. The usual services rendered by the State progressively deteriorate. Police, post offices, railways, roads, telephones, tax collection, public health, education etc. etc., reach the lowest depths of uselessness ; yet the cliques always want to render newer services by going in for State Capitalism in a bigger way and by extending State Control over more and more things. Our managed economy is so badly mismanaged that one wonders

how we continue to exist as a solvent nation in any manner of speaking.

1967 saw our national elections and the democratic selection of numerous persons as the nation's representatives whose ability and individual quality were not always allowed to be examined closely by the voters on the ground that they were the nominees of this clique of that. This year also saw the worst shortage in food supplies since India became independent in 1947. The Congress which had been enjoying a monopoly of governmental powers during the last twenty years received some rude shocks by being defeated in the elections in a number of States. This put new life in some cliques which had so far paraded their political plans only in a theoretical manner. These plans were now tested out in practice and proved to be unsuited to the normal work of general administration. The Congress took advantage of these unusual happenings in the "progressive" governments and planned their work of reconquest through fifth columns, infiltrators, subversions and defections. The results have been highly annoying for the tax payers. The police in many States spend most of their time in firing tear gas shells and in making lathi charges. Their challengers throw bricks, bottles and bombs in order to establish their democratic rights. They also, occasionally indulge in looting, arson and attacks on private citizens and their property. The public pay for the police and their

weapons and ammunition. They also pay for the bricks, bottles and bombs indirectly by maintaining their sons in colleges and their employees in jobs that they nominally do. The idea of direct action has stuck in the mind of the Indian people since the days of the communal riots and all human rights are now proved by *argumentum baculum*. This kind of direct action had been quite common during 1967 and the purposes had been establishment of socialism, democracy, Hindi as the State language, the prevention of cow killing and the exploitation of man by man. Naturally, nothing has been established excepting a very low standard of public behaviour and a lower still standard of administrative policy and the use of uncivilised methods of running governments. Generally speaking, all political parties have proved their incapacity to do anything in an honest and civilised manner. The people of India, thus face a breakdown of democratic government in the country and the possibility of other forms of government. This has been entirely due to the influx of evil forces in the various political groups, which no one seems to try to stop. Capable and honest men are being slowly pushed out of Indian politics and undesirable types are taking the lead everywhere.

1968 will begin with a better food supply. This may change the economic position for the better in a general way. Political cliques are now rampant and a more prosperous India will doubtless stimulate the desire to exploit the people among professional leaders of cliques. The people are politically half awake and can be induced to follow different types of self-seekers. 1968 will either see the people waking up to their rights of self-government or the end of true democracy in India.

The Many Problems of 1967

Of the many problems that India faced in 1967, the most serious were those of cow killing, the establishment of Hindi as the State language of India and the problem of maintaining non-Congress Governments in some of the States.

Cow killing drew large and hostile crowds of orthodox Hindus who objected to the slaughtering of cows. These same people however have never done anything to prevent goalsas (milk vendors) from killing off newly born calves by starving them. They also do little to protect cows from untimely death due to starvation disease and exposure. Their movement therefore found not many supporters among the general public. The establishment of Hindi as the State language of India found some violent exponents among certain people, 95 per cent of whom did not have even a working knowledge of academic Hindi. Having neglected to learn Hindi themselves and having misused much of the funds spent by the State for the propagation of Hindi, these people tried to achieve by violence what they should have achieved by hard work. This movement had created more enemies for Hindi and had been a grave tactical blunder. The problem of disestablishment or re-establishment (as the case may be) of Congress rule in several States also became acute as tricks of the trade took precedence over the higher principles of politics in breaking or securing majorities in the legislatures. The treasury benches and the opposition left their seats in the legislatures and came out in the street to prove their relative might in the use of the stick or home made bombs, rather than their numerical strength. This work of strong arm administration and equally exuberant display of the higher principles of democracy left the tax paying public helpless and inactive in procuring their daily food. Though miscalled enforcement of law and order and popular upsurge of feeling against the Government, these organised acts of hooliganism of official as well as of popular vintage somehow occurred at regular and fixed hours according to declared plans and were therefore hardly fortuitous in origin. Where laws are broken by giving notice, the Government should arrange for the maintenance of the law in manners other than the use of lathis or tear gas shells. We should not go into details regarding the steps the Governments should take; but we would certainly say that Governments should not engage in street battles

all the time with the front line law breakers. The constitution should make provisions for the lawful settlement of large scale disputes and the people should never be forced to live in conditions of rioting on account of political differences experienced and felt by parties, cliques, coteries or coalitions. Those who cause such rioting must have constitutional remedies available to them to obtain satisfaction in an easy and ready manner. And if they do not make use of such provisions in the constitution they should be prevented from acting lawlessly by deterrent punitive legal action. It is not only ridiculous from the democratic point of view that people should fight in the streets to prove the justice of their claims; but it is utterly uncivilised.

Release of Sheikh Abdullah

The release of Sheikh Abdullah from detention has been the subject of much speculation. Some have thought his release would lead to a worsening of the Kashmir situation and some have predicted a change for the better. Sheikh Abdullah, better than other Kashmiris knows what Pakistan wants from Kashmir. When the Kabalis entered Kashmir and started looting, arson and rape, Sheikh Abdullah saw who the Kabalis were. These Pakistani marauders were released by the leaders of that country to occupy Kashmir by force. The Indians were then called in and the State of Kashmir thus opted for inclusion in India. There have been all sorts of discussions about rights and wrongs in the matter of Kashmir. The Pakistanis have said that they want to liberate the Kashmiris from Indian overlordship. How Pakistanis can do this with their own country under a dictatorship is highly paradoxical. And everything said and done the so-called Indian overlordship in Kashmir is a total myth. The Kashmiris rule themselves as do the Punjabis or the Bengalis. They get a little more out of their connection with India than the others do. The question of common faith is another fake argument. There are 70 million Muslims in India and if they cannot satisfy the faith hunger of the Kashmiris, would the 90

million Pakistani Muslims be able to do so? Generally speaking connection with Pakistan will make the position of Kashmir as free and advanced as that of Azad Kashmir.

We know what Azad Kashmir is like. Parts of it have been gifted to China by Pakistan. That was surely not done with the consent of the Azad Kashmiris. Lastly Kashmir having opted for India, is a statutorily integrated part of India. The arguments put forward by Pakistan cannot have any lawful meaning. Pakistan's occupation of parts of Kashmir has been acts of aggression and Pakistan should be made to vacate those parts. The fact of American, Chinese or British support cannot make an unlawful act of aggression either a political dispute or a cognisable territorial claim.

1907—1967

1967 was the sixty-first year of publication of the *Modern Review*. We therefore published our Diamond Jubilee numbers in 1967. Circumstances forced us to complete these publications in January, 1968; but the circumstances were beyond our control, having been caused by unsettled conditions in the city of Calcutta. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all who have collaborated with us during these long years during which we have had to face many difficulties and adverse conditions. The most potent of these were British animosity during the first forty years of our existence. Even after independence we have encountered disfavour from persons in power because we found it necessary to criticise some of the actions of such people. The *Modern Review*, from its inception never stood for compromise with what it considered wrong. Present day politics, economic arrangements and cultural gestures frequently depend upon make-believe conversions to modified ideals, associations of doubtful authenticity and forced comradeships. That is why nations appear to be friendly one day and start to fight in the morrow. India too has suffered grave consequences when she has indulged lightly in forming fellowships. She has also made

a habit of engaging in sanctimonious utterances which she, naturally, cannot live upto. Our national ideals are usually far ahead of the realities we find in our politics, economy and social set-up. We also use words and phrases in a loose and cursory manner and land ourselves up against the hard and cruel facts of our national life. Socialism, equality in opportunities, fair treatment, equal distribution of wealth, truth and morality are all empty sounds as far as facts go. Republicanism, democracy, fundamental rights etc. etc., have also a different meaning in India. It is therefore natural that right thinking men will always challenge the words of convincing talkers. In a country where more than 75 per cent of the inhabitants are illiterate, the people always stay at the mercy of politicians. The press therefore have to show up falsehoods at least to the people who can read and write.

Political Parties of India

Any crowd of an impressive size in India thinks it is the nation. In a small village even a crowd of a hundred persons would vociferate and declare itself to be the entire population. In big cities crowds of ten to fifty thousand could howl all other competitors down and establish their views as the considered opinion of the whole nation. But the nation being 510 million strong, and even the people of a State being 40 to 70 million in number, a crowd of one hundred or one hundred thousand would only be one in fifty one lakhs or one in five thousand one hundred of the total population. So that no matter how big a crowd may collect to give voice to the nation's feelings, the nation will always vastly outnumber the persons composing the crowd. In a nation-wide voting if 20 crore men and women express their preferences through elections, crowds can never come anywhere near the size of the voting population. It is therefore always a wrong method to judge the nation's point of view by reference to the slogans that are shouted by processionists or persons assembled at a meeting. The only dependable proof of the nation's likes and dislikes can be obtained through free and fair elections.

India's political parties however try to force the opinion of crowds down the nation's throat. The membership of political parties in India has never exceeded 1 or 2 per cent of the population at any time. When Pandit Nehru signed away a large chunk of India to the British to make a Pakistan, his party did not have even that 1 per cent of the total population in its roll of members. But he could hold meetings with crowds of 10 or 20 thousand; so he took it for granted that the crowds made the nation. The Congress has always followed this idea of crowd centred nationalism and the views of the Congress have been expressed throughout by these highly articulate crowds of Congress supporters. The nation with a 95/99 per cent majority, has remained a silent spectator with small crowds of non-Congress people shouting different slogans here and there.

In recent times these opposing crowds have gathered strength in several States. They now collect in groups of thousands and display their antagonism to the Congress loudly enough to shatter the equilibrium in the political arena. When the question of majority in the West Bengal Assembly was raised by certain defectors and the Governor of West Bengal was approached to have the matter decided in a constitutional manner by voting in the State Assembly, the parties in power attempted to delay the decision for no substantial reason. The Governor too showed undue haste in coming to a decision. The result was dismissal of the sitting Government and a hurriedly summoned session of the Assembly which the Speaker adjourned *sine die* for what he considered were constitutional reasons.

After that the crowds came to the forefront and the new Government engaged the police to deal with the crowds. The streets and lanes of the cities and towns became the battle ground of political opinion. Lathi charges, tear gas shells and occasional rifle bullets vied with bricks and bombs in deciding whether the treasury bench could hold its own. The public went about with their hands raised over their heads to escape the bricks and the bullets and public vehicles got burnt

along with a few private ones belonging to unfortunate owners who happened to get in the way of the fighters for democracy. Millions of man-hours were lost, education stopped entirely and the nation suffered meekly; for the crowds organised by the political parties and the war-like policemen occupied the streets every day for a few hours to reestablish democracy in the country in a rough and ready manner. Naturally the legality of the Governor's action cannot be proved by lathi charges; nor can the ex-ministers prove their contention by seeking arrest or by encouraging the crowds to burn buses or to throw bricks. It is a pity Indian politicians have remained attached to what is described as "direct action" as opposed to constitutional methods of settling disputes. The Indian nation will break up if they did not change their ways. Street fights can never be a good substitute for constitutional struggles,

Hindi Again

If Hindi had not developed as a language, it surely became a political problem of great importance due to the policy followed by the Congress. In the officially published book "India 1957" an attempt was made to prove that Hindi was spoken by 46.3 per cent of the people of India. To arrive at this highly exaggerated figure many other languages were included in Hindi which were clearly not Hindi. In 1951 out of a population of 361 million persons 90.6 millions spoke Western and Eastern Hindi, by which were meant all those widely varying dialects resembling Hindi or Rashtra Bhasha spoken by people in U.P. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Many of these dialects were quite different from those Western Hindi dialects out of which Rashtra Bhasha was manufactured. 13.6 million persons spoke Urdu and 8.2 million Hindusthani which was nearer Urdu than Hindi. So that, even including the Eastern group of dialects of Hindi, about 25 per cent of the people of India spoke the so called State language of India. But the Nehru Government published 46.3 per cent as their officially estimated percentage of Hindi

speakers. This figure has not increased so far. The percentage of real Rashtra Bhasha speakers even now cannot exceed 15 per cent. Another 10 per cent speak other dialects which can be called Hindi, but of a totally different variety.

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica "The Term 'Hindi' is applied to two groups of dialects, viz., Western and Eastern. Western Hindi; i.e., the Indo-Aryan dialects of the middle and upper Gangetic Doab, and the country to the north and south, has one of its standard dialects Braj Bhasha (Braj Bhasa or Braj Bhakha), spoken near Muttra (Mathura) with extensive literature directed to the worship of Krishna. Another is Hindustani from which High Hindi was derived. Western Hindi represents the language of Madhya desa (Midland) as distinct from the Intermediate and Outer Indo-Aryan languages in the classification devised by Sir George A. Grierson. Western Hindi has four main dialects: Bundeli of Bundelkhand, Braj Bhasha, Kanaui of the Central Doab and the country north and vernacular Hindustani of Delhi and the upper Doab."

Other dialects of a distinct variety are not closely related to those out of which Rashtra Bhasha has been created. Rashtra Bhasha will perhaps be not very welcome to speakers of these dialects, some of which have a well developed literature with outstanding poets, composer of lieder and religious songs. Whether the people, whose mother tongue these dialects or languages are, will agree to let these be sacrificed at the altar of Hindi is a question which only time can answer. In any case Hindi or Rashtra Bhasha is not and cannot be an Indian language of such importance as would justify the abolition of many historically established languages in order to glorify it into a position of national significance. It is already breaking up India by reason of the hooliganish behaviour of its supporters and the militant opposition put up against it by its detractors. The Rashtra Bhasha idea should be scrapped.

Social Control of Banks

In the beginning bankers were persons who arranged to make payments in behalf of their clients whose requirements arose out of their commercial transactions. The bankers also paid money to kings, princes and other feudal lords as loans. The arrangements for securing funds slowly brought about the system of depositing money in banks and receiving interest. The relationship between the bankers and their clients were based on personal trust, market credit and condition of the money market. Slowly over a long period, joint stock and chartered banks have developed and the State has also come into the field, both for ordinary banking as well as for management of the country's currency. The basic fact of private persons or companies keeping their money with banks, however, still depends on faith and trust. Some banks have a sound reputation and people put money in those banks. The reputation is based on the discrimination that the particular banks show in making investments. The State makes rules and regulations for the control of banks too in order to safeguard the depositors' interests.

The recent move from the finance ministry for the social control of banks deviates from the time honoured attitude of the government in so far as now the beneficiary of State Control will be the borrower and not the depositor. For the finance ministry now desires to divert the funds of the banks into channels which hitherto had been considered risky and slow in point of obtaining repayments. The established banks which dealt in foreign exchange discounted bills and advanced money on a short term basis against material assets which were unlikely to be blocked up; seldom went in for making small loans to cultivators or for the financing of cooperative ventures. Now that the government finds it difficult to obtain extra funds for giving such economic assistance to the rural people, Sri Morarji Desai has discovered that the primary duty of banks is to help agriculture. This however is not true. The banks use the depositors' money. The depositors want their money to be invested in safe and readily

realisable manner. Agricultural investments are neither safe nor readily realisable. So that whatever Sri Morarji may think or feel, the depositors will slowly remove their deposits from banks which invest in agriculture. This will eventually make banking difficult in India and the reaction will damage India's trade, industry and commerce. When the Government took over life insurance the insuring public suffered great losses and inconvenience. The proposed social control of banks will make things troublesome for the public in a wider and more intensive manner. Expanding the Government's field of action without improving administration anywhere slowly creates a system which has a wide range but no sound effectiveness.

West Bengal Politics

The recent political upheavals in West Bengal are very significant from various points of view. Firstly, these have shown up certain ugly aspects of the political parties of our country. It is well known that party ideologies in India are quite often purely make believe and that the members of the parties are not always deeply attached to the creeds that they apparently accept. As a result whenever some members find more attractive alternative offers from parties or groups other than their own, they easily slide out of their loose attachments with their parties and defect into others. In such cases they not only play false to their parties but they also betray their constituencies in a more blatant manner. Yet, the Indian Constitution does not safeguard the interests of the people who happen to elect these pretenders in good faith. There are no provisions for the recall of defectors by their constituencies in order to ascertain the wishes of the voters regarding these defections by fresh voting. The Constitution states quite clearly the purposes for which elections are held and the obligations of the people and their representatives; but there are no clear cut remedies for preventing the defeat of the purposes of the Constitution by persons who may do this without expressly violating the provisions of the Constitution. The present political activities of the West

Bengal parties, prove that the party leaders are more concerned with the success of their parties than with maintaining the sovereignty or the socialistic democratic or republican character of India. The Congress during its twenty years of rulership had freely made uses of various objectionable methods to acquire and retain power and they used that power for base ends too. And so have the other parties in order to snatch that power from the Congress, and use it for their own advantage.

There had never been much to choose between the various parties as far as true patriotism and faith in liberty; equality and the greatest good of the greatest number were concerned. All parties professed patriotism and faith in all the high principles of nationalism and social ethics. But, in reality, no parties worried much about the sovereign rights of India or about the happiness, prosperity, cultural progress and security of the Indian people. Secondly, we have found that the Indian Constitution, in spite of its unstinted efforts to make very precise and detailed statements about matters of no great consequence, has not succeeded in attaining that freedom from lack of precision and assurance which one so desires to have in laws and rules. That one lot of very competent persons can say that the Governor of the State can dismiss a Ministry on the ground of loss of majority in the Assembly as ascertained by his own enquiries; while another group of equally competent persons say that the Governor cannot do so; goes to prove that the Constitution is not clear on this point. Similarly there is difference of opinion as to the Governor's right to call the Assembly to session or to ask the leaders of that group of parties to form a Government which in his opinion is in a majority in the Assembly. Then there are questions like, whether the Speaker has any right to pass judgment over the Governor's actions or whether the Speaker has any function other than presiding over the sessions of the Assembly. Could the Speaker in his official capacity say that he thought the Governor's dismissal of the U.F. Ministry was unlawful and therefore would adjourn the Assembly sine die? Would it not be his duty, to let the Assembly

decide by vote whether the Governor's surmise was correct. If the Governor had called the Assembly unlawfully, would it be the Speaker's duty to point that out to the Assembly members unilaterally and, without any discussion, order adjournment of the Assembly? Would it not be a totally autocratic act not to allow the Assembly to decide for itself what it considered right or wrong? The Speaker is no doubt the final authority when it comes to running the Assembly. But does that endow him with any authority to criticise the Governor's action or to deal with the affairs of the Assembly by reference to his own judgment of the Governor's action?

Now we come to the consequences of the Speaker's adjournment of the Assembly. If the Indian Constitution permits the Speaker of the West Bengal Assembly to stop it from functioning on the ground that he considered the Governor had wrongly dismissed the previous ministry, appointed a new government and called the Assembly to session unlawfully; then the Speaker is endowed with more powers than he should have as the Speaker. He can then force the country to invite President's rule or to hold mid-term elections. The Speaker said he thought he had to do something to save democracy. It is all very well for him to have such highly moral urges; but is the Speaker of the Assembly empowered by the Indian Constitution to save democracy whenever and in whatever extraordinary manner he wishes to achieve that laudable object? Some people may say that it was no business of the Speaker to pronounce judgment on the Governor and, therefore, it was wrong of him to adjourn the Assembly on the ground of his own assessment of the legality of the Governor's action. It was his job to let the Assembly vote and decide whether the U.F. Ministry had a majority in the Assembly. It was not his job to tell the world what he thought about various matters connected with the safety of the Indian democracy. He had been arrogating to himself duties and functions which were not his by virtue of his Speakership of the Assembly.

Now we come to our investigation of the real

facts behind all these defections. Members belonging to a group in power and in charge of the government do not suddenly defect from the group at the dictate of their conscience. They surely are approached by other parties or groups and tempted to defect with promises of some advantages or gain. The only group which can be considered to be interested in arranging defections is the Congress. It is therefore rightly thought by the people that some agents of the Congress have gone about to arrange defections and to bring about the fall of non-Congress Governments.

Dr. P. C. Ghosh could not have agreed to form a government unless he had received assurances from the Congress that he would be given all support if he helped to topple the U.F. Ministry. The West Bengal Congress acting under orders of the All India Congress must have arranged all this. This cannot present the Congress to the public as a party of noble minded and selfless patriots. The Congress had every chance to do great things for the country and the people, but had done very little for the good of the nation. We had the partition of India to begin with and thereafter the matter of handing over large tracts of Kashmir to the Pakistanis. Then came the Chinese invasion of India and the reasons behind the Indian collapse. The megalomaniac economic planning and the amassing of vast debts, the failure of the public sector enterprises and the reckless manner in which public expenditure has been increased and managed by inflationary deficit financing and exorbitant taxes causing economic strangulation, are all examples of the incapacity of the Congress. Several States managed to remove the Congress from power but largely

due to the inability of the opposition parties to make a good job of their newly acquired power and their preoccupation with matters unconnected with governmental work; these non-Congress Governments proved no better than the ones they replaced. Some of the political parties had suspected alliances with the Chinese and that created public feelings against them too. The people who went round arranging defections made full use of these and other faults of the non-Congress groups.

The people of India therefore had to face a dilemma. It was a choice between two different types of misgovernment and misuse of political power. The people really wanted and still want the basic conveniences of life and freedom from obligations to foreign powers as far as that is possible in the world of to-day. But the Congress or the non-Congress groups cannot assure the people about anything. Sell yourself to the Anglo-Americans, the Russians or to the Chinese. Suffer total expropriation eventually in order to establish a state-capitalistic autocracy. No party or group of parties can give us real liberty, equality and freedom from want. The people have tried all parties and found them useless. But the people are not yet attempting to mobilise themselves into an overall organisation for the fullest and proper use of their rights and power and the most advantageous utilisation of their resources. This would require a better and wider political consciousness than we possess at present. All politically conscious men and women should try to make others similarly wide awake; but no one is appearing to do that on a nation wide scale.

EZRA POUND AND THE NEW ENGLISH POETRY

PROF. B. B. PALIWAL

Writing about Ezra Pound in "THE SHAPING SPIRIT" A. Alvarez observed :

"When he arrived in England the language and rhythms of verse were so dulled and worn they were unusable. He set about to reform them by bringing back the old standards of 'Mediterranean civilisation' (his phrase); these were calm, objective, rounded off and stringent. . . .

Pound's energy and enthusiasm brought about this reform; he made modern poetry possible.

Pound, with his critical reviews, poems, translations, letters and addresses, worked incessantly to bring about a proper understanding of the new social and intellectual reality. He searched out an appropriate literary idiom to express this new consciousness. As early as 1910 or thereabouts, Pound, in his poems, latter on published under the title "PERSONAE", was trying to evolve a new befitting idiom for the changed literary and cultural context. From the very beginning he was creating masks behind which hid the subject matter of his verse, and through which he wanted the people to hear the voices of the old times and of his own. Besides this rare, literary and cultural integration of the past and present, Pound aimed at the finest poetic craftsmanship to express comprehensively this new consciousness. Could he take up this task and acquit himself well? Well, critics have disagreed about his role and performance. Alvarez emphatically maintained that he was the first really American poet. On the contrary, R. P. Blackmur took a totally depressing view of his achievement. He said "(however) he may

have stretched and sharpened his private sensibility, (Pound) has by his raids upon ideograms and unsupported allusions, limited and dulled that of his poetry. Without going into the polemics of literature, this can reasonably be submitted that Pound possessed a very sensitive and critical mind. It was more critical than creative. This perhaps explains why every one of his critics maintains that his translations from the Chinese of Rihaku, Bunno from the Greek and Latin poets, and Propertius are better than his own works. In translations Pound was working on an existing structure of verse of syntactical order of ideas and emotions. This offered him a good opportunity for the exercise of his critical acumen. His translation of Propertius is taken as the best, and even a hostile critic, R. P. Blackmur, remarked that "the prose version (referring to Butler's translation of Propertius) is the most poetical, the Latin (original) less, and Mr. Pound's, while the least, is today, whatever it might have been in the first century, the best verse because its intent is suitable to our times, and because Mr. Pound carries only the baggage to hold down and firm that intent. T. S. Eliot remarked that "his translations, like Elizabethan translations, are 'magnificent specimens of XXth century poetry.'" It is also suggested that if he was only one, a translator or a poet, his reputation would have been much higher.

Pound was decidedly original, though, again, one has to see his originality in relation to his own individual characteristics. He had a wide knowledge of life and letters, of past and of his contem-

porary periods : he possessed the sure gift of vivifying and enlivening whatever he was dealing with—an age or an author. His treatment of early Italian and the Provencal poetry is distinctly in this vein. In his works the figures of Arnaut Daniel, Guido Cavalcanti are not merely literary re-creations. They are live, speaking beings. Eliot discovered originality in Pound in two unfamiliar respects. He found that Pound's versification was a logical development of the verse of his English predecessors, thus an original trait in him. Here it may be suggested that Pound's journey to his mature and deft touches in poetry was more through Dante, Italians, Jules Laforgue and Tristan Corbiere than directly through Marvell, Browning, Yeats, Earnest Dawson and Lionel Johnson. Behind his writings there is a vague shadow of the early nineties in general. There is an echo of the Pre-Raphaelites too (Morris and Swinburne) which partly hints at the romantic lingerings of his temperament. Secondly, Eliot considers Pound's condensation of the past and present also, both in idiom and spirit, a sign of his originality. He says :

"Now Pound is often most 'original' in the right sense. . . when he is most 'archaeological' in the ordinary sense . . . It is merely subjective difference of method. The mole digs and the eagle flies, but their end is the same. [to exist."

Pound searched and treasured the permanent elements of human nature in the poetry of the past and his own experience of life. Besides this, he worked systematically and steadily towards "the synthetic construction of a style of speech."

Pound's earliest extant works (Personae, 1908-10) manifest that while he was beginning to discover his own true voice, English poetry

was dominated by popular Georgians and Edwardians like Walter de la Mare, A. E. Housman, early Yeats and other minor talents. A very distressing feature of the poetry of the eighties, nineties and at the turn of this century was that the poets failed to come to grips with the situation. Their reaction was either evasive" of inward looking gaze or a "voyage without"; full of narrative, descriptive and lifeless expressions. Vigorous and comprehensive understanding of the age, of the state of human affairs, of the tools of poetry, and the aims of literature was not theirs. They rhapsodised like loud-mouthed demagogues or whined away like hurt weaklings. There was a conspicuous absence of a strong, perceptive soul among them. Poets like de la Mare exhausted their entire talent on dream poetry in which rhymes and rhythms both were conventional, imagery weak and trailing, words worn out, lacking incisive force. The deeper problems of life were practically untouched in his works. In Housman the story of a Shropshire lad became the universal saga of wisdom and zest for life. Yeats, too, was meandering in the maze, haze of Celtish twilight, its mythology, folklore and its poor, primitive life of raw, bare essentials. His realistic, vigorous and ironic vision emerged much later. In short, it was a poetry of the divided self, lopsided individuals reacting at worst, in a weak, or at best a schismatic manner.

Pound reacted to this situation with a sharp, critical sensibility which he had been shaping over the years. He framed an austere literary ethics to provide a guideline for work and pioneering reform. It was twofold. One aspect of it was a keen and clear realisation of the contemporary situation in general, and vis-a-vis literature in particular. The other, more ruthless and exacting, was the fashioning of a new, gritty, literary idiom to

express the modern consciousness in the artist. More than any one else, Pound realised the need of colloquial, conversational idiom in poetry. This technique alone could bring poetry close to the people, and and enliven it. In fact, literary revolutions have been affected only in this way. Dryden and Wordsworth in their own days worked revolutionary poetic changes on this basis. The guiding thought behind this literary practice is very simple. In formalising, the language of literature loses touch with the masses who, in the materially and ideologically changed circumstances, shape a different sensibility which requires an entirely different artistic expression. Hence the need for a change in the literary idiom. In modern times changes of far reaching consequences have taken place. These could not be expressed in the age-old tradition of thinking and feeling. The modern sensibility is very comprehensive ; it takes in it changes brought about by psychology, sociology and science in its various branches. There have been many social, economic and political movements of global import. Vast and intensive researches in the field of man's mind, ways of thinking feeling and reacting have revealed astonishing facts about human nature. Besides these, there is a dullness and meaninglessness in an average man's life, Modern conditions of living are schizophrenic spreading an atmosphere of tension, drift, and aimlessness. Man has lost both geographical and cultural moorings. There is a peculiar sense of alienation, of being *DECLASSE*. There is a strange vacuity in moral perception and man does not find any reasonably acceptable order of the universe. The gruesome, horrifying experience of war also brought a novel, revelatory insight into the past civilisation. All these factors and forces shaped

modern sensibility. It could not be voiced in the words belonging to the old order of thinking and living. Talking of this new sensibility and the role of the poet in this changed context, Eliot observed that the modern age comprehended a vast amount of reality and hence the poets too would dislocate, rearrange, be allusive and find newer techniques to express this phenomenon. Pound attempted to know this baffling nature of existing reality. He experimented with rhymes and rhythm, patterns. In poetry he worked for sharp, condensed and composite expression and partly achieved it. Talking of his Hugh Selwyn Mauberley group of poems, E. F. R. Leavis remarked that Pound had "a subtlety of tone, a complexity of attitude, such as we associate with seventeenth century wit.

Pound used for this an entirely individually worked out technique. Mostly he adopted the anecdotal method. But in his narrative he took away the condensed contents. Pound created a dramatic and conversational effect in his poems. He toned them into witty expressions. Secondly, he rejected all the conventional imagery, and instead adopted urban to sharpen and heighten effect. This imagery was puzzling. There was a whole shift in expressive tone, He became the merited spokesman of the dislocated, disturbed and tense life of the *DECLASSE* city dweller. He bared their hollow, and unmeaning existence. Pound continuously worked, experimented in rhymes and rhythm patterns. He varied accents, shifted the pauses endlessly, tuned long and short lines, and often in utter disregard of music or rhyme ending lines, he wrote daringly unconventional poems and through reviews created a taste for them. Rightly sensing the literary

climate, and clearly seeing the poet's predicament in it, he wrote :

For three years, out of key with his time,
He strove to resuscitate the dead art
Of poetry : to maintain 'the sublime'

In the old sense. Wrong from the start. ~ ~ ~
It was no time for ideals or grace or
superb artistic finish. The pressing claims of
a savage and gnawing reality were rather
different, too heavy, hitherto unrealised and
unexpressed.

The age demanded an image
Of its accelerated grimace,
Something for the modern stage,
Not, at any rate, an Attic grace ;
... ..

The 'age demanded' chiefly a mould in plaster.
Made with no loss of time,
A prose kinema, not, not assuredly, alabaster,
Or the 'sculpture' of rhyme.

These stanzas manifest not merely the
demand of the age, but also how it should be
manifested ; the lines, the quatrains are terse,
witty ; perfectly in line with the healthy, vigo-
rous tradition of live, truly representative
poetry.

Values as the measuring rods of culture,
literary experience, and actually lived life,—all
underwent a diametrical, irrevocable change.
Pound's poetry solidly presents this also :

The tea-rose tea-gown, etc.
Supplants the mousseline of cos.
The pianola 'replaces'
Sappho's barbitos.

Christ follows Dionysus,
Phallic and ambrossial
Made way for macerations ;
Caliban casts out Ariel.

... ..
Faun's flesh is not to us,
Nor the saint's vision.
We have the press for wafer ;
Franchise for circumcision.

These stanzas catapulted poetry into a new,
alien, unfamiliar world where old values, sym-
bols and imagery have been completely es-
chewed. It jolts the reader's mind into a new
set of facts and expectations.

In Mauberley and the poems that followed
Pound broke still another ground. He became
increasingly allusive, expressing a more com-
prehensive experience ; and effected sudden,
startling transitions between two or more state-
ments, a technical device which later on T. S.
Eliot exploited more successfully and for
greater uses. Besides, he stubbornly refused
to be drawn into generalisations in his poems ;
he was bringing poetry back to topicality
which, in its limited fullness, expresses a note
of universal experience and conviction. In
short, as Dr. F. R. Leavis observed, he achie-
ved something like the seventeenth century wit.
He reinstated English poetry in its main line of
wit.

Pound developed and further used this allu-
sive method in his cantos also. But there, on
the whole, the device seems more detracting
hampering than unfolding or embellishing the
verse. Pound reached a stage where his ex-
pressions became ideographs from which even
the core of the thing referred was with-
drawn. These expressions seem isolated,
ungrafted, merely intellectual, symbols giving
the impression of scholia and not the true
poetic voice. Perhaps Pound was so con-
vinced of his metrical device that, in his
pioneer's enthusiasm, he crossed the limits of
its successful operation. One has to go to
extremes to see to what extents one can go.
All literary revolutionaries have been victims
of their zealous convictions. In Mauberley
(1920), he knew his task, its happy and
plausible limits :

For three years, djabolus in the scale,
He drank ambrosia,

All passes, ANANGKE prevails,
 Came end, at last, to that Arcadia.
 He had moved amid her phantasmagoria.
 Amid her galaxies.
 NUKTIS 'AGALMA

... ..

To be certain...certain...

(Amid aerial flowers)...time for
 arrangements...

Drifted on

To the final estrangement :

... ..

—Given that his 'fundamental passion,'

This urge to convey the relation

Of eye-lid and cheek-bone

By verbal manifestations ;

... ..

Mouths biting empty air.

The still stone dogs,

Caught in metamorphosis, were

Left him as epilogues.

In these stanzas, in lines of varying length (denoting the length and pattern of rhythm) with caesura falling at changed, but required places, a dry and parched man's dehydrated observations of love (as mechanical exercise flaming into temporary spasms of body) are couched in an imagery which is combining disparate, unfamiliar experiences (the relation of eyelid and cheek-bone by verbal manifestations) ; Pound has thus, with strange allusions successfully conveyed a new attitude, a sensibility that is sweeping the artist. He becomes the voice of the changed times.

Unfortunately Pound pressed the technical, metrical dexterity too far, and missed the significance of contents of a poem. If the Romantics fell to the fallacy of poetry as an inspiration, Neo-Metaphysicals, among whom Pound is one, fell victim to the idea that a poem was a word, a juxtaposition of words,

or a meretricious presentation at best. That is why his translations are better where the two are combined. In translations, critically supervising, pruning, he gave his best. To his translations, too, Pound gave all the three characteristics of his poems. They are creation, criticism. personae (masks).

Due to this preoccupation with technique and its problems, Pound failed to convince as a poet, to give any revelatory or even valid vision of life or of hell. Passions and emotions which lie deep and shape human destiny, are not painted in their variety, depth or subtlety. Even that oftquoted and widely admired poem "A Girl" does not have a deep emotion :

The tree has entered my hands,

The sap has ascended my arms,

The tree has grown into my breast, . . .

Downward,

The branches grow out of me, like arms.

Tree you are,

Moss you are,

You are violets with wind above them.

A child—so high—you are,

And all this is folly to the world.

Eliot called its feeling original, but phrasing INCOMPLETED. But it is disputable. Even Eliot became less sure when he praised Pound for metrical excellence alone, ignoring the contents. Pound created around him a thick vegetation of allusions and disjointed interpretations of the history, art and civilisation of Europe and the Chinese society. Unhappily his estimate of history, too, is unsatisfactory. The kind of amalgam of fixity and flux which he planned to work out did not carry conviction even with those who agreed with his literary programme. His beliefs were simple, facetious." His later

shift from the passionate litterateur to the crusading, zealous reformer of economy in a bid to bring about a major, historic transformation of civilisation turned out to be plain utopia. Besides, this hotch-potch of historical interpretation brought about a touch of the Journalase in his writings. However, it must be pointed out that Pound will be remembered as a foresighted pioneer in technical, metrical aspects of literature. But here, too, he failed to

recognise the true nature of English language, and perpetrated atrocities no less serious than Milton's. It is these tortures of language which produce a stultifying effect in his Cantos. But in spite of all this, Pound is the first American poet really free from the tradition in English started by Shakespeare and Milton. If he was not a great poet himself, he facilitated and assisted others in realising their artistic potentials. His greatest work is T. S. Eliot.



- availability. The whole field of current decision making is totally dependent on information technology, and its multi-dimensional behavioral characteristics are now completely beyond the mental horizons of any individual.

It then becomes the task of the systems engineer to (1) plan, (2) design, and (3) motivate an Information-System, for the company in question. The system should be specifically suited to the requirements, both current and projected, and should carefully consider the typical operative functions of the company. It should be noted here that there is no such thing as a universally ideal design of Information System for all companies. Before designing the system, we should carefully ask the following:

1. *The Organizational Framework of the Company*

- A. The geographical and functional distance among people
- B. The degree of centralized control
- C. The use of staff specialists or line generalists
- D. The frequency with which the particular type of information is desired, and at what times, by what people, and where.

2. *The Control Mechanism of the Company*

- A. The degree of crucial decision-making required for both daily operational work as well as policy-setting work
- B. Can the variables in decision-process be quantified?
- C. Monetary implications for setting up a computerized center.
- D. The total personnel cost and pay-off period cost for the systems-plan.

3. *The Cultural Dimension of the Company*

- A. The level of resistance at the managerial levels.
- B. The use of traditional versus systems concepts in the present administration
- C. The socio-economic and cultural acceptances of both the top management and junior level of administrative employees, who will process the information for the chief executives.

These are only a few suggested pointers aimed at exposing the myth of the total information system. The answers to some of these questions and others will direct the systems designer to initiate and activate a particularized form of information control system, aimed at using the resources of the company to their most advantageous structures, and sustaining the systems structures both for the present needs as well as for the projected expansion of the company in the coming years. It will aim at flexibility of execution and adaptability to the environment in order to control the human problems which often accompany the design in its most elemental and introductory aspects.

Adaptability in India

We have briefly conceptualised the major action-centers and decision-elements required in systems-control and the Input-Output Principles therein. In the context of a developing managerial perspective in India, the afore-mentioned systems—engineering can be purposefully utilized to improve the productivity and profitability of the industrial operations, to shorten the time-lag involved in most production and control decisions, to improve the information flow in the total company, and thus in the overall development of an enlightened administration.

In most Indian companies, availability of relevant data and information crucial to a decision is always a major problem. It should however, be noted that the complexity of this problem will increase in equal proportion to the advancement of highly competitive companies in the coming years. This problem assumes its most emphatic rationale in departments such as Accounting, Marketing, and Production Control. The only way the information—processing and flow thereof can be fully integrated is through the use of a systems-design, applied to the operational problems with the top management's active support. This may briefly necessitate a sharp change in the attitude of the employees as well as the management itself, but once the advantages are known, the establishment of the new systems—

approach will be easily acceptable in the organization.

In the initial stages, Indian management will perhaps find the installation of the systems-analysis as a costly process, in terms of added equipment, work assignments, and personnel training. This factor should be viewed by them as a long term business investment rather than as an immediate pay-off novelty. As a matter of fact, this approach will, in the final analysis, result in lessened payroll expenses, and overall improvement in the productive resourcefulness of the company's assets and manpower.

The current industrial expansion phase of the economy will automatically require several different kinds of *Feasibility Studies, Manufactur-*

ing and Distribution Projects, as well as Intra and Extra Plant Flow Charts etc. All these industrial engineering tools are required for the better functioning of the production and marketing processes of the company. These studies will be immensely benefitted, and the cost-incidence considerably reduced if these are approached with the systems-perspective in mind. This will also facilitate an easy change-over or modification in the process should the plant size be altered, or its marketing functions be changed.

One can conclude this in one important point: in the limited availability of resources that the country has, the only rational way for the industry to move ahead is through Systems-analysis.



CHRIST AND HIS FOLLOWERS

MARIA GALVANI

"It is by your love that men will know that you are my disciples." These wonderful words of Christ are more or less extinct today excepting in a few stray cases of living saints. I speak from within the Roman Catholic Church to which I belong since my birth 38 years ago, and what I am going to say is said with certain authority based upon my observations and study of the various alien religions. But observation and experiences were my principal teachers and such teachers are the genuine ones. Experiences are realisations which cannot be had from books. Swami Vivekananda says, "Religion means experience ; means realisation." And, "experience is the best teacher," goes the proverb.

The Roman Catholic Church presents itself to the world today as a mighty force of power and earthly glory—as a mighty force of earthly riches governed with excellent skill and organisational efficiency. Forgotten are the words of Christ ; namely, "My Kingdom is not of this world." The Catholic hierarchy and clergy is almost entirely taken up with the building of edifices, one more glorious than the other, which in turn requires organising, protecting and defending. Thus it comes about that the time of the clergy is taken up mostly with mammon and not with God, for there is really very little time left for pastoral work (for which a man actually renounces the world and becomes a Priest in the first place), and the exercise of Christian charity. Bishop Fulton Sheen, the famous psychologist of U. S. A. had said : "One has to take time to love, one cannot love in a hurry." Many of the Bishops and Priests of the Catholic Church are today wondering as to what has become of Christianity? But they do not realise that the answer lies right within their own conduct. For the laity cannot be blamed ; they are the sheep who necessarily have to follow the shepherds. The shepherds, namely, the Cardinals and the Bishops, are today revelling in the glory of the footlights, for with the advent of

radios, cinema and television, their fame is widespread. They are so busy flying hither and thither for committee meetings —there are today never-ending discussions—that there is very little time left for them for the discharge of their Priestly duties like prayer Mass daily recitation of the Breviary, let alone attending to the needs of the poor flock under their care. Frankly, it was easier to see the Chief Minister of Maharashtra than His Eminence the Cardinal ! I met the Chief Minister without any previous appointment whereas for meeting the Cardinal you had to make a very special appointment with his secretary days ahead and that too with difficulty.

Whatever my fanatic Catholic friends will tell me in self-defense, the words of Rev. Charles Davis, the famous English theologian who left the Church recently, echo in my own heart. I found that I agreed with him fully on many points which I shall enumerate presently :

"When in fact has the Church ever entered into conflict with established authority to bear witness, even at the cost of its institutional position ? The Church *as an institution* is turned upon itself and more concerned with its own authority and prestige than with the *Gospel Message*. I cannot accept its claim upon my faith. (italics mine)

"My experience of the Church has gradually overwhelmed me with its lack of concern for truth and its lack of concern for people.

"The lack of concern for truth, with the subordination of truth to authority and to the preservation of the system, pervades the whole institution.

"The institutional Church is constantly crushing and damaging people. More and more it has become for me a vast, impersonal, unfree, inhuman system.

"Something, it seems to me, has gone very wrong with the human relationships that bind people together within the institutional Church. I would go so far as to speak of a collective neurosis. Certainly someone should investigate the pathology of the present Church. The official Church is racked by fear, insecurity and anxiety, with a consequent intolerance and lack of love. And what frustrates any effort at remedy is the perpetual dominance of the system over the person. The system always comes first, and this priority of the impersonal is destructive of the human personality.

"Even good people in a position of authority become victims of the system and cease to act towards others in a normally human way, and only too many under authority are kept immature or become frustrated, sadly eccentric or neurotic. What I am saying may seem baseless accusation, but I write confident that only too many in the Church know what I am referring to and can confirm it from their own experience."

"I look in vain at the official level for a joyful sense of the value and power of truth as truth." (italics mine)

The above quotations give a very clear expression of my innermost feelings that I have shared with innumerable Catholics that I have come into contact with, both, in India and abroad. Naturally, Rev. Charles Davis can express himself better than I could ever do myself, he being an eminent theologian whereas I am just an ordinary member of the Body of Christ. St. Paul says that we are all members though we fulfil different functions. These convictions were born in me of personal experiences over the past decade. And these experiences were very special ones. If I would enumerate them here, the reader may feel inclined to think himself face to face with communist dictatorship!

The pre-eminence in the Church today is given to mammon. This may sound a very harsh

accusation in view of the good intentions of our hierarchy for the spiritual welfare of the flock. But good intentions and good deeds go hand in hand. The early Christianity resided in the consciences of men and not in rules, regulations and institutions. The early Christian obeyed naturally and spontaneously the commands of Christ in the Gospels and precepts of love of Christ, handed down to them by the teachings of St. Paul. Whereas today, one sees just the opposite. The Church is indeed racked by fear, suspicion and mistrust. It is governed with an outward show of earthly might and power which is the direct opposite of the commands of Christ in the Gospels. Here Gandhi has shown us that Christianity can be practised even in the twentieth century for he was guided entirely by love for which he finally died. Whereas most of us within the Church are guided by fear. We do not do what our conscience tells us to do but guided mainly by what others will think of us. This is human respect and is the gravest sin of the present age. Father DuBay had the audacity to stand up to his own convictions and follow the dictates of his conscience, namely, to take up for the cause of the Negroes in the U.S., got into bad books, on this point, of the Cardinal McIntire and was finally excommunicated. But being excommunicated he is not less a Christian, for he at least is one Catholic who lives up to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, his Lord and Master. In my opinion, obedience to Christ and His Gospel Message should come first preceding any obedience to authority within the institutional Church. In my opinion, Gandhi was a true Christian whereas most of us bearing that precious name are hypocrites. Rightly did he say, "I can tell you that much of what passes for Christianity today is a negation of the Sermon on the Mount." Our Faith today resides in institutions, rules and regulations; in stone images and buildings. Our hearts are ice cold and something holds them from melting with compassion and mercy according to the teachings and example of Jesus Christ. And this something is the mammon, spoken of by Christ in the Gospels. Materialism has crept in and dealt a mortal blow to our spirits and we

developed itching ears (as St. Paul puts it) not willing to listen to or understand what is right.

Jesus Christ, the founder of His Church and the Rock on which His Church stands, gave us certain precepts to follow literally and not by interpretations. If the leaders of our Church cannot dress in loin cloth like Mahatma Gandhi or in a rough tunic like St. Francis of Assisi (who was the closest image of Christ on earth), then they can still live in simplicity in this so-called civilised world. Our leaders have not to be moral reformers but Holy Men; men of renunciation and not indulgence. They do not have to ride in Chevrolet and Mercedes cars nor live in palaces. They can very well ride in jeeps or a Fiat if a car is needed in this tense and hectic life of ours and they can live in simple dwellings possessing only the necessities of life for survival. They do not need golden crosses that cost over one thousand U.S. dollars at pre-devaluation rate! And that in a country where our poor Catholics live very often ten members in a small room, in other words below human standards. I am myself a person of renunciation, consecrated to God and put into practice what I am talking about. I could have chosen a far better fate for myself than what I have chosen. Therefore, what I am talking about has been deeply realised and revolved in the mind for the past so many years. Besides, I have made myself the spokesman of most of the Catholics (who do not dare to open their mouths out of fear of excommunication or because of the refusal of being buried with the sacraments of the Church when they die!), and the Hindus as well. For to a Hindu, a religious leader has to be foremost a man of renunciation. And since we live here in Hindustan and not in Christendom it would be well to give an ear to the opinion of the majority of the people.

In order to go back to Christ (for today we are as far from Him as we possibly could), we would first need humility to recognise our mistakes and redress our faults. Out of this humility shall be born the necessary grace from God to accomplish our renewal. In this the leaders have to set an example, which the obedient Catholic laity will follow whole-heartedly. I found that

the obedience of today's Catholic laity is born of fear and not of love. This is completely opposed to the precepts of Christ. The approach of the leaders to the laity has to be entirely that of love and that only has the power to bring a spontaneous return of the same love. The time when we could rule with a stick is passed now, only ruling with love will work a miracle.

I strongly feel that our leaders should lay more stress on the erection of monasteries which are the true strongholds of grace. Gandhiji said of a Cistercian cloistered monastery in South Africa, which he visited while still a young man: "They get up at 2.30 a.m.; they eat a purely vegetarian diet; they strictly observe the silence; only two or three go to the nearest market or speak to visitors.....they add a calling to their learning. They are gardeners, carpenters, tailors, shoe makers, cooks, etc. I still live much under spell of the sweet silence of their calls. 't would be my very ideal to found such an institute, but it needs followers who would dedicate body and soul for all their lives." And such men are to be found amongst the followers of Christ. But our leaders are too much concerned with external activity (which gives very little time for prayer and self-sanctification even for the clergy both secular and religious), not caring for what is most essential; a life of union with God. These monasteries of which Gandhiji speaks are power-houses of heavenly graces that shed their rays upon the whole world as their vocation calls the monks and nuns to sacrifice their lives for the whole of mankind and not only to save themselves. Today many of these monasteries find it very difficult to survive because the leaders directed their attention to other types of hectic external activity which can very well be performed by the laity. But there is the FEAR in the way of handing over such responsibilities to the laity. I have not the slightest doubt that the laity will be far more loyal to the Bishops and the clergy if the laity sees and experiences the trust and love of a Father from them. I have seen this put into practice in the Sevagram Ashram where I had spent a couple of years and this has left me deeply edified.

CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN IN INDIA

R. L. SHARMA

The occupational structure of a nation means the distribution or division of its population according to occupations of different types. Basically, occupations are divided into these types viz., primary, secondary and tertiary activities. Primary occupations consist of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery etc. and secondary occupations comprises of manufacturing both small and large scale industries. transport, communications, banking and finance and services are treated as tertiary activities.

Since the turn of this century many estimates have been made, but they are said to be defective due to inadequacy of the data, the differences in definitions of occupations and wide range of assumptions made. The following table will show the trend of changes in occupational structure in India since 1901 :

More than 70 per cent of the working population in India is engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. Between 10 to 12 per cent of people are engaged in mining, industry and construction. Tertiary occupation takes only 15 percent of people in it.

The proportion of people engaged in agriculture, etc. had increased from about 71 percent in 1901 to about 76 per cent in 1961. Dependence on primary industries is increasing and it is believed that a large percentage of people in agriculture is clear indication of growing poverty. Even with large number of people engaged in it, the country is not self-sufficient in food and agricultural raw materials. It is estimated that productivity per worker in agriculture is only a third that of a worker in the industries and in the tertiary sectors which are well organised. The proportion of the

Occupational Distribution in India (1901-1961)

Table.**

Category	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961
Primary Occupations.	71.47	74.96	76.12	74.74	74.70	46.44
Secondary „	14.70	10.77	9.96	10.25	10.56	10.96
Tertiary „	16.83	14.27	13.82	15.01	15.04	12.60
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.00

** Census of India, 1961, paper No. 1 1962,

working forces in secondary sector has been almost steady over the last 60 years with a slight changes. Tertiary occupation represents the highly significant changes during this period. It is of course a declining trend but in between great changes and fluctuations occurred. It came to 14.27 in 1911 from 16.85 in 1901 and then 13.82 from 1911 and then nearly constant in 1951 as 15.04 and then there was a great decline in 1961 as 12.60.

A general inference may be drawn from the above factors, that inspite of great development in industrial production there has not been any remarkable change in the occupational structure. This clearly interpretes that secondary and tertiary sectors have not grown rapidly enough to make an impact on the primary sector. Over and above these conditions, one thing is very important and that is if India at all wants to avoid employment problem and poverty it should develop the secondary and tertiary sectors of occupation.

The decade of 1951-61 is remarkably important in India's history, as developmental outlays of unprecedented aspects were incurred under Five Year Plans during this period, and had a significant effects on National income, employment, occupational pattern, etc. The following table shows a comparative picture of the aggregate changes in populations and total workers (1951-61):

Table. 2

	1951	(in millions) 1961 increase in 1961 over 1951	
Total population	361.1	439.2	78.1
Total number of workers	140.9	188.4	47.5
Percent of working force to total population.	39.1	42.9	...

(Fact Book on Manpower. P. 20)

There has been a considerable change in population, as it was increased 439.2 million in 1961 from 361 million in 1951 and 42.9 p.c. from 39.1 p.c. during 1951-61 respectively. During this period, there has been some change in the distribution of the working population as between activities. These are shown in the following table :

Table—3.

Distribution of working population by Industrial categories :

Catagories	1951	1961
I Cultivators	50.0	53.0
II Agricultural Labour	19.7	16.8
III Plantation, forest etc. (incl. mining).	2.9	3.8
IV Manufacturing	9.0	9.3
V Construction	1.2	1.1
VI Trade, Communication & Transport	6.8	5.7
VII Other Services	10.5	10.0

During the first 10 years of planning in India despite heavy investments the proportion of working force in primary sector has been increasing. There has been a little increase in secondary and tertiary sectors considering the the employment opportunities, the total additional (rising in trade, communication and like occupations) employment generated under the first two Plans was estimated at 12 millions ; and moreover Planning Commission estimated the additional employment in agriculture for 3 million persons ; but it did not come true in practice. The changes in total population and working force during 1951-1961 were revealed as increase in population. 77.4 increase in working population 47.2 and increase in cultivators only 28.5. Of the total population increase amounting to 77.4 million, increase in working population alone accounted for 47.2 million and of this increase.

the agricultural class alone consist of 28.5 i.e. over 61 per cent. It clearly shows that the developmental pattern under two Plans of the country was fashioned to provide relief to millions of underemployed cultivators but not to add to their numbers in millions.

Planning Commission stipulated to reduce the proportion of agricultural occupants to about 60 per cent by 1976. But 1961 figures shows that the proportion of agricultural population to the total workers was 69.53 per cent as compared to 69.74 percent in 1951 and it is very close to the situation of 1951. Therefore the diversification of occupational structure of the Indian economy may not take place at the rate stipulated by the Planning Commission because there has not been any remarkable changes during 1951-61,

There is imbalance in agriculture due to immobility of labour force from agriculture to secondary and tertiary sectors and hence the the labour productivity is low. Naturally the incomes received by those who are dependent on agriculture, are low. As the rate of transfer of labour from agriculture to other industries is low, people will get the minimum income. Generally, it is half or even less than half of the average income in the Country.

In spite of all the facts and facets mentioned above, we have to realize a fundamental concept and that is the planned economic development in our Country. As a result of this development, there is bound to be a considerable increase in employment opportunities. Rapid progress is taking place in expanding irrigation, power, basic industries, transport and other services and directly as well as indirectly there will, therefore, be new avenues of employment. As irrigational facilities are progressively increased and the scope for double cropping is enlarged, seasonal unemployment

will diminish. At the same time, schemes of rural electrification will encourage the setting up of small and large workshops and factories, of processing and manufacturing establishments. As commodity production goes up, the scope for employment in services will also go up. A few examples may be cited in the context e.g. In Kosi Projects (in Purnia and Saharsa districts of Bihar) the agricultural percentage of change was 33.3; and 59, in 1961; while it was 231.5 and 429.6 per cent in non-agricultural population in 1951. In the same way the following industrial concerns gave glimpses on the subject:

Projects	% increase in total agricultural working population in 1961 over 1951	% increase in total population working in non- agricultural in 1961 over 1951
1	2	3
1. Hindustan Shipyard	65.3	96.4
2. Rourkela Steel plant	30.7	264.7
3. Mohan foundry	1.1	175.0
4. Nunmati Oil refinery	7.5	135.8
5. Heavy Electricals	24.4	73.1

Source : Fact Book on Manpower, p. 90.

Moreover, economic development implies continuous growth of national income and employment and requires simultaneous development in all spheres of the economy. In India, at present, the net output per worker in primary production is quite low, it is about one fifth that of in mining and factory establishments and one third of the net output per worker in trade and services sector. Economic development will necessarily have to involve a transfer of a part of the working force from agriculture to secondary and tertiary sector of activities. But such a trans-

fer presupposes an increase of productivity in agriculture, so that the food and raw materials requirements of growing economy are adequately met with; and such increased agricultural productivity is a necessity for changing the occupational pattern in India, and this in turn, will be possible only through extension of cultivation, consolidation of holdings and the use of modern scientific techniques.

A comprehensive development programme over period of years is being planned in India which will bring about a significant change in the occupational pattern of the country. But then, the change in the overall occupational pattern is likely to be slow, at first. This is so because the rate of growth of population in India

is large. In absolute figures the Indian population increases by more than ten million annually. And as a result of this the large industries today are unable to absorb this increased population. Naturally, for absorbing all or at least a major part of the increased population of the working force in non-agricultural occupations, reliance will have to be placed mainly on small and cottage industries involving comparatively small capital investments. These are industries which have favourable capital employment ratio. Necessarily, therefore, industrialisation should properly be linked together with agricultural development so that there may be a change in the occupational structure of India's population away from Agriculture.



NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE

—Contributed

There are many States in this world which have a linguistically heterogeneous population. We can mention off hand a few noteworthy examples viz Russia, China, Belgium, Canada and Switzerland. The U. S. S. R. is composed of fifteen union Republics (or 20 Autonomous Republics) inhabited by distinct racial-linguistic groups. Article 3 of the Constitution of China says : "The Peoples Republic of China is a unified, multinational State. All the nationalities are equal...have freedom to use and develop their spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their habits and customs." Both in Russia and China there are majority and minority linguistic families but there have never been any unseemly manipulations made by any major language group to gain an advantage of a material or moral kind. French and Flemish in Belgium English and French in Canada ; or German, French, Italian and Romansch in Switzerland all have an equality in official use which no one ever tries to vitiate by any improper propaganda or twisting of the laws of the various countries mentioned.

When India became an independent country by negotiation with the British overlords, she did so by surrendering a large portion of her territory which was used by the British to form a new country called Pakistan. The British handed over power to the Congress Party by reason of their agreement to do what the British proposed.

From that time onward the Congress have managed the affairs of India in a more or less autocratic manner. The majority of Indians being illiterate and the Congress having been relatively well organised by the immediate followers of Mahatma Gandhi it was easy for the Congress to do what they liked with India and the Indians during the initial years of independence. And the Congress took good advantage of this and manipulated things in a manner which benefitted the members, associates and proteges of their Party and the particular zones which supplied the greatest number of followers of the Charkha Flag. Those zones which were not so abject nor satisfactorily devoted to the sanctimonious and irrational ideals sponsored by the *bhaktas* of the various cults that the *gurus* of the numerous *ashramas* were developing, naturally remained renounced by the *Pandavas*. Bengal was a special favourite for relentless exploitation and she lost the districts of *Singhbhum*, *Manbhum*, *Purnea* and the *Santhal Parganas* to Bihar which was being fortified as a stronghold of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru, who was the founder of the dismembered India of 1947, took great pains to form a Central Zone of this new State which would be uniform in culture, literacy, way of life and devotion to ideals like vegetarianism, cow and husband worship and a fanatical attachment to ideas which

nobody believed in elsewhere in India. His choice of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar bore good result and he sealed the fate of Nationalism in India by declaring Hindi to be the State Language elect even before anybody knew what Hindi was and who spoke or used it as a mother-tongue. A sort of synthetic language was ordered to be concocted and this Rashtra Bhasha or State Language began to grow in the hands of nurse maids who were more eager to feed themselves than their charge. Undernourished, devitalised, suffering from a variety of organic and functional disorders ; Rashtra Bhasha is full of a sense grievance against all fully developed languages of India and English, without having any real understanding of the nature, origin and tendencies of the congenital ailments it suffered from. Hindi, that is Rashtra Bhasha, being only basically the language of a very small group of persons speaking a Hindi-Type-Dialect, is as much a foreign language to the speakers of the various other Hindi-Type-Dialects as it is to 85% of India's population whose language it is not and never has been. Urdu, Bhojpuri or Maithili are spoken by greater numbers than this synthetic Rashtra Bhasha ; but then the people who made their fortune doing Rashtra Bhasha prachar work did not belong to Bhojpur, Mithila or the Urdu-speaking community. If ever there was a false facade of elaborate design to hide the inner poverty of a totally undeveloped language, the colourful covers of numerous newly printed books in Rashtra Bhasha will easily occupy an important place among

such ingloriously glorious show pieces. Mostly very inferior translations of books of other languages, English and Bengali being the most numerous, these paper-back books in Rashtra Bhasha have done little to lend precision and accuracy to the concocted idioms of an artificially developed language. The thought forms which require to be unambiguously moulded in a language used for statutory and State purposes can hardly take shape from inexperienced translations. The people whose language Rashtra Bhasha is, in a manner of speaking, have been simple and unsophisticated to a fault. If now, that basic language has to be dressed up with thousands of new words and phrases which are unnatural appendages to it for all time, the resulting linguistic monster will never articulate the real feelings of any living man. If it is well executed it will be a robot serving a purpose mechanically. If, on the other hand, there is laxness and inexactitudes, its monstrous exterior will not be compensated for by any great serviceability.

A State language should have certain qualities which the Rashtra-Bhasha does not and will not ever possess. It can not be a storehouse of legal, scientific, military, technical or any other kind of knowledge essentially required for the sound administration of the State. Stilted translations of the world's classics can be made in a language without any tradition, for the reason that the correctness of the translation can only be judged by interested parties ; and the communicativeness of the words and phrases

concocted to express the thoughts of Socrates, Hegel or Marx can never be tested out on account of the readers inability to express what they have understood in any language other than the same Rashtra-Bhasha. Modern thought currents in their continuous flow will never be projected effectively in the painfully thought out phrases of a made-to-order language. Its lack of precision and intimacy with the thoughts and feelings of living men and women will defeat its attempts to serve as a link language. We shall not try to evaluate the usefulness of Hindi as an international language.

Coming to the reasons behind the attempts that the Congress Government have made to force Hindi upon India, we find none which can be called convincing and good. Hindi is merely the common name given to a large number of dialects which are quite often linguistically unrelated. Some languages of Rajasthan and Bihar can be cited as good examples of very un-Hindi dialects that have been pressed into service by the Congress Hindiwallahs. For they had to increase the number of Hindi speakers any how and prove that almost all Indians spoke Hindi. In India however most people do not speak Hindi. In Government publications every attempt is made to inflate the figures of Hindi speakers and also to present Hindi as a homogenous language of a linguistic origin and nature which makes its speakers the members of a single linguistic group. In fact those who speak Western Hindi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Maghahi as well as various other dialects of Hindi, speak entirely different languages. The figures of Hindi speakers therefore must be divided

into four or five groups to locate which group speaks dialects nearest to Rashtra Bhasha. According to published census figures of 1961 Hindi was spoken by 13.34 crores of persons and Non-Hindi languages were spoken by 30.55 crores. Of the 13.34 crores of persons alleged to be Hindi speaking only about 40 p. c. perhaps spoke and understood those Hindi dialects which resembled Rashtra Bhasha nearly enough. Our assumption therefore that about 15 p. c. of Indians spoke Rashtra Bhasha cannot be far wrong.

The recent outbursts of Hindiphils against English are totally irrational and childish. Students gain the most by their knowledge of English. Business and trade also are stimulated by the use of English. Industry and Technical work cannot do without English. In the circumstances the abuses and attacks on English are thoroughly unintelligent and shows an immaturity of mind which cannot make the Hindi speakers very useful members of the Indian Nation. The History of our fight for freedom is full of the contributions made by persons who spoke English whenever necessary and did not make much use of Hindi. From Raja Rammohun Roy, through generations of great Indians such as Keshub Chandra Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Aravinda, Rabindranath, Gokhale, Ranade, Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose, Rash Behari Bose, the great leaders of the Gadr Party, the terrorists of the Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal, down to the fighters who went with Gandhiji, we find much material in English and in the non-Hindi languages. The Hindi-Hooligans should learn their

lesson in time and stop behaving like unbalanced persons. If instead of engaging in hooliganism they really worked for the growth of Hindi, the future of Hindi might not be so bleak. All the money that Hindi speakers have been taking for their alleged work of Hindi Prachar should be accounted for in detail by them. For the progress made by Hindi has not been commensurate with the payments made, and one would like to know what really happened to the funds thus spent for the spread of Hindi. The way things are progressing, Hindiphils are facing a possibility of wider anti-Hindi activities in India. The Constitution can be amended again and the clause about making Hindi official Language can be rescinded. All Languages that are named in Schedule viii can be given equal status in the amended Constitution and Hindi can be then used only by such persons as wish to do so. That these Hindi fanatics do not even know what was proposed in connection with the adoption of Hindi as official Language of India is proved by their attempts to destroy the number plates of cars. For Hindi written in the Devanagari script was the recommended official language. As to figures, the international numerals in use were to be continued. During the last several years Hindiphils have tried their best to ignore this provision with the result that mile-stones in Hindi regions have lost all usefulness to motorists, the majority of whom cannot read Hindi numerals.

Coming to the moral and material accountancy aspects of this proposed change over to Hindi we find that knowledge of English is more widespread in India than that

of Hindi. The money value of all this knowledge of English must run to thousands of crores. The Hindi speakers being the least educated are also the least English knowing. If it comes to teaching all Indians Hindi, there are not enough teachers to go round, for the teachers have to be bilingual such as, Hindi-Tamil, Hindi-Telugu, Hindi-Bengali and so on, in order to act as teachers. And if Bihar, U. P. and M. P. started to turn out these teachers in bulk the rest of India may not want to employ them on various grounds. Why should a Bihari be given a job in Madras? The imported teachers may not find favour also for their ways of behaviour in spheres other than that of education. The Hindi language may be acceptable to the people of other States but the people of U. P., Bihar and M. P. may not be particularly as preceptors. As things are, however, there are no organised supply of Hindi teachers. In fact the people who could have organised all this had been too busy during the last several years making money by fake attempts at Hindi Prachar. The idea that Hindi can be introduced immediately or in the near future as state language everywhere is absurd. Even in Bengal very few people know to read and write Hindi and there are no proper arrangements for teaching that language. The other states are no better off. We cannot visualise any mass acceptance of Hindi everywhere even after years of concentrated and well organised effort. The reason is that a mere ability to read and write Hindi somehow cannot enable a person to use it as a substitute for English. People studied English for generations not merely as a language

but also as a medium for acquiring knowledge of history, philosophy, law, medicine, engineering, physics, chemistry, mathematics, the various technological subjects and all those matters which are the constituents of universal human wisdom. In industry, trade, commerce, in matters relating to accountancy, taxation, the fulfilment, of statutory obligations, communication with foreign countries and in dealings with foreigners who come to India for work or pleasure, English is most suitable while Hindi is totally ineffective. In fact full education or training in Hindi is yet impossible even in the Hindi speaking areas. In the rest of India Hindi has no status except as a bazaar language in certain states. It is not understood in the South.

The recent attempts by Hindi loving mobs to disestablish English from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh by use of force, have been provocative to the rest of India. If there is retaliation in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Gauhati, Bhubaneswar, Amritsar, Madurai, Mysore, Poona, Nagpur and other non-Hindi speaking cities, the Hindi mobs will be proved to have acted against India's national integrity. If Hindi is going to be State language of India it will not be so through the violent and ill mannered excesses committed by half-educated and unintelligent mobs. Insulting women, damaging property, attacking newspaper offices and generally behaving in a rowdy and uncivilised manner, cannot be tolerated by those who love India, Indian civilisation and culture. India can go ahead without Hindi; but the Hindi-

phils cannot exist without the rest of India. The Hindi-speaking areas are the least progressive in point of education, training and economic development. The per capita income of the Hindi speakers is much lower than the Indian average. The richer people in those regions are the greatest tax-evaders, black marketters and profiteers. They also are the most addicted to corrupt and illicit practices. Among the Hindi speakers who work and live in adjoining non-Hindi territories are numerous small traders, money lenders, washerman, milkmen, scrapdealers and itinerant hawkers, acrobats and vagrants. The rest of them are either in domestic service or engaged in industry and commerce as subordinate staff. Most of these people have no high intellectual or moral outlook. The adulteration of goods, selling short weight, charging 150 p. c. interest, sale of snacks of a flyblown and inferior quality are associated with these people and they cannot therefore have a public image which is even remotely admirable. In the circumstances, if the character of the Hindi speakers is to stimulate people's love for Hindi, the Hindi-speakers have a lot of self-improvement to achieve before they can expect the rest of India to appreciate them, their ways as well as their language. The present mass delinquency of the Hindiphils has reduced their prestige in the eye of India. They should lose no time in changing their methods of Hindi propaganda; otherwise they would have no second opportunity to work for Hindi prachar among the non-Hindi speakers of India.

Going back to facts we must point out

that even assuming a 25 p. c. Hindi speaking population in India, that 25 p. c. will be found to be nearly 85 p. c. illiterate as against a 30 p. c. literacy in the 75 p. c. non-Hindi speaking portion of the Indian population. In the circumstances the Hindi speakers will have to spend the best part of the next 25 years to educate themselves and they will not be available to teach Hindi to the rest of India. During the last twenty years the non-Hindi speakers have learnt more and more on their own mother languages and English and have not acquired any noticeable knowledge of Hindi. The Government of India's Hindi expansion schemes have been, like their other schemes, extensively spectacular and for window dressing rather than intensively purposeful. Much of the money spent has been taken by people who have done little to teach Hindi to the rest of India. In short Hindi has not been taught to non-Hindi speaking people and the practical difficulties of achieving Hindi *prasar* are insurmountable. The most obvious

difficulty is the predominance of illiteracy and lack of education among the Hindi-speaking peoples of India. They can no more teach Hindi to the rest of India than the Bantus can teach Afrikans to all the Afro-Asian nations. If these ardent Hindi-phils concentrated on self-improvement rather than waste their energies in their futile attempts at English *Hatao*, they could at least teach themselves Hindi. English would not suffer any losses if the Hindi-speakers did not learn it. For as it is, 99 p. c. of Hindi speakers have little knowledge of English. The *Hataoing* of English will merely make them even less educated than they are at present. The best idea would be to carry on as before until the Hindi speakers come upto the literacy level of the rest of India. In the mean time the non-Hindi States could progressively stimulate the study of Hindi among such of their people as hoped to engage in Government service. Even that would take a number of years to develop.



ASOKA : NOBLEST AMONG EMPERORS

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The study of the life of Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor, who ruled over India in the third century before Christ, may inspire man to a more determined and creative effort to achieve a lasting peace on earth. A solution to the present world problems, which are the outcome of man's own hate, greed and fear, needs urgent attention.

Emperor Asoka, in his early life, manifested these identical evils, but later in life, after the acceptance of the teachings of the Compassionate Buddha, he became so serene and noble that he commanded the respect and admiration of mankind. Even to this day his name is honoured, and it lies enshrined in the hearts of every Buddhist and Hindu.

Asoka is the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya whom the Greeks called Sandracotta. After Alexander the Great left India, Chandragupta overran Punjab and conquered the Ganges country (321 B.C.) and consolidated the great Empire reaching across all the plains of North India from the Western to the Eastern sea board.

He was succeeded by his son Bindusara, who conquered Madras and was in turn succeeded by Bindusara's son Asoka (270 B.C.) who was one of the greatest monarchs of mankind, whose domains extended from Afghanistan to Madras. The history is both based on chronicles of Ceylon, particularly *Mahawansa*, and on his own edicts and inscriptions, about seventy of which stand to this day in various parts of India as immortal monuments to his greatness.

Asoka exemplified his life with the sublime teachings of the Buddha and he applied these principles to bring about a welfare state for the benefit of those over whom he ruled. He was a great ruler, an able administrator, a statesman, a reformer and the world's first religious missionary. The story of his life would be fascinating to

students as chapters of political and religious history of ancient India.

The early religious life Asoka followed was of a Brahmanical form, with metaphysics and propitiating of the gods. As a devotee of God Siva, he took great pleasure in animal sacrifice. He was said to have killed all his brothers save the youngest in his struggle for power and to inherit his father's throne. Although the Indian and Ceylon chronicles confirm this, yet there is a school of thought that denies this as a gross exaggeration of him as a cruel monster to dramatise Asoka's self-reformation under the influence of Buddhism.

In the first year of his reign, that is towards the middle of his life, he made a unique contribution to mankind. He is the only Emperor in history to give up conquests after victory. Asoka decided on the annexation of the few remaining outlying states. He started the conquest of Kalinga (Orissa), but after a victorious war, was overcome with remorse. The cruelties and horrors of war disgusted him. Rock Edict XIII contains a personal confession of his remorse at the sight of suffering and carnage which the war involved. Dr. V. A. Smith states: "The horrors which accompany war, even successful war, made a deep impression on the heart of the victorious monarch, who has recorded on the rocks in unperishable words the suffering of the vanquished and the remorse of the victor. The record is distinct with personal feeling and still carries across the ages the moan of the human."

Thereafter Asoka gave up war and developed a pacific attitude—a human one. Asoka became a Buddhist sympathiser before the Kalinga war. It is said that he regularly bestowed alms on Brahmin priests, but he was not pleased with their demeanor. One day, while he was quite casually looking through his window, he saw a dignified Buddhist monk and invited him to the palace, whereupon the

monk delivered a short but instructive discourse based on the following verse of the Dhammapada :

“Heedfulness is the path of deathlessness.
Heedlessness is the path of death.
The heedful do not die, the heedless ones
are like unto the dead.”

These words of the Buddha impressed Asoka and gripped his mind and he became a Buddhist. Thereafter he preferred *Dharma Vijaya*—conquest by righteousness. It was only after the war at Kalinga that Asoka became an ideal Buddhist monarch. With ceaseless energy he worked for the dissemination of the *Dharma* and he is responsible for transmitting Buddhism from a small sectarian religion of India into one of the greatest religions of the world. Through his edicts he brought to the knowledge of his countrymen the simpler and practical aspects of Buddhism which eventually moulded the life and thought of a vast segment of mankind.

He was preoccupied with missionary zeal to spread the word of the Buddha throughout his land and bordering states peacefully. There is no evidence that he reduced his army or abolished capital punishment. He is said to have commuted death sentences, just a few days before the execution. This is indicative of his capacity as a strong ruler and administrator. He wisely modified his pacifism to meet the needs of administering a vast empire, with justice and fairness to all his subjects.

Asoka did not give up or use military power after the victorious Kalinga war. From then on he used the Buddhists' principles of ethics as a tremendous new weapon. Thus, with the spread of Buddhist morality, he gained more power and influence both among his subjects and neighbouring states. He carefully cultivated two of the golden principles of Buddhism—*Ahimsa* (non-violence) and compassion and these very weapons were wielded by Mahatma Gandhi in our lifetime to regain India's independence with peace and goodwill from the British people.

Asoka forbade animal sacrifices in his Empire. He replaced royal tours of pleasure and

hunting with pious duties to his people. He worked unceasingly for moral, social and economic welfare of his people.

According to *Mahawamsa*, the great chronicle of Ceylon, Asoka became an *upasaka* (taking vows to chastity) in the ninth year of his accession to the throne. His edicts depict him as growing in piety as years passed by. He synchronized his internal administration and foreign policy to spread the Buddha Dharma. Again it is stated in the *Mahawamsa*, that in the eleventh year of his assumption of power he became a full-fledged Buddhist Monk. Thereby he acted both as lay ruler and temporal head of Buddhism. He utilized local chiefs to supervise monks' behaviour.

In his *Bhadra* edict he recommended to monks and laymen seven favourite passages from the holy scriptures. This edict was found on the top of a hill in Rajasthan. Some believe that Asoka lived here as a full-fledged Buddhist monk in the last years of his life. In this edict he exhorted people to take refuge in the triple gem—Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha*, and to take five or eight vows of chastity. In the eleventh year of his accession to his throne, he organized missionary activities to foreign lands. He is believed to have sent missionaries and diplomats to Greece, Persia, China, and to Ceylon. He sent his own son and daughter, Mahinda and Sanghamitta, to Ceylon for missionary work. Mahinda converted the King of Ceylon, Tissa, to Buddhism at Anuradhapura in North Central Ceylon, with adoption of Buddhism as the state religion of Ceylon. In the third Century, B. C., the Sinhalese civilization blossomed into a golden age.

Sanghamitta, who arrived in Ceylon later, brought a sapling of the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) under which the Gautama attained Buddhahood. This tree grows to this day at Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon. It is known as the oldest historical tree in world, as the parent tree had died away. It was planted in Ceylon in 245 B.C., and it still flourishes as a living tribute to the greatness of Asoka and his two children.

Asoka's missionary zeal is responsible for the spread of Buddhism from Ceylon to South East Asia.

The form of Buddhism that was introduced to Ceylon was of the *Theravada* school (school of the Elders); therefore Asoka himself may have been a *Theravadin*. This form of Buddhism exists in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, besides Ceylon, and the peoples of the lands almost venerate Asoka and his children. *Theravada* form may have been transmitted to China by Asoka, although the real spread of Buddhism to China took place only many centuries after the death of Asoka in the *Mahayana* form.

The edict, R.E. IV Delhi, indicates that Asoka enunciated a paternal form of government. It states "as far as one feels confidence after having entrusted his child to an intelligent nurse, thinking the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well, so the officers were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of my people." "All people are my children and as I desire for my children that they obtain every kind of welfare and so do I my people may obtain every kind of welfare both in this world and"

Thus Asoka based his Government on personal example and his royal duties were based on love and paternal affection.

Asoka built hospitals for both man and beast. Physicians and surgeons were provided in the various parts of the state. He established special gardens for the growth of medical herbs and manufactured drugs. In R. E. VII Asoka states: 'I have had trees planted along roads to give shade to man and animals. I have established public wells, erected rest houses for the pilgrims and travellers.' Once the Buddha, on seeing a sick neglected and forlorn monk, ministered to him and said to his disciples: "Brethren, he who would nurse the sick, indeed respects me." Asoka was inspired by the Buddha to be the first in history to establish hospitals.

One of Asoka's edicts stands in *Lumbini* or *Rumamendi*, the name by which it is known today, about 100 miles from Varanasi (Benares), proclaiming the spot where the Buddha was born. This edict was erected in 316 B.C. and stands to this day on the former Lumbini Grove, where the Buddha was born on the full moon day of May,

under the flowering Sal Tree in the sixth Century, B. C.

Asoka established educational institutions for his people. These were in his time mostly attached to monasteries, where medical, philosophical and religious education was imparted. After the death of Asoka a fair number of these institutions became universal centers of learning, known today as universities. Some of these universities, : old Nalanda, Taxila, Wickermasita, had over 10,000 students, each given free board and education. They were destroyed during the Muslim invasion of India in the twelfth century after Christ. He would have encouraged science had science existed in his time.

Asoka states in one of his edicts (R.E.X): The doctrine of true glory or fame for the King, which does not depend upon the "physical extent of his domain, but upon the moral progress of his people." Some edicts emphasise the moral virtues of the *Maha Mangala sutta*, such as: respect for the old, for the educated, for the teachers, for the parents, etc. Thereby he raised the moral and ethical standards not only of his people, but also wherever Buddhism was carried by his missionaries and diplomats.

Most edicts emphasise good behaviour, tolerance, hard work. These he demonstrated to his people by personal example. He built a peace-loving, self-contained and ethical society. A Kalinga edict shows that his aim was a welfare state, more or less based on modern socialism, with free education, medical care and service.

He convened the Third Buddhist Council in a cave in Rajagaha, to preserve the Buddha Dharma in its pristine purity and discourage doctrinal controversy.

Asoka carefully cultivated a golden principle of Buddhism—tolerance. As a Buddhist he was tolerant of other religions. One of his edicts, R.E.II says :

"All religions deserve reverence for some reason or other. By thus acting a man exalts his own religion, and at the same time does service to the religion of the other people."

It is recorded in chronicles in Ceylon, like Visuddhimaga, that Asoka built over 84,000

temples which were also institutions of learning all over India and Nepal. Asoka was also a great builder; when the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsian visited Patilipura in the fifth century after Christ, he was said to have been wonder-struck by the sheer beauty of Asoka's palace and the original Buddha Gaya temple at Gaya, which do not exist any more. The Sanchi *Stupas* enshrining the relics of the Buddha's chief disciple, Sariputta Maha Moggalana, which stands to this day in Sanchi, North-East India, is a delightful architectural and sculptural beauty. The Asoka's lion emblem and Saranath Buddha are themselves masterpieces of art.

New India has also recognized the greatness of Asoka. The Asokan Buddhist wheel of life adorns New India's flag, and the Asoka state insignia of the four lions of Saranath has been taken as the State emblem of New India. Even the foreign policy of India has been taken from Asokan edicts, and the Buddha's words—"a true victory is a victory when no one is defeated"—are inspiring all mankind towards achieving peace and justice.

It is said that equality of the sexes was first bestowed by Asoka when he sent his own son and daughter to Ceylon for missionary work on an equal footing. At the same time, Asoka was, after Buddha, one of history's greatest democrats, for he treated all his subjects with equal justice. He abolished the privileged class, called Brahmins, and more or less erased the caste system from the Indian society. His period of history, from 325 to 288 B.C. is called the Golden Period of Indian history.

Buddhism has many unique claims which are not shared by other world religions. It is all to the

credit of Buddhism that, during its spread from India to Japan, it has not shed a drop of blood. This is actually a tribute to Asoka—the missionary. That is, it spread peacefully from nation to nation, and it was never forced on unwilling people at the point of the sword or bayonet, or by means of economic or political pressure. Buddhism is also the only world religion that recognized man's own creative ability to better himself without external aid from any 'GOD'. The teachings of the Buddha are shown to be effective when the late H. G. Wells singles out Asoka from among the thousands of kings and emperors of history and writes, in his *"Outline of World History"* :

"Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousness and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From Volga to Japan his name is still honoured; China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserves the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine of Charlemagne."

One of History's important lessons is that wars have never solved national problems, even when fought on a so-called limited scale. In Asokan days there were the clean-cut victor and the vanquished. But today, with missiles and the hydrogen bomb, all life on earth may be destroyed in any future nuclear war. Consequently there will be none left to claim victory. May Asoka's wisdom and serenity that dawned on him after the Kalinga war, that is to give up war and strive to achieve goodwill and peace on earth, prevail in the world by banishing man's hate, fear and greed.

AMENDMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

P. SAROJINI REDDY

In a historic judgment, delivered in a batch of writ petitions filed by several land owners challenging the seventeenth amendment of the Constitution of India Act, by the Supreme Court, by a 6-5 majority, it has been held that Parliament has no power under Art. 368 of the Constitution, to abridge or take away the Fundamental Rights guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution and that the Constitution has given Fundamental Rights a "transcendental position and kept them beyond the reach of Parliament".

But it may be pointed out that Art. 368 is to be construed as both procedural and substantive and exhaustive of all amendments of the constitution and does not directly or indirectly exclude Part III of the Constitution relating to Fundamental Rights from its purview. Moreover, since the constitutional amendments are subject to judicial review, Parliament's power to amend Fundamental Rights will not endanger them. The Supreme Court has also in the judgment cited above, rightly held that 'amendment' was 'law' within the meaning of Art. 13 (2) of the Constitution. Art. 13 (2) reads: "The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void". Therefore, if a constitutional amendment took away or abridged Fundamental Rights, it will be void.

The Constitution has assigned to the Supreme Court the role of "Sentinel on the

qui vive". The same metaphor equally applies to the High Courts in the States. In order to enable the courts to play this role, the Constitution places no fetters on the power of judicial review of the courts. Unless the courts are given the power to pronounce opinion upon the constitutionality of laws, both ordinary and constitutional, the rights of the citizens cannot be adequately safeguarded.

To place an implied limitation the Parliament's power to amend Fundamental Rights would introduce a rigidity in the Constitution which many might consider unwise as it removes a safety valve and reduces the limited flexibility as provided through constitutional amendments. Rights cannot remain static in a dynamic world. The political party commanding an over-all majority or the different political parties in coalition (in case no single party commands an over-all majority) might also introduce amendments to widen the content and scope of Fundamental Rights. In other words, Parliament may be trusted not to make any law which would abrogate Fundamental Rights.

Moreover, many believe that Fundamental Rights as enshrined in Part III of the Constitution, require modifications in several aspects. Thus, under Art. 21, our constitution has whittled down the protection offered to personal liberty by a meagre provision such as a guarantee of a procedure established by law. Parliament can make a law for arresting and detaining a person, belonging to any particular class, indefinitely by way of punitive or preventive detention without trial subject to some

minor safeguards. That is to say, there is practically no fundamental right against legislative action. In practice the fundamental right of personal liberty may not be effective even against executive action. It may turn out to be illusory as in a modern democracy, the executive has virtual control over the majority party in the legislature and can put through legislation conferring arbitrary powers on itself. It may therefore be pointed out that the 'reasonableness of a law' should be made justiciable so that personal liberty may be ensured. Similarly there are several other aspects of Fundamental Rights which require to be modified.

Thus, Parliament's power to amend Fundamental Rights, in the context of the unqualified power of courts to review laws, both ordinary and constitutional, is reconcilable with the "Paramountcy, in-alienability and inviolability" of Fundamental Rights. But, it is important that, "No legislature dominated by a political party should be allowed to sit in judgment on its own policies in so far as they

would destroy or attenuate those Fundamental Rights of the citizen which the constitution has vowed to safeguard. It is because of this that the courts have been armed with the power of judicial review and the duty of seeing that the citizen is not denied his just rights in the name of public interest. It is therefore, wholly irrelevant to contend that Ministers and Legislators are as far-far-minded men as any judge you can find. They may be fair-minded normally but expediency may constrain them to a contrary course. It is the duty of the judges to take a dispassionate view of what is proposed to be done and to test by objective criteria. They may not be wholly immune from unconscious bias, but they are trained to look out for and repress such bias. Theirs will be a judicial approach to the problem, whereas that of cabinets and of legislatures, will be a political approach. The influence of the Courts must not be negated or nullified if the citizen is to have a minimum of assurance that he can live as a free man in a free Society.



SHOULD LAND REVENUE BE ABOLISHED

Prof. SUNIL BANIK

India is now in the midst of an economic crisis when a continued period of shortfall in agricultural production not only threatened economic stability but also political democracy. The planners while formulating the Five Year Plans failed to lend the measure of stress on agricultural development which was essential for the country. As a result, backwardness in agricultural conditions landed the whole economy into a serious imbalance and the people on the verge of starvation. Various measures were taken for changing the agrarian structure and age-old techniques of agricultural production. Different State Governments also passed legislations abolishing the Zamindari system and fixing ceilings on land holdings with a view to liquidate the existing landlord-tenant nexus and to make the tillers owners of land. Side by side with the land reform measures, various development programmes for reclamation, irrigation, seed farming, extension service, marketing facilities, soil conservation, etc., etc., were taken up during the Plan periods. But in most of the cases the land reform measures proved to be mere paper programmes rather than an active reality. The land-owning class enjoying various socio-economic privileges opposed land reform measures. The absentee landlords owning big estates and having no economic justification to exist, still existed. The agrarian structure, even after completion of three Five Year Plans, remained thoroughly unorganised with no sense of responsibility among the farmers, incentive among the owners to develop their lands and education among the tenants not to allow fragmentation of land into uneconomic holdings. There is still uncertainty about the security of tenure.

There were various shortcomings in the Zamindari abolition legislations of the different States resulting in delay in implementation of land ceilings, large-scale evasion, benami and

illegal transfer of lands, widespread eviction of bargadars, etc. A continued period of insecurity of tenure, high rates of rent, economic exploitation and subsistence living conditions of the vast body of landless peasants, created a sense of unrest and ill-feeling between the landlords and the landless peasants. The failure of the State Governments to stop ejection of tenants, evasion of ceiling limits and unjust and oppressive rents made the landless tillers vocal and assertive of their rights and demands. This culminated in peasant uprisings in different rural belts in recent times. Mr. Wolf I. Ladejinsky, an authority on land reforms, said, "When the system of land tenure in predominantly agricultural countries provides the cultivator with a reasonable reward for his efforts, it stands for economic, social and political stability in the countryside and very often..... in the country as a whole. The obverse is true when the system of land holding denies the cultivator the conditions under which he can secure for himself a reward for his labour commensurate with his role as a producer".

So, what happened in the different rural areas of West Bengal since the formation of the United Front Government, was the urge of the land-hungry peasants to fulfil their democratic and legitimate aspirations. Recently, the National Development Council, while reviewing the land reform measures in India, suggested that the land reform measures adopted should be implemented without any further delay as otherwise the rural economy could not be developed and agricultural production improved. The Draft Fourth Plan also mentioned, "Records of tenants do not exist in several States". Without up-to-date records of tenancy it is difficult to effectively enforce tenancy reforms. The economic conditions of the tenants, particularly of the smaller ones continued to be

very weak and the "existing provisions for security of tenure are of an interim nature. Comprehensive measures for converting tenants and share-croppers into owners have not yet been adopted". The provisions in land reform legislations allowing personal cultivation have opened up the possibility of large-scale ejectment either openly or under the guise of voluntary surrender. Even rents that had been fixed in some States, including West Bengal, were above the level recommended by the Planning Commission, i.e. 1/4th and 1/5th of the gross produce and in most of the cases rents were paid not in cash but by produce. The produce rent was not abolished though it was difficult to enforce, particularly when there are uncertainties arising out of annual fluctuations in rent. The tillers cannot be assured of the full benefit of investment if rents are not paid in cash.

The incidence of rent on land differed from State to State and most of the States did not introduce equitable land revenue. Some State Governments fixed land rent at a very low rate and from time to time exempted uneconomic holdings as well as drought and flood-affected lands from the payment of land revenue. Before the Fourth General Election the Congress Government in some States had declared their intention to abolish land revenue if returned to power. Similarly the opposition parties in their election manifestoes had promised land revenue abolition. After the General Election, nearly eight State Governments became non-Congress and most of them declared their intention to abolish land revenue.

The intentions of the different State Governments to abolish land revenue have raised a national debate on the feasibility and necessity of abolishing land revenue at a time when the State Governments were consistently facing serious financial difficulties in meeting the ever-increasing State administrative expenditures as well as expenditures on State Plan projects which were growing in dimension. The financial difficulties of the States also brought into the surface serious Federation-State bickerings and

bitter feelings. It is true that despite undesirable money supply in the economy, there is scarcity of funds available at the Centre, which cannot satisfy the diversified and increasing financial needs of the States. The Finance Commission's lofty recommendation for more grants and financial outflow to the States also increased the liability of the Centre. The State Government also were demanding more and more funds for upgrading the salary and allowances of their employees and for investment in the State Plan projects. The various Pay Commissions' and Wage Boards' recommendations entailed a fresh financial burden on the Centre which was insisting that the States should tailor down their economic aspirations in accordance with the funds available with them and from the Centre.

In this connection, the decision of some States to abolish land revenue once for all will expose these States to giant gaps between funds available and funds needed. When the States require more funds for activities, total withdrawal of land revenue though mostly for political exigency, yet from the social point of view will be meaningless. Lack of funds at the disposal of the States forced some of the States to scrap prohibition or liberalisation of the prohibition laws. It was suggested by many that except uneconomic holdings, waste lands and lands disturbed by natural calamities, there should be land revenue at a progressive rate. Any blanket withdrawal of land revenue will be equally irrational as the perpetuation of the existing system of a flat rate of land revenue which we are still following from the days of the British rule. Imposition of land revenue on a proportionate basis by the Britishers placed both the small and the big landholders on the same footing and thus the marginal utility of land to different grades of landholders remained equal. While this inequitable system of land revenue assessment should be replaced by a progressive rate with relief to the small holders, there should also be revenue incentives for efficiency and improved productivity.

The land revenue structure should be readjusted and reframed to suit the broad

objectives of economic planning in India. Though the total receipts from land revenue by the States were very small in comparison with the total revenue receipts of the States, yet it is estimated that land revenue abolition would mean a total revenue loss of Rs. 85 crores by the States during the Fourth Plan period, as these States would not be able to cover up the entire loss through alternative measures. Some of the States, particularly Mysore (Rs. 6.6 crores), Rajasthan (Rs. 4 crores), Madras (Rs. 6.6 crores), U.P. (Rs. 20 crores) and Madhya Pradesh (Rs. 7 crores), will face a sizable loss of revenue during the Fourth Plan period due to abolition or reduction of land revenue as has been proposed. The State Government budgets for the year 1966-67 reveal that earnings from land revenue by some of the States were sizable, for example U. P. Rs. 27.07 crores (i.e. one-fifth of the total tax revenue), Andhra Pradesh Rs. 15.01 crores (i.e. 15% of the total revenue receipts), Madras Rs. 6.33 crores (total tax revenue was Rs. 117.24 crores), Bihar Rs. 12.67 crores, Madhya Pradesh Rs. 9.67 crores, Rajasthan Rs. 8.73 crores, West Bengal Rs. 7.50 crores. The total earning by the States from land revenue in 1966-67 was Rs. 120.48 crores when the total tax revenue receipts of the States in 1965-67 was Rs. 1268.31 crores. The total land revenue receipts of all States in the first year of the First Plan was only Rs. 48 crores. Increase in land revenue receipts during 1950-51 to 1966-67 was very small in comparison with the increases in revenue receipts from other taxes, e.g. total revenue receipts from Sales Tax of the States increased from only Rs. 54 crores to Rs. 322 crores during 1950-51 to 1966-67.

The great bulk of the States' revenue earnings during the plan periods came from the non-agricultural sector which was taxed more and more to meet the increasing needs of the agricultural sector. This is natural and essential during the initial period of planning in India where the majority of people are poor and depend on land. But the tightening of the tax hold of the urban people and allowing the landholders to pay less than their capacity is not equitable and

also economically sound in the long run. During this period, the agricultural sector was enjoying various concessions in taxation despite the fact that zemindary abolition provided some amount of security of tenure and protection from arbitrary imposition of taxes by the zemindars. Consecutive budgets both of the Central and the State Governments during the three Plan periods increased their revenue yields from taxes on non-agricultural sector. During planning the rural sector digested a lot of investment both in agriculture proper and in the infra-structural projects, such as electricity, transport, communication, small industries, social overheads etc. The expenditure for development of agriculture, irrigation and other rural projects in the States increased from Rs. 601 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 950 crores and Rs. 1,738 crores in the Second and Third Plan respectively. The development of infra-structural facilities helped the agriculturists to raise productivity and to get higher returns from sales. The price rise of food articles also helped the agricultural producers. The States also lacked adequate machinery and experience to impose agricultural income-tax for mopping up increased earnings in the rural sector. Like the urban sector, the rural sector should also feel the burden of progressive increase in taxes so as to make them conscious of national reconstruction as well as to force them to produce more at least to pay taxes to the Government.

The Land Revenue Commission, Bengal (1940), while recommending the abolition of zemindary, stated that the low level of rent stood in the way of efficiency and encouraged sub-letting. The Rural Report of the Liberal Land Committee, England (1923-25) also held the view that rents should not be unnecessarily fixed at a low rate as no-rent mentality and uneconomic size of holdings would not help the development of lands.

Judged from the above consideration, it should be suggested that the land revenue structure should be reorganised so as to give relief to the small holders as well as for augmenting sure and sizable funds for the State plan administration, rather than total abolition of land revenue. The Fourth Plan Draft stated that "for

securing additional resources and for introducing all progression in their incidence on holdings of different sizes" the land revenue structure should be so revised as to bring about a greater degree of progression in land revenue rates. The Third Finance Commission also recommended revision of land revenue rates in all States with a view to raise the resources of the States.

During the Plan periods, the land revenue receipt of the States as percentage of the total tax revenue receipt, declined gradually from 20.3 per cent in the First Plan to 17.4 per cent in the Second Plan and 12.6 per cent in the Third Plan (though the total land revenue collection of the States increased from First Plan to the Second Plan by 39 per cent and to lesser dimension in the Third Plan). But the percentage increase in the sales tax receipts during this period was spectacular as it rose from 19.3 per cent in the First Plan to 22.4 per cent and 26.9 per cent in the Second and Third Plans respectively. The percentage of revenue receipts from agricultural income-tax to that of the total tax revenue of the States was also very small during the Plan period and it was only 1.5% in the First Plan, 1.6% in the Second Plan and 1.1% in the Third Plan. The Report on Incidence of Indirect Taxes, 1958-59 (Government of India) revealed that the incidence of indirect taxes on household consumption expenditure was 4.4% in the rural sector and 9.3% in the urban sector. The land revenue receipts of

the States should have been increased substantially during the Plan periods but it was not possible due to concessions in land revenue granted from time to time for droughts and floods as well as for political reasons.

Some of the States, while declaring their intention to abolish land revenue, stated that land revenue would be replaced by agricultural income-tax and other alternative methods of taxation. But under the present circumstances, alternative tax measures such as irrigation cess and rates betterment levy, agricultural income-tax etc. cannot be usefully deployed. At present there are several States with agricultural income-tax, for example Punjab, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, West Bengal etc. But in Assam, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and West Bengal the major portion of the agricultural income-tax came from tea plantations which, unlike other agricultural lines, are organised. The yield from agricultural income-tax in 1965-66 was Rs. 438 lakhs in Assam, Rs. 33 lakhs in Bihar, Rs. 210 lakhs in Kerala, Rs. 135 lakhs in Madras, Rs. 26 lakhs in Maharashtra, Rs. 116 lakhs in Mysore, Rs. 5 lakhs in Orissa, Rs. 4 lakhs in Rajasthan and Rs. 28 lakhs in U. P. The receipts from agricultural income-tax in West Bengal were also very small as can be seen in Table I below and the increase in receipts since 1965-66 was due to larger collection from the tea estates :

Table—1
Receipts from taxes on agricultural income
in West Bengal (in Rs. thousand).

1960-61 :	1961-62 :	1962-63 :	1963-64 :	1964-65 :	1965-66 :	1966-67 :	1967-68
:	:	:	:	:	:	(Rev. Budg.) :	(Budg. Est.)
86,87	92,26	89,69	79,49	82,85	1,09,58	15,07,00	14,40,00

The total revenue receipts from agricultural income-tax by all States was even less than Rs. 12 crores in 1965-66, whereas during the same year the land revenue receipts were Rs. 10.23 crores in Andhra Pradesh, Rs. 4.80 crores in Assam, Rs. 12.33 cr. in Bihar, Rs. 5.17 cr. in Gujarat, Rs. 3.59 cr. in Kerala, Rs. 7.13 cr. in M. P. Rs. 5.06 cr. in Madras Rs. 6.01 crores in Maharashtra, Rs. 16 crores in Mysore, Rs. 2.83 crores in Orissa, Rs. 3.13 crores in Punjab, Rs. 7.88 crores in Rajasthan, Rs. 23.45 cr. in U.P. and Rs. 7.07 crores in West Bengal. The revenue receipts from agricultural income-tax by the States much smaller than that from land revenue. It is not feasible, therefore, to expect that agricultural income-tax can replace land revenue in the States and as such total abolition of land revenue will mean substantial shrinkage of revenue earnings of the States, though it is essential that agricultural income-tax should be an important source of revenue earnings. The Taxation Enquiry Commission (1955) recommended that "there was no historical or theoretical justification for the continued exemption from income-tax of incomes derived from agriculture" and suggested that Rs. 3,000 should be the exemption limit for agricultural income-tax.

The idea of abolishing land revenue was first mooted by the Congress Government of Madras before the general election. The present non-Congress Government in that State is also committed to abolish land revenue. Though the Madras Government has meanwhile abolished the surcharge on land revenue and water rates for which it would suffer a loss of Rs. 6.6 crores during the Fourth Plan period, yet no final decision on the abolition of basic land revenue has been taken. The Government of U. P. has also announced 50% land revenue exemption on holdings up to 6.25 acres but this exemption will not be applicable to cultivators paying land revenue up to Rs. 2/-. U.P has also decided to abolish the surcharge on land revenue for which it would suffer a loss of Rs. 20 crores over the Fourth Plan period. Madhya Pradesh has also abolished land revenue on holdings of 7½ acres or less or where land revenue will not exceed Rs. 5 per annum. Andhra Pradesh has also exempted small land holders who had been paying a revenue of Rs. 10 and less per year, for the payment of land revenue. The number of such small land holders would be over 40 lakhs and they constitute nearly 60 per cent of peasantry in that State. Government of Bihar also will soon abolish land revenue on uneconomic holdings, constituting about 80% of the land in the State. The Government would soon place the Land Rent Abolition Bill before the State Legislature for the purpose along with Bihar Land Reforms Amendment Bill for agrarian reforms. In lieu of land revenue on uneconomic holdings, Government will impose a small cess on a per acre basis to guarantee the tenants' right to lands. Assam, Gujarat and Maharashtra have decided not to abolish land revenue while other States including West Bengal have declared their intention to abolish land revenue in phases.

In West Bengal, according to the Land and Land Revenue Minister of the state, total abolition of land revenue would not be possible immediately but it would be abolished over a period of three years. Meanwhile the State Government have decided to exempt small holdings of less than 5 acres from the payment of land revenue. In case of total abolition of land revenue in this State, the Government will have to provide 18,000 tehsildars, mohurees and peons with alternative employments. So, when we are already faced with acute unemployment in the State it would not be wise to throw so many people out of employment.

The main problem before the agriculturists in West Bengal was not the high incidence of land revenue rates but that of insecurity of tenure and other irregularities in the agrarian structure. The defective administrative machinery dealing with land problems in the countryside as well as defective land records produced many loopholes and faulty implementation of the Estates Acquisition Act and Land Reforms Act which require immediate amendments for the benefit of the peasants. Though it is irrational to argue that all peasants should be owners of land yet surplus

lands, which should have been vested in the States after the Estates Acquisition Act, should be taken possession of immediately and properly distributed to the efficient farmers.

After the fixation of ceiling limits on land holdings in West Bengal, different categories of land including 7 lakhs acres of agricultural lands were vested with the State and till 31.1.67, 4,02,735 acres of agricultural land, 292,75 acres of non-agricultural land, 855,792 acres of forest land and 161,921 acres of other types of land were taken possession of by the different District Collectorate. As various civil cases were pending with regard to 121,000 acres of agricultural land the State Government was not able to take possession of them.

Under the zamindari abolition legislations in different States the permissible size of land holdings varied from 15 to 336 acres and in the case of West Bengal it was only 25 acres. After the fixation of land ceilings in different states nearly 2 million acres of surplus agricultural land were vested with the respective State Governments throughout India. In West Bengal such surplus land was 794,401 acres. In most of the cases though the surplus lands were vested in paper with the Government yet in practice they remained very much with the landlords on some pretext or other. In many cases landlords retained vast areas of agricultural land simply by falsely declaring those lands as tank-lands meant for fisheries or for religious trusts. The immediate task of the State Government should be to take possession of these lands through legal measures and to distribute them to the peasants. The Government should also immediately frame out rules for long-term settlement of khas agricultural land. Land-ownership will provide sufficient incentive to the agriculturists to develop land as well as to improve productivity. The improvement of productivity of land will also depend on many other factors. In comparison with other States the productivity of land in West Bengal is high though the total amount of production may be less than that of other States. The Second Evaluation Report on the

progress of Intensive Agricultural District Programme (I.A.D.P.) stated that the trend of land reforms has not been such as to inspire confidence in the minds of the farmers. The progress report recommended immediate attention to agricultural work on a priority basis for removal of the present uncertainty about land policy as well as for provision of adequate and timely credits, fertiliser, good seeds, irrigation facilities and up-to-date know-how suited to Indian conditions. The recent conference of the Members of the Board of Revenue and the Divisional Commissioners, West Bengal, also suggested that small holdings which accounted for more than 75% of the farm land in West Bengal, should be provided with credits both in cash and in kind.

The irrigation facilities for agriculturists of the State are also not adequate and more than 75% of the cultivable land in the State has no irrigation facilities. Out of 134 lakh acres of agricultural land in West Bengal only 35 lakh acres have irrigation facilities. In the 1967-68 budget of the State Rs. 12 crores have been allotted for irrigation programmes. But the State requires an additional amount of at least Rs. 5.5 crores for implementing the small and minor irrigation schemes already finalised. Out of the total First Plan outlay on irrigation in India, West Bengal got only 16.6%. In the subsequent Plans the share of West Bengal was even less, for example 5.3% in the Second Plan, 3% in the Fourth Plan.

In West Bengal at present there is one tubewell for every 400 people or roughly 1 for every village. According to the official estimate, out of 99,675 existing tubewells in West Bengal, 11,568 were not in working condition. The State requires at least 19,181 more tubewells. The West Bengal Cabinet's Rural and Urban Water Supply Sub-committee decided to drill more tubewells only in saline water pockets. In the 1967-68 budget Rs. 27 lakhs has been provided for tubewell requirements in West Bengal. The Panchayet raj in the State provided more than 96,000 tubewells and other sources of water supply in the rural areas of the

State. These require huge investment programmes and the State Government should come forward for supplying these essential pre-requisite for the agricultural development programmes which necessitate substantial financial commitments of the State Government. It is, therefore, suggested that instead of blanket withdrawal of land revenue the State Government should raise sufficient funds from the agriculture itself though, of course, uneconomic holdings as well as small holdings should get either exemption or concession in respect of payment of land revenue.

Similarly, all past arrears in land revenue should be realised as early as possible. The Audit Report (West Bengal) for 1967 revealed that there was a huge arrear in the collection of land revenue and from forests, which amounted to Rs. 4.27 crores. During 1963-64 and 1965-66, about 63.9% of the total land revenue collected had been spent on collection charges, while collection also declined by Rs. 8.74 lakhs. The cost of collection of land revenue increased substantially in recent years. And the Government suffered a sizable financial loss due to delay in settling land disputes. Rise in the cost of collection of land revenue in recent years should not be a good ground for the total abolition of land revenue,

rather the land revenue administration should explore all means of streamlining the administrative set-up and the tax collecting machinery, with a view to maximising tax collection and minimising the costs of collection. During 1966-67, despite substantial concession given to some drought affected lands, land revenue collections increased and it is estimated that in the next year it would increase by Rs. 2.5 crores. So, it will not be wise to dry up such a source of sizable revenue. On the other hand, the revenue raised from such a source should be effectively utilised for the development of rural sector, particularly agricultural lands. Side by side with the increased allocation for such developmental programmes, care should be taken to see that funds are properly utilised according to schedules. The Audit Report (West Bengal) for 1967 also stated that there was considerable misuse of funds earmarked for stopping erosion of agricultural and cultivable waste lands, for which Rs. 24.29 lakhs were spent up to 1965-66. But most of the expenditures on such projects became infructuous as soil conservation work on waste lands was thoroughly defective. Government expenditure on land revenue account in West Bengal also increased significantly since 1961-62, as stated in Table II :

Table—II

**Expenditure on land revenue account in
West Bengal.**

(In Rs. thousand)						
1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
					(Rev. Budg.)	(Budg. Est.)
3,86,82	4,26,59	4,26,59	4,50,69	4,68,90	4,62,14	5,11,83

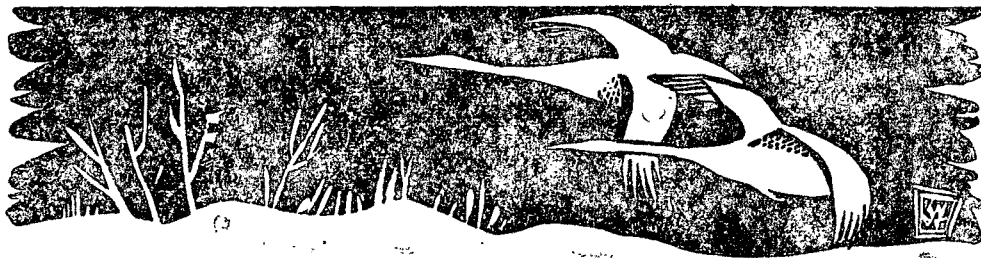
The administrative expenditure of the Land Revenue Department alone increased from Rs. 40.10 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 80.62 lakhs in 1967-68 (Budget Estimates). It is essential to immediately introduce economy in these expenditures.

During the First Five Year Plan, the total expenditure on Agricultural and Rural Development programme in West Bengal was Rs. 844.32 lakhs and it increased to Rs. 1140.04 lakhs and Rs. 37,59.93 lakhs during the Second and Third Plans respectively. The total expenditure on these

heads during the Fourth Five Year Plan has not yet been finalised, but it is expected that the expenditures on such heads will be still higher. In comparison with the developmental expenditures on agricultural and rural development programmes during the Plan periods in West Bengal, the expenditure on the development projects of industries, including the Small-scale and Cottage industries was significantly less, as it was only Rs. 1,25.48 lakhs in the First Plan, Rs. 7,03.90 lakhs in the Second Plan and Rs. 7,74.74 lakhs in the Third Plan. Despite such huge expenditures during the Plan periods in the Agricultural Sector, the returns from it was much less in comparison with those from Industries sector. In fact, the net revenue receipts from Industries Development Schemes of the Government of West Bengal increased from only Rs. 37.53 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 116.05 lakhs in 1965-66, Rs. 130.75 lakhs in 1966-67, and it is estimated that it will be Rs. 150.46 lakhs in 1967-68.

It may, therefore, be suggested that the argument of total abolition of land revenue is

more politically motivated than prompted by purely economic reasons. During the Plan periods due to huge investment programmes in the rural sector as well as rise in prices of agricultural commodities, the purchasing power of the rural people has increased substantially. Moreover, the increased administrative expenditures in the rural sector, particularly for the management of Government Estates, ex-Zamindari Estates, survey and settlement operations, Land Revenue administrations, etc. should be mostly maintained and financed by the earnings from the rural sector itself. While uneconomic and small holdings as well as drought and flood affected holdings should get some concessions or exemptions from land revenue assessments, the question of totally abolishing land revenue is thoroughly unjustified. Side by side with the equitable and progressive assessment of land revenue, Government should also utilise agricultural income tax for raising sufficient resources for the broad-based development of rural sector.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Governors and The Constitution

According to the Indian Constitution Governors of States hold office "at the pleasure of the President of India"; which means, in plain words, at the pleasure of the Union Government. The Governors are endowed with certain *discretionary* powers under the Constitution in respect of appointment of a Chief Minister or in respect of a possible recommendation to the President of India that a certain situation calls for the dissolution of the State Legislature and imposition of President's rule. Nowhere in any article of the Constitution is it laid down that a Governor may dismiss a State Government in his own discretion without a mandate from the State Legislature. It has, no doubt been argued by certain persons claimed to be eminent jurist and experts on Constitutional Law that since a State Governor has the authority to appoint a Chief Minister, the authority to dismiss the Chief Minister *under certain circumstances* should also be equally within his competence by implication. If such a view of the Governor's discretionary powers could be held to be valid in law, then it would, obviously, be also held to cut away, at the very root, the concept of parliamentary governance. The image of the office of a Governor as a titular constitutional head with a very limited area of discretion and no *prerogative whatever* would then be wholly destroyed and the legislature, because the Government is responsible to and removable by it, would be reduced to a position of subservience to the Governor.

It is only within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to correctly interpret the relevant articles of the Constitution of India in

this respect. Any opinion to the contrary is, at best, only an opinion and can have no final legal validity. It is necessary that the position should be made immediately and unambiguously clear by a reference to the Supreme Court. If, then, in the *judgment* of the Supreme Court of India it is held that a State Governor, in accordance with the actual wording of the Constitution, has been endowed with power to dismiss a Chief Minister of a State without reference to the Legislature and in his own unilateral discretion, then this discretion will cease to remain a mere *discretion* but will become a *prerogative*. Such a judgment will be bound to lead to either of two possible conclusions: that the relevant article of the Constitution is *ultra vires* the Directive Principles of the Constitution and should, therefore, be held to be inoperative; or that the Founding Fathers of the Indian democracy deliberately fashioned the Constitution in such a manner that it should be within the competence of an irresponsible titular head of a State to ignore or, at least, by-pass the institutional forum of parliamentary governance.

If the latter conclusion is held to be valid, the Governors would then be found to be clothed with far wider authority than a mere limited area of discretion. Such authority would be tantamount to a prerogative and should, therefore, legitimately rob them of their present immunity from being arraigned before a competent court of law. The Governors cannot claim to have it both ways; to wield authority which tantamounts to a prerogative and, at the same time claim immunity from the processes of the law. Clearly, one cannot eat the cake and keep it too.

Now, since both these who hold that the Governor has no authority to dismiss a State

Government and those who hold that he has such an authority, swear by the sanctity of the democratic process, it is necessary to get down to cases for the sake of clarity of understanding, however repugnant it might be to the present writer to do so. Within the last few days three separate States have been dealt with by their respective Governors which have come in for a great deal of criticism, in the States of Hariyana, Punjab and West Bengal.

In Haryana it was almost a pantomime which was holding up the entire constitutional process to ridicule. There were being constant crossing and recrossing of the alliances of the members of the Legislature towards and away from the Government. All sorts of enticements and inducements were being proffered by the Chief Minister to his defecting adherents to entice them back to the fold. The whole process had become a mockery and a shambles when the Governor felt that it was one of the essential elements in the discretionary powers vested in his office that he should inform the President that the constitutional machinery had utterly broken down in the State and the only alternative left to the Governor was to recommend the dissolution of the Legislature and imposition of Presidential rule. The Haryana Governor has no doubt been accused of having acted beyond his constitutional discretion and that he should have waited for the convening of the Legislature where the Government's strength could have been finally and decisively tested. Had it not been for the fact that the Haryana Chief Minister had been endeavouring to bolster up his *so-called* Government by a process of what might almost be called offer of *immoral* (if not quite illegal in technical terms) gratification to defectors with a view to enticing them back to the fold, the Governor might have chosen to wait for the summoning of the Legislature. But public life in the State had already begun to exude such a putrid stink that immediate and determined action would be the only saving grace. The Governor can, in this case, be said to have acted with due circumspection and well within the very narrow limits of *legitimate* discretion granted to him under the Constitution :

he merely made a recommendation to the President that in his view the Constitutional machinery had broken down in the State and it was for the President to act on the recommendation in accordance with the advice that may be given to him by his Council of ministers in this behalf.

In the Punjab the initiative was taken by the Chief Minister who tendered the resignation of his Government as it appeared to him that his party had majority backing in the Legislature. This was a very correct and commendable step taken by the Chief Minister in his own discretion. But while tendering his resignation he recommended that the Governor should advise the President to promulgate Presidential rule in the State as it appeared that the prospects of an alternative stable Government were very remote. Immediately upon his resignation being accepted a small splinter group which had defected from the Treasury party claimed that it could form and uphold an alternative and stable parliamentary Government in the State. The outgoing Chief Minister then advised the Governor that he might now be in a position to reconstitute a stable Government and asked the Governor to give him an additional day to enable him to give a final decision on the matter. In the meanwhile the minority Congress bloc in the Legislature informed the Governor that it would lend its support to any Government that might be headed by the leader of the defecting splinter group and without waiting for the final decision of the former Chief Minister or even giving him any opportunity to be heard, he called upon the leader of the small splinter group to form a Government and swore them in.

The position here has been a little confusing. Since the ruling Government had voluntarily resigned the Governor was, no doubt, free to make his own assessment about the prospects of an alternative and stable Government and to call upon the leader of an alternative group or party to form a Government. But the fact remains that the outgoing Chief Minister had also informed the Governor at the same time that he might be able to reconstitute a Government enjoying a majority supporting the Legislature. The Governor

seemed to have been in indecent haste to forestall the outgoing Chief Minister and somehow have an alternative Government in stead. Technically the Governor may have been within his right to do so ; it will be for legal pundits to judge if it were so . But on the face of it, the Governor has been taking an obvious and too unhealthy an interest in the State politics which is completely beyond his discretionary jurisdiction and which, moreover, is politically unethical and even downright immoral.

What is additionally significant in the matter is that the leader of the splinter group who had been called upon by Governor to form a Government was in a hopeless minority in the Legislature. The Congress Legislature Party may have officially informed him that it would support the new Government, but that is something of which the Governor could not *ethically* take any notice of unless, of course, the splinter party had entered into a coalition with the Congress which would perhaps, give it a stable majority. There was, however, no question whatever of a possible Congress-Gill coalition in the Legislature ; that was made amply clear by the Congress legislature party. The intentions of the Congress would seem to be too obvious to need any clever analysis ; it would wield power through its stooges, that is, the Gill splinter in the Legislature (for the latter would, will-nilly, be bound to carry out the wishes of the Congress bosses if it wished to stay in office), while it would bear no responsibilities of governor's action must be condemned as partisan, immoral and wholly unethical and obviously beyond the limit of the spirit of the discretion allowed to him by the Constitution.

What has happened in West Bengal, however, would seem to put the events in Haryana and the Punjab right into the shade. But before we get down to an analysis of current events in West Bengal it might be illuminating to review the background of the present crisis so far as it relates to the West Bengal Governor. It will be recalled that very soon after his installation in Calcutta's Raj Bhawan, the Governor, a former member of the I.C.S., that notorious breed of *subjunta* *Lawrences*, did certain things which were not

merely wholly beyond his authority and functions but were positively unethical and objectionable. He was reported to have summoned certain bureaucrats and others to closed-door conferences with him ; he was further reported to have been communicating with certain organs of the Central Government without any knowledge or acquiescence of the Government of the State. There has been public criticism of his conduct but the then Chief Minister, Shree Ajay Mukherjee, with his criminally weak-kneed penchant for unholy compromises, glossed over this highly questionable action on the part of the Governor.

Then came the crisis of early October when the Government was almost toppled by its own Chief Minister and the Governor was quite clearly seen to have had assumed a fairly active role in the proceedings in trying to secure defection of the Chief Minister from his own Treasury party. Shri Mukherjee, good soul that he is, is not too well known for his sagacity, political or otherwise, and it was almost at the 59th minute of the 11th that he appeared to have at last awakened to the manner of the political suicide he was about to commit. History records many novel methods of self-immolation ; but the one which was about to being followed by Ajay Mukherjee in October last would seem to be quite unique if for no other reason but that it was never expected to serve any public or personal purpose except to rehabilitate those very enemies of his who had, only a little while ago, kicked him out in to the wilderness ; such innocence has no parallel that we know of in history. However, he retrieved his position at the very last moment, but a great deal of harm had already been done.

The United Front, after this, appeared to be more united than ever before with the solitary exception of Dr. P. C. Ghosh who broke away from the Cabinet soon after. Eventually, with the help of Humayun Kabir he managed to get some M.L.As belonging to the Treasury party to break away and with offer of support from the Congress Legislature Party, Dr. Ghosh claimed that he was in a position to form an alternative and stable Government. The Governor called upon the ruling Chief Minister to formally advise him to

summon the legislature for a trial of strength. It has been questioned as to whether the Governor had any authority to call upon the Chief Minister to advise him in this manner. Be that as it may, the Chief Minister advised him that he should summon the Assembly on December the 18th. The Governor wanted an earlier session and he kept on pressing for this and when the Government would not oblige him, he ended by dismissing the Government and swearing in Dr. Praphulla Ghosh and two of his followers to constitute an alternative Government. Dr. Ghosh was reported to have advised the Governor to summon the Assembly on the 29th November, which he did. When the Assembly met, the Speaker made a statement that in his view the Legislature had not been summoned to session in accordance with the Constitutional provision in this behalf and he, therefore, adjourned the Assembly *sine die*. The Governor followed, later in the night, by proroguing both houses of the Legislature.

Now, analysing the Governor's action in dismissing the Government and the action taken by him to follow the event, one is faced with a peculiar situation. The Governor may have been within his rights to dismiss the Government; there is, however, a serious question about the validity of the Governor's constitutionally sanctioned discretion in this matter. But even conceding that he was legally valid in taking such an action even if he might not have been strictly ethical, was his action in swearing into the Government a splinter group of allegedly only 17 members in a house of 285? The Congress Legislature Party has, no doubt, promised support to this minority Government to give it a majority status; but how far is such a promise valid and ethically sustainable unless it agrees to actively participate in such a Government through a coalition? The Congress, it may be recalled, had held out vague and wholly non-committal assurances of a coalition earlier with Ajay Mukherjee last October and, later, with Praphulla Ghosh and his small splinter group. Such assurances had never come to the level of a

definite and officially sanctioned undertaking and the Governor knew about it as much as the man in the street; perhaps his information was even more definite that such a coalition was never on the cards. It is easy to see that the Congress with all its experience of political intrigue, could never have been expected to be so foolish as to accept the leadership of an outsider and participate in a Government under such an outside leadership. It has already lost a great deal of its popular appeal and glamour, but by participating in State Governments under these conditions it would be clearly committing political suicide. The Congress leadership may lack many requisite moral and ethical qualities, but even its severest detractors could not accuse it of lacking political sagacity. In the circumstances, was it even remotely correct for the Governor to have installed Dr. Praphulla Ghosh at the head of a new and alternative Government? The support of the Congress to such a Government would inevitably mean re-establishment of Congress rule in the State through the back door with this additional advantage to the Congress that it would wield all the powers of governance without having to answer to the Legislature for its actions. Even a highly prejudiced Governor must have seen all this clearly. The obvious conclusion then, one is inevitably led to, is that the West Bengal Governor has been *playing politics*. Whether he has been doing so entirely off his own bat without inspiration or direction from any other source, or whether he has been merely translating the wishes of his Congress bosses in New Delhi into effect, he has been guilty of abusing his powers to serve certain illegitimate ends and would, for that reason, if for nothing else, deserve to be summarily ejected from his sinecure.

Only a reference to the Supreme Court's Constitutional Bench can now untangle the mass and lead to a clear enunciation of the legal, constitutional and ethical aspects of the situation. One would like to especially underline the word ethical in this context; for ethics must constitute the very foundation of a legitimate parliamentary democracy.

Congress and the Constitution

The deadlock induced in the constitutional machinery in West Bengal following the Speaker's extraordinary ruling adjourning the State Assembly *sine die* and the consequential prorogation of both Houses of the Legislature by the Governor following the Speaker's ruling is now, it is understood from news reports appearing in the daily press, sought to being resolved by a resort to the Extraordinary powers vested in the President. But if these reports are true, the manner in which this is sought to be done will appear to be both sinister and mischievous.

The extraordinary powers vested in the President under Art. 356 of the Constitution enjoins that in the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery in any constituent State of the Indian Federation, the President may, on being so advised by the State Governor, order a dissolution of the State Legislature and take over the administration of the State. The duration of such emergency President's administration shall be for a period of six months which may, if the President is so advised, be extended by further such periods of six months each until conditions are found to be favourable enough to hold fresh elections and reinstatement of constitutional governance. This is exactly what should be done in West Bengal as well as in Hariyana and the Punjab. Unfortunately, the Congress Government at the Centre and its advisers in the Party leadership do not seem inclined to follow such a straight-forward course. They are trying, it appears, to any how bolster up the minority Government of Praphualla

Ghosh and Niranjana Singh Gill in West Bengal and the Punjab with support from the Congress benches and with a view to maintaining these illegitimate minority Governments in power, they are seeking to read certain extraordinary meanings and implications in the wordings of Art. 356 and its several sub-clauses. It is said that the Union Government's Home and Law Ministry

have been advised by some Congress Legal luminaries that it is possible in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution to dissolve the State Legislature without, however, imposition of President's rule as such, so that the Ghosh Ministry may thus be maintained in office.

Such a view of the constitutional provisions would seem to be wholly illogical and untenable. Commonsense would dictate that it may, on occasion, be impossible to maintain constitutional Government in a State and Art. 356 was obviously devised to deal with such a breakdown of the Constitutional machinery. It would, however, stretching the Constitution beyond its legitimate emergency limits to invest a State Government with such extraordinary powers that it is able to by-pass the Legislature through an executive fiat as it is reported is being contemplated now. This would both make a mockery of the Constitution and cut away at the very root the concept of responsible governance.

The plain and simple fact would appear to be that the Constitution is being sought to be bent and stretched to suit convenience of the Congress Party which is in power at the Centre. In spite of what the Prime Minister has repeatedly been avowing as regards her relations with and attitudes to the various non-Congress State Governments that have been installed after the last general elections, the designs of several senior members of her Cabinet together with powerful State satraps of the Party to anyhow—by fair means or foul—to topple these non-Congress State Governments one after the other has been very clear. Floor crossings by members of

legislature initially owing allegiance to the non-Congress treasury have very obviously been not merely encouraged but even actively induced by Congress intriguers and the vested interests have, very naturally, provided the physical resources to enable this to be done. However it may have been that the majority of these Governments in the Houses of the Legislature may have been eroded, the straightforward course should have been for the Congress, which has been the largest single party in most such legislatures to come forward to take the initiative in assuming the responsibilities of Government with the support of the renegades from the former treasury coalition. But the Congress has refused to do so; all that it has agreed to do is to lend *unconditional* (?) support to these small splinter groups which have been invested with the responsibilities of governance by Gubernatorial fiat in West Bengal and the Punjab. In West Bengal the question of either a majority or otherwise in the State Assembly has been wholly passed by a deadlock created by the speakers ruling. If there is no means at law to invalidate the Speaker's ruling, the obvious course is for the President to dissolve the legislature and assume the administration as provided for in the Constitution. This the ruling coterie at the Centre and their Congress advisers in the States seem extremely reluctant to face. For the obvious reason that they are not ready to face another election.

In West Bengal the Congress, at present, constitutes roughly 45 per cent of the total strength in the Assembly. The United Front, so long as it was in power, ruled by only a

bare majority in the House. Nevertheless its popular appeal, in spite of its many lapses and defaults, has been without question. Even when the Congress was in a overwhelming majority in the Legislature so that it enjoyed almost monolithic power, it has been one of the most hated regimes in the country. An index of the unpopularity of the previous Government would be found in the week-long violence that was unleashed early in 1966 when the price of rice in the State touched Rs. 2.50 per kg. The United Front Government was quite as—even more—ineffective in its dealings with the food situation and between July and October last—4 long and trying months—the average retail price of rice has been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 4 per kg. Nevertheless there has never been any upsurge of popular repudiation of the Government. This is indicative of what may be in store for the Congress if it had to face another election in the State within the next six months and the Party, understandably, therefore, is extremely reluctant to face another such ordeal at which, conceivably, its strength in the Legislature may be further substantially attenuated.

The fact of the matter would seem to be that at the last general elections the popular vote was not so much an expression of its support to the various non-Congress left party candidates as really a rejection of the Congress. Unsophisticated and traditional as our average voter is, he had no conception of a possible alternative Government and voted so that the Congress might not return to power again. It had not really voted to indicate its positive expression of support to

any other Government constituted by any other non-Congress party. If that were really so the amorphous 14-party coalition—which has been the essential weakness of the U. F. Government might not have been necessary. But during the last nine months of non-Congress governance of the State the average voter has acquired a glimmering of political sagacity and at the next election, chances are, the verdict of the polls may not turn out to be quite amorphous as it has been at the last general elections. There may conceivably be more definitive expressions of the voters' choice and, to that extent both the non-Congress parties would gain in strength and the Congress would correspondingly lose further strength.

Congress's best chance in West Bengal was for the U. F. Government to continue and by its very amorphousness remain wholly ineffective in vital matters of public interest, such as food etc. The only West Bengal Congress leader who appears to be endowed with some measure of political sagacity and foresight, Shri Atulya Ghosh, was known to have advised against the measures taken to topple the U. F. Government. Now that it has actually been done in spite of his advice to the contrary, he is naturally bound to accept the *fait accompli* as a good and loyal party man. But he knows, as any one with an ounce of political sense should know, that by doing what they have done, the West Bengal Congress and its stooges Humayun Kabir and Prapulla Ghosh principally have only helped to make martyrs of the United Front. Any fresh election, unless the intervening period can be filled in by a really purposeful and effective welfare Government

of which there does not seem to be any the remotest prospect; Praphulla Ghosh's Government has started as unashamedly a *police government* and is likely to remain so indefinitely the United Front Constituents and, especially those whose floor-level organizations are the strongest, would be likely to make further substantial gains off the Congress. Knowing all this as the Congress leadership must do, it is obviously afraid to the straightforward constitutional line for, inevitably, the line ends in fresh elections which it is unable or unwilling to face.

I do not know if there is any scope for preventing what, it appears, the Union Government are being advised to do by Judicial intervention. If that is possible, immediate steps should be taken to invoke Judicial interpretation of the relevant Article of the Constitution. If the highest Judicial tribunal of the country upholds the Government's view, steps must be taken to suitably amend the Constitution to prevent recurrence of such measures in the future which are obviously anti-democratic and contradicts the very concepts of responsible governance. In any case, it must be conceded that democracy is not merely *rule by consent* it is also, and basically, a *rule of law*. The law as it is, must be obeyed to enable the democratic process to survive. It is conceivable, however, that the law may have been badly drafted, carelessly worded and, it is possible, was even *intentionally* worded in such vague terms as to leave loopholes for the executive to assume more powers than would be legitimate in conformity with the strictest democratic principles. That it has been so to a certain extent has been amply proved by as many as 20 amendments of the Constitution

carried out at instance of the Executive and for its administrative convenience, many of these substantially abridging the citizens' fundamental rights and at least one amendmant attenuating the territorial limits of the country. These lacunae in the present Constitution should be suitably repaired to prevent the executive to attenuate in any way the rights of the people from which it is supposed to derive its power. Let the next elections be fought on this very fundamental and legitimate issue.

So Far West Bengal is concerned, Mr. Ajay Mukherjee should have some sense of the potentialities of his Bangla Congress. Sooner or later he will have to fight another election and the preparation for the eventuality should begin here and now. His workers and volunteers should be sent out to every nook and corner of the State; they should be adequately briefed to be able to explain the fundamental issues to even the most unlettered among our voters; and a wide member-recruiting campaign should be carried out. Mr. Ajay Mukherjee must, however, forget the methodology of his old love the Congress and direct his workers to follow more legitimate processes to recruit members for his party. Primary Congress members, for the most part, do not even know that they are members, nor ever pay a single paise out of their own purse to maintain their membership on the register. It has even been alleged that they are never even called upon to vote at the primary elections, some one else, for the most part, exercising

their franchise on their behalf and mostly without their knowledge and consent. Bangla Congress, if it wants to forge ahead and become a real force in the State, must have members who actively and consciously participate in its transactions. It should not be difficult for Mr. Mukherjee's workers to recruit a 100,000 active such members every month over the next six months or so. If he can do so. Mr. Mukherjee will soon find that his is both the strongest and the most popular party in the State. At the next elections, whenever it may be finally decided to be held—unless the constituent parties of the United Front decide to agree to a common basic ideology and programme acceptable to all the constituents which all of them are committed to foster and uphold without deviation—his own party members should be the source of his party's election funds. If necessary—that is if his ultra-left colleagues of the U.F are not ready to accept a common and constitutionally circumscribed platform—he should be prepared to put up candidates to fight all the seats in the State Assembly. If he has the courage and the foresight to do so, he should find himself a political force which no Congress critic nor any PDF blackleg would be able to withstand or suborn. The West Bengal people are essentially democratically minded and they would rally round whomsoever may promise to lead them to basically democratic goals through unswervingly constitutional means. But will he have the courage and the foresight to act!

OPENING AN ART EXHIBITION

DEVIPRASAD ROYCHOWDHURY

I am thankful to Lady Mukherjee and the members of the Academy of Fine Arts for giving me an opportunity to participate in this evening's function. My association with the Academy is not quite new. So I can vouchsafe that Lady Mukherjee is entitled to a great share of the credit, if not all, for building up the Academy as an institution where artists and art lovers can get together. I need hardly add that all the distinguished visitors had not one opinion or interest. Naturally the reception among themselves could not always be cordial. The difference of opinions unfortunately on occasions came into clash. The issue had to be settled for the interest of the Academy. The difficult task fell on the lot of Lady Mukherjee. Endowed with extraordinary capability, as she is, she had succeeded to put things in order. One must admit it is administrative achievement.

Coming to the objective of my presence here I must confess I was hesitant to inaugurate the exhibition for the simple reason that being a practising artist I should have been one of the exhibitors instead of allowing myself to court an embarrassing situation where I have to talk on a subject, I claim to know more than what is necessary. The usual practice on such occasions is to be humble to start with the speech and confirm the modesty by pronouncing ignorance of the subject. The speech begins with a solemn vow to be brief but the driving force of the growing inspiration gets out of control to adjust irrelevant points. The inevitable follows. The speech is prolonged until the patience of the listeners is taxed, perhaps to the satisfaction of the speaker. The

climax reaches when cultivated indifference to the contents of the speech is applauded by violent claps. The demonstration of the appreciation is actually a reflected glory of the importance of the speaker's status, social, political or otherwise. However, I feel happy to find that there has been a deviation from the rule in the present case by choosing one who does not profess to be important in any other field than his own.

Let me revert to the idea of participating as an exhibitor. Here an explanation is due, otherwise, my behaviour might be taken as an egoistic assertion. I gave due consideration to the possibility and came to the conclusion that it would be presumptuous for one who had been declared an old foggy and kept at a safe distance from progressive thinkers, just as is done in the case of person carrying highly contagious disease. This isolation forced upon me has been a boon in disguise because temperamentally susceptible as I am to the inconvenient effects of the new impacts I could not surrender to the imported faith to satisfy the demand of modern trends.

It is strange that on many an occasion it has been found that the experiments in modern art are accomplished by exploiting the achievements of pre-historic age. The influence of primitive cult is liberally utilised to vitalise a section modern art by highly complicated manipulation. This unfortunately is done by disturbing, if not destroying, the

[Inaugural speech at the Annual Exhibition under the auspicious of Academy of Fine Arts in their premises (Cathedral Road, Calcutta)]

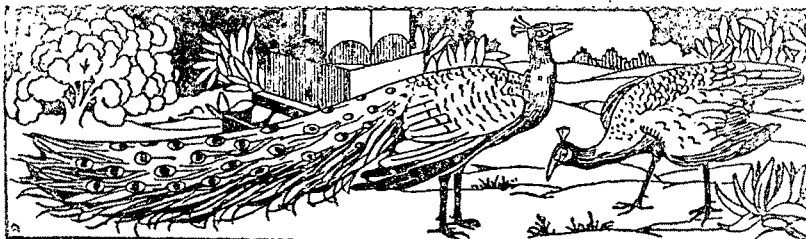
simplicity of approach to the subject and its mode of presentation which bore the stamp of conviction. The conviction was not an outcome of a following of fleeting fashions but a gift of heritage, a gradual development of experience which took years, if not life time to develop.

Then again there is the abstract theme. The intriguing problems of processing the pattern can hardly be solved by artists, whose vision, imagination or source of inspiration is limited to sphere confined to their environment. As such, it is difficult for them to imagine or see things which are not visible on the surface. The intellectual stagnation is attributed to the cause of inertia which stood as a barrier to progress. But the observation has little ground to justify the unkind reflection because artists belonging to traditional schools of thoughts could not but be true to their faith. It was their religion, it was the very source of intellectual existence, it was everything in their life. As such they could not betray themselves and follow the path that led to quick fame or plunge into perilous adventures that looked forward to originality at impossible costs. Whereas, originality as such is not achieved merely by wishing for it. To me imitation in one form or another is the ultimate end of

art. Therefore, I take that there is no difference in fundamentals between the old and new schools of thought. They separate themselves in question of approach to their subjects and assessment of relative esthetic values. On the other side the followers of the old school look forward to reach a standard bequeathed by masters of the past and in the case of the new, they try to invent forms to create a standard. One looks forward to collect materials for progress and leave the records of their efforts for the judgement in future. The new school, on the contrary, live for the future ignoring the present, or the past, though fully conscious of the fact that the present itself one day will recede to the past when future will take the place of the present.

I hope I have related in brief the present condition of art movements in our country. I need not go into the details of exhibits which are displayed here. I am sure you will find different methods among the exhibits which will prove that all schools of thoughts have access here. It is for you to see the merits and judge the relative values in order to get joy out of the forms of beauty.

With these words I take leave of you to declare the exhibition open. Thanks for giving me a patient hearing.



He is our own

".....We feel that he is not a criminal, he is innocent, he is our own. These of us who temporise do so through fear only. He is our own. In his deportation, our honour and safety are lost. Did the Government want to impress on us that our interests are not their interests? Was Lord Curzon a statesman or only an embittered and indiscreet man when he assured a certain prince at the end of his stay that he would one day have to choose between two causes—those of his own people and his people's rulers? The inference is that two are opposed! To Indian ears this does not sound a politic note for the governing minority to insist on. The matter is one for themselves to decide. Even now they are at the parting of the ways.

"Meanwhile, as Indians, our duty is clear. Every place of worship, every temple and every household must be the centre of prayers for the restoration of Lajpat Rai to liberty and his solacement in exile. Every child must pray for his well-being and that of the cause and the country, and the sacred words, "*a prisoner for conscience sake*", must shine about his name like a radiant aura."

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Our Closest Friends

[The following accounts of some of the Allahabad friends of the founder of the Modern Review, the late Ramananda Chatterjee, have been written for this supplement by Sm. Sita Devi, his youngest daughter.—Editor]

Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya : We passed our childhood in Allahabad. My father had countless friends and associates in that province. I remember many of them but time has erased many a detail and rendered my impressions somewhat foggy and indistinct. One of the important friends of my father was Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya. He had a serene and handsome personality. He dressed in spotless white clothes and wore a white turban. The forehead bore marks of sandalwood paste of ritualistic significance quite frequently. Though he was a profoundly orthodox follower of Brahmanism, he always came to our house. My father did not observe nor believe in ritualistic Hinduism ; but that was no obstruction to their friendship. I do not know whether Pandit Malviya had anything to do with my father's going to Allahabad, but some connection might have been there. Father was the Principal of the Kayasth Pathshala and he had frequent differences of opinion with the directors of the College. He would then want to resign, and Pandit Malviya always came in as a mediator. He wanted father to stay on in Allahabad. Though he was very orthodox his heart was that of a social reformer. In the U. P. in those days the people behaved in a highly objectionable manner at the time of the *Holi* or the colour festival. Pandit Malviya started a movement for "Clean Holi" and my father supported him fully in this matter.

Pandit Malviya was strong and inflexible in his political opinion. During the days of the partition of Bengal agitation, he sided with the Bengalis and joined their processions and meetings. He was a great believer in the ancient Indian medical science of Ayurveda. When he was quite advanced in years he went through the rigours of the Kayakalpa treatment for recovering full health. Unfortunately the results were not commensurate with the pains he had to suffer. The Banaras Hindu University is the greatest achievement of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya.

C. Y. Chintamani : The house we lived in at Allahabad had a very large compound. It was situated in South Road, and had a large guava garden within it. There were three houses in that area within the same compound. A large two storied house, a medium size Bungalow style house and a small house. We lived in the Bungalow style house for many years. The tenants changed in the other two houses quite frequently. One such tenant was the late C. Y. Chintamani whose first name we found unpronounceable and referred to him as just Chintamani or Mr. Chintamani. His aged mother, youngest son Lakshmiram Shastri and his widowed sister-in-law came with him to Allahabad. His wife had recently died, we were told. In those days we were not taught to avoid strangers and remain aloof. Particularly when we saw the master of the house call on father and engage in a long conversation we formed a committee of brothers and sisters and invaded their house to make friends with the new neighbours. We were welcomed in a very friendly manner, though the two groups spoke totally different languages. But gestures sufficed for exchanges of views and friendly approach. The visits continued after this. Mr. Chintamani came morning and evening to converse freely with father. He was a rigidly orthodox Hindu and would perform all his pujas before having any meals. He did not talk while eating. Much later he once stayed with us and he dressed in red silk clothes for his pujas which preceded all meals. Then slowly he discarded his orthodoxy to some extent and began to eat with his Bengali and Hindi speaking friends. The food was quite often, cooked by us.

Among my father's friend's few could defeat Mr. Chintamani in wordy combats. His stock of tales, arguments and anecdotes was endless. He was also endowed with a rich sense of humour. He became the editor of the Leader, a daily newspaper of good standing. He was a believer in the theories of communicating with the spirit world through mediums and table tapping. One of his nephews was his medium and he conversed with the departed souls through this medium. His medium enabled him to receive the views of the spirit of G. K. Gokhale. This spirit said there were many Indians who would not be born again. He published some communications from the spirit of Gokhale in the Leader. His faith in this matter was unshaken. He used to write to my father for long years. He used to ask me to write for the Leader and published one of my novels in that paper.

Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru : The big house in the South Road compound was once taken on rent by Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru. His father and grand father were still

alive. They were a very large family. Tej Bahadur was quite young and had just returned from England after being called to the Bar. They were quite anglicised in their ways and Tej Bahadur used to dress in English clothes and move about in a carriage. On his return from Court he used to play tennis with his friends in the private tennis court of the house. Otherwise he was not at home most of the time during the day. But there was plenty in that house to rouse the curiosity of children. Firstly, they were extremely fair in their complexion and they lived in the style of wealthy persons. This was in great contrast with the ways of their neighbours.

We had become friends with them and we used to go to their house. The wife of Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru was extremely fair and wore a variety of ornaments, which I still remember. Sapru Sahib's father and Grand father looked like dolls carved out of ivory. The most impressive person was Tej Bahadur's father. He was a big man. He used to sit in a chair on the verandah practically throughout the morning hours and seldom moved out of it. He had a powerful and deep voice and a temper. He used to shout out instructions to the servants when they went to the market. "One seer kerala, two anna worth pan, half a seer of carrot" and so forth would he boom out to the great enjoyment of all of us children. Some of us imitated him. He had an absolutely white cow. It was a great favourite and would go from room to room in the house. Tej Bahadur's grand father was a good looking man of quiet temperament.

One thing about the Saprus has stuck in my mind. There were some military barracks in that area for British soldiers. The servants used to call these barracks "Gora barrick" (white soldiers' barracks). The Goras used to hire out hackney carriages and did not like to pay the cabmen. The cabmen were not at all fond of the soldiers. One day this ill feeling crossed its limits. We had finished our dinner and had gone to bed, when a riot broke out in the compound. A great commotion and exchange of blows began. The rioting reached even our front verandah. We kept our doors shut. Next morning we found blood stains on the verandah which could be traced down to the railway lines near by. In the big house the doors were open in Tej Bahadur Sapru's father's room. Two British soldiers who were being beaten with sticks by the cabmen ran into this room and fell over the old man's bed. He was a fearless man and was always ready to protect anyone seeking asylum. In this he did not observe any distinctions of colour. He tried to ward off the blows of the cabmen's sticks with his hands and the cabmen hit him on the arms. But he did not give up the two soldiers. It took a long time to cure the injuries to his arms. The cabmen were punished severely. We do not remember what happened to the white soldiers.

Lala Lajpat Rai: We heard many stories about Lala Lajpat Rai in those days. He was called the lion of the Punjab on account of his great courage and undaunted support of the freedom movement. We saw him the first time at a session of the Congress. After that he had been to our house on two-three occasions. He was then a well built and strong man. We wanted to see him and he came to the inner verandah

of our house and stood there. We tried to greet him respectfully by touching his feet, but he was quite upset at that and repeatedly did *namaskar* to us lowering his head a great deal as if we were grown up persons. In fact we were mere children at that time. Lala Lajpat Rai was extremely polite and had a remarkable expression of humility on his face. We did not see him for years after that. When I was in Rangoon for some years he once came to see a Maharastrian gentleman in the flat next to ours. This gentleman was perhaps a lawyer. Lalaji was known to him and he invited him when Lalaji visited Rangoon. Having heard about this I went to the next flat to see him. He remembered the Allahabad days and talked about father. He said : "he feels the happiest when he can go about the country. I cannot travel much." He looked quite pulled down. Not at all like the vigorous person we had seen many years ago. We did not meet again after that.

—SITA DEVI

[II]

L. K. Elmhirst : A young graduate in the humanities from the great University of Cambridge, who felt he had to serve humanity and went over to America to study agriculture in order to be able to work for the upliftment of the peasant class. Elmhirst came to India to take charge of the Sriniketan ashram at Surul which was the poet Tagore's rural reconstruction centre attached to the Viswa Bharati University. He soon became attached to the village communities of West Bengal and was known to numerous *Kishans* whom he taught the mysteries of chemical fertilisers, cattle breeding, poultry farming and cottage industries. His association with the Modern Review was very intimate and Ramananda Chatterjee counted him as an adopted son of India who served the motherland more ardently than many sons of the soil. His relations with India became less close after he left Sriniketan but wherever he lived a part of his life was forever centred round India and the Indians. The knowledge that he acquired of India during his stay in this country helped greatly to make India better known to the outside world ; for wher-

ever L. K. E. went he told people about this ancient land with its wealth of knowledge culture and human ideals. He now lives in England.

Dr. Kalidas Nag : A scholar of international reputation, Dr. Kalidas Nag visited more countries and their universities to lecture on ancient Indian history than, perhaps any other person ever did. And wherever he went he told people about the Modern Review. He was a constant contributor to this journal for over forty years and he also introduced it to many intellectuals in many lands. Dr. Kalidas Nag was not only a scholar of sound standing but he was a poet and a literary critic of great ability. He used to accompany Rabindranath Tagore quite often when the poet went to foreign countries. He had an intensive knowledge of Tagore's Poetry and his songs. His death has removed one of the most important associates of the Modern Review and his place can never be filled.

Dr. Abanindranath Tagore : The revival of pictorial art in modern India had been a passion with the founder editor of the Modern Review and all those who worked to achieve this came in contact with this journal in an intimate and purposeful way. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, was the greatest source of inspiration to all Indian artists who were moved emotionally by the art of Ajanta and the various schools of miniature painting in India which developed subsequently. The spirit of Rajput Moghul painting found a warm and secure place in Abanindranath's heart and he painted many pictures which expressed artistic feelings that might have been born in the heart of the court painters of Bundi, Kishengarh and Delhi. Abanindranath's paintings were received by the Modern Review for reproduction with an eagerness which was the product of a profound and genuine preference for the art expression of this master painter. He had great literary talent and wrote extensively in Bengali. He was the Bagiswari Professor of Art in the University of Calcutta for many years.

Nandalal Bose : Among all those who stood by Abanindranath Tagore and helped to develop a school of painting which retained contacts with the ancient and mediaeval art of India, the late Nandalal Bose was one of the most outstanding. He was one of those who spent quite some time in copying the Ajanta frescoes for their reproduction in authorised publications. He had mastered the technique and style of the those master craftsmen and artists who decorated the famous caves and designed their murals. Nandalal Bose could put himself in the position of the exponents of exotic forms of art with an easy grace which few could equal. Chinese and Japanese styles of painting would come from his brush as they would from the brushes of native artists. He and his pupils enriched the Bengal school of modern Indian painting during long years and much credit goes to Nandalal Bose when one goes in for an appreciation and evaluation of the art of this glorious period of the Indian renaissance. Many a miniature painting by Nandalal Bose has been reproduced in the Modern Review and we remember the great artist with sincere admiration.

Gaganendranath Tagore : He was the elder brother of Abanindranath Tagore. His advent into the field of art was not through academic paths nor by reason of any attac-

ment to a specific artistic school. He was an explorer in the field of art and he explored the artistic possibilities of the known schools as well as worked his way into the limitless expanse of the unknown. But he never belonged to any school of art in so far as he created new forms whenever he took up the brush. He was a great cartoonist and many of his cartoons appeared in the Modern Review. Some dealt with the imperial British overlords of India of those days while others castigated the religious and social high priests. He was therefore a great critic of the V. I. Ps. of his time and rendered great service to the cause of Indians independence as well as of social upliftment. As a painter of miniatures he had a style of his own which he used in a variety of ways according to his mood. Some called him a cubist and others impressionist or something else ; but in fact Gaganendranath was above all "isms". He was a great creator of shapes and colours which he displayed to perfection. Gaganendranath Tagore was a person of great talent in the spheres of acting, stage decoration, furniture designing, gardening and all things cultural.

Deviprasad Raychowdhury : He came in contact with the Modern Review group when he was yet a boy artist. We believe he was about sixteen years old when he first came to the late Ramananda Chatterjee with some pictures he had painted. That was when the first world war was thundering at the gates of India. Deviprasad Ray Chowdhury has been a great painter as well as a great sculptor. The Modern Review has published reproductions of his miniatures as well as of his sculpture. He has also been a prolific writer in English and Bengali and many of his writings have appeared in the Modern Review group of journals. He is still a vigorous youngman in his middle sixties and we hope to see him in print, as a painter, sculptor and writer many times in the near future.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland : He may be remembered as the writer of "India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom" which was published by Ramananda Chatterjee in the late twenties and for which act of lawlessness he was prosecuted, tried and convicted by a British Magistrate in Calcutta. Long before the book was published its contents appeared as a series of articles in the Modern Review, but no action was taken by the British against the journal for that. Rev. Dr. Sunderland was one of the most active friends of India in the United States of America and he helped us with his writings as long as he lived.

William Winstanley Pearson : A scholarly youngman from Britain who associated with the intellectuals of Bengal after he came to India and devoted himself to the promotion of Rabindranath Tagore's ideals at Santiniketan. He contributed to the Modern Review on occasions ; but his association with us was suddenly terminated by his untimely death in an accident in Italy. W. W. Pearson was an asset to Santiniketan. He could take parts in Bengali dramatic performances, sing Bengali songs and dance our folk dances.

Romain Rolland : The French savant could not write in English, but some of his writings appeared in this journal in translations carried out by the late Dr. Kalidas Nag.

(continued on page 258)

The Art And Science Of Journalism

Journalism as it is known in the world of today, is of comparatively recent growth in India. Its history goes back to a short span of only about a hundred years or so. It was originally brought to us by British Christian missionaries as an important part among the tools of their missionary objective of propagating the Christian religion in this country. The same kind of vehicle was also adopted by Indian themselves as a powerful instrument of not merely countering Christian propaganda, but also as a form of discussion of broader theological and ethical questions. Thus as almost as an obverse of the Serampore Christian missionary publication *Samachar Darpan*, we have Raja Rammohun Roy's famous *Brahminical Magazine*.

Thus our earliest experiments with periodical publications gave our people a tool which, it was found, could be used for pursuing broader social and political objective. Harish Chandra Mookherjee's *Hindu Patriot* was one of our earliest steps forward in this field of thought and expression which, from the widening areas of public discussion and official action that radiated from it, brought home to our people the deadly power of the public press. Our experiments with Raja Ram Mohun Roy's *Brahminical Magazine* and later, Harish Chandra Mookerjee's *Hindu Patriot* also gave our people an all India platform in the language of these publications. The English language found wider and spontaneous acceptance as the vehicle of national expression of thought and aspiration in the modern English-educated community of Indians all over the country even more because of such publication than its status as the language of the ruling authority.

But the vernacular still maintained its place as the vehicle of modern and constructive thought of the educated community. From the *Hindu Patriot* to the *Banga Darshin*

we find a further and significant broadening of the horizon opening up before our new field of periodical publications covering a progressively widening vista of thought and action. And from Bankim Chandra's *Banga Darshan* to Rabindranath Tagore's *Bharati* such widening ranges of constructive thought and literary experiments and improvisations were covered that these became some of the most powerful instruments in the evolutionary process of the new Indian renaissance. Periodical journalism as a vehicle of constructive public opinion, as an expression of culture and good taste, as a form of literary ideals and social and political thought,—in a word, as one of the modern tools for processing the evolution of civilization,—had thus come to be firmly established in India.

When *The Modern Review* made its appearance during the early years of the current century, the process was already vigorously on its way. We had in the meanwhile, added daily news journalism to the repertoire of indigenous acquisitions in the field—the late Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya's *Sandhya*, the first and, so far, perhaps the only notable evening daily newspaper in the Bengalee language, and Aurobindo Ghosh's *Vande Mataram* were, indeed, epoch-making events. Bipin Chandra Pal's weekly *New India* had already made a deep impact upon our social, political and cultural life and thought. They had already very largely succeeded in compelling the acceptance and fashioning of an integrated Indian nationhood.

The Modern Review appeared at this significant juncture of Indian history and set to the work of integrating the scattered efforts and achievements of its predecessors,—each powerful and distinctive within its own respective field of endeavour and effort,—into a consistent and cohesive whole. It did much more. It helped to begin to place India and Indian thinking on the map of world consciousness and world thought. Thus it became not merely a distinctive but even a unique achievement in periodical journalism but what, from the journalists point of view was perhaps, even more significant is that *The Modern Review* for the first time in our history, began to foster the growth of journalism as a separate distinct and a whole time profession, a self respecting avocation from which, while performing a public duty, the devotee could also make a living for himself.

During the period following the close of the Second world war, the field of journalism has been passing through a sea change. Apart from the increasing encroachment by daily newspapers upon the areas of periodical publications; even apart from the growth of the news-magazine ejecting the weeklies from their legitimate and traditional fields the journalist of yore, the devotee at the Sacred temple, is increasingly being pushed out by the mercenary and the technician, most of whom are in it for what they can get out of it and seldom for what they can give to it except their mechanized skills. Journalism in its changed face, has no doubt acquired a glamour and a fascination, but appears to have increasingly been losing its devotion to its cause, its passion.

Journalism Of The Future

MANY things have been attributed to the war—the political unrest, the industrial chaos, financial bankruptcy, moral delinquency. Journalism, too, has been affected by the war, not so strikingly, but, nevertheless, affected. Previous to the war, Journalism was on the road to recovery from some of its chronic ailments, but the tumultuous events of the past four years overturned all its resolutions of regeneration. Many of the chronic faults remained; many of the chronic weaknesses disappeared. This disturbance, confusing as it is, has been laying the foundation for the actual regeneration of the newspaper and the birth of a finer, bolder type of journalism—the newspaper of the future. Before considering the factors which are preparing for the coming newspaper, it would be well to analyse some of the pre-war weaknesses.

Most deserving of condemnation is the tendency which the newspaper-writer had of exaggerating news. Actuated by a desire to increase circulation, and the attractiveness of the newspaper he frequently soared to the heights of imaginativeness for his material. More often than not he succeeded in creating only a feeling of distrust for the readers of his paper. Realizing this, he began to use caution in his language and presentation of fact. But the war, coming as it did, with the best materials he had ever had, led the newspaper man to fall back into his former methods of exaggeration and falsehood. Inaccuracy in report was equally flagrant. Emphasis was laid upon what the writer considered the most sensational news items,

not the most valuable. Unimportant facts were given columns, and significant facts were dismissed with one line. Words were put into the mouths of people who had never uttered them. In the face of such overwhelming events as were ushered in by the war, the newspaper felt almost justified in permitting inaccuracy had untruth to creep into the news column. Sensational news was the fashion of the hour. The bigger the headline, thought the newspaper man, the more attractive and the more saleable the paper. The desire to increase circulation and prestige of the paper led the writer to invent, color, and suppress news with utter disregard for truth. The desire to display their patriotism led editors into bitter attacks on persons not in accord with their views. Never was the least effort made to right a wrong done editorially. It was considered beneath the dignity of the editor to acknowledge his infallibility. Just as it was eager to elaborate and to give details when some were necessary, so was the newspaper also prone to suppress news when such suppression redounded to the profit of the newspaper. The skilful manipulator of news so presented his copy that whatever the editor thought was right or was paid to think was right appeared in the paper, and whatever did not accord with 'editorial policy' was discarded. The editor became, in fact, a propagandist, his newspaper a propaganda sheet. Thus while declaring himself a publisher of news only, he became the agent of some cause and pushed that cause regardless of effects which his actions might have on the news. This was the policy of the United States throughout the war. In March 1916, president Wilson was re-elected on a peace platform. Newspapers, throughout the country acclaimed him the hero of the hour—denounced the militaristic attitude of his opponents and loudly extolled the fine idealism which led Mr. Wilson to declare "he would keep his country out of war." From this, it would seem that the newspapers had a deep aversion for war. Within one year the same newspapers had so changed their tactics that the whole country appeared to be clamoring for war. The people were war-mad. The complete transformation from a peace-loving nation to one ready to send a million of its best blood to continue the fight which it had opposed was well nigh a miracle—performed by the powerful press. This was merely a case of sending forth an idea to the masses and pounding upon that idea until they became obsessed. The same principle has been working in the race-riots of the Southern States, where Negroes, without cause or upon mere suspicion were burnt, tortured, hanged, as a result of the anti-Negro propaganda of the Southern newspapers. At this moment newspapers are making the most of the Mexican situation, and under direction from Americans who own lands and oil wells in Mexico and are therefore anxious to secure the country for themselves, are trying to prepare public opinion for another war—this time with Mexico. Every paper is filled with the account of outrageous conduct on the part of Mexican bandits, startling facts are cited, and a feeling of animosity towards the Mexicans is being created. When the mass is sufficiently incited to action the invasion will be comparatively simple. These instances are sufficient to show how mighty is the power of the press over the masses, how close the relation between the newspaper and social inflammability.

That this tremendous power will some day be directed towards nobler purposes towards securing peace instead of war—towards fostering international love instead of racial hatreds—is not an unfounded hope. The present time is a transition stage in journalism. The newspaper has gone, as far as it can in the direction of evil influence. Now it must swing, pendulum-like, towards the goal of doing good. Many of the old habits are being broken. Many new habits are being formed. Much that was good will be retained. Much that was evil will pass off. Every day sees a new attempt to enforce a code of ethics for the newspaper trade. Every man and woman prominent in journalism is clamoring for a cleaner, better press. Already the social consciousness of the newspaper has been stirred. Through the medium of the newspaper the editor endeavors to exert a stronger, better influence. The ideal of a newspaper for the service of the community has actually been realized and is being realized. In one of the states of the South the editor of the leading newspaper has converted his sheet into a forum for his city. At one time, when there were no cotton mills, although the city was situated near cotton growing plantations, the editor agitated through his paper for the establishment of a cotton mill, for a month, and finally won his point. For the thirty days preceding his victory he filled his paper every day with editorials, with statistical data, with comments from prominent citizens, on the necessity of a mill, and the benefits which would accrue from its establishment. These daily propaganda talks led one of the businessmen of the city to agree to build the mill. It is now one of the largest in the United States. In New York city alone every one of the leading newspapers is fathering some movement for civic reform or relief. One paper has established a "Fresh Air Fund" to which money is sent for the children of the slums, who, each year, are sent out to the country. Another paper has secured the co-operation of talented musicians and arranges free concerts for the public. Still another has, through its woman editor, formed a Housewives' League. This body conducts meetings, sends its members to the state capital to agitate for legislation which will benefit the housewife, as for example, the establishment of a city market, where food may be obtained at cheap rates. In every city there is agitation carried on by the newspaper, for betterment of conditions—housing, street pavements, the food problem, etc. Some departments of a newspaper are devoted to giving medical advice, others to giving legal advice, to their readers. Throughout there is the ideal of service.

These activities are but small beginnings. The possibilities for service are limitless. They await development by the newspaper of the future. This will be not only a news sheet, a chronicler of events, but a power for infinite good. This does not imply that the newspaper will lose its function of news disseminator. That will be more highly developed—will be devoted to the publication of absolute truth. On the editorial side it will give fair and unbiased presentation of the news—both sides of it. On its socio-civic side, the newspaper will promote the best interests of the community. If new pavements are needed it will agitate for them until the authorities become convinced of the need. If a better water system is required, or if the lighting system is defective, if housing reform

is urgent, if a change in the method of taxation is called for, the newspaper will give its time and study the needs as they appear, and then will present them so convincingly that its readers will vividly realize the need and will not cease to agitate until it is satisfied. The newspaper's appeal will always bring results. Public-spirited men, honest government officials, shrewd businessmen—all will understand the value of improvements and will endeavor to work out their plans.

Not only should the newspaper be in the municipality, it should be likewise the medium for international understanding. Foreign affairs are not easily understood by the masses, because in their minds there is no room for the unfamiliar. But a just interpretation and an association of foreign events with the corresponding events at home will make the subject more easily understood. Such an interpretation will make for a broader understanding, for a widened outlook, for the discarding of old superstitions. The newspaper can thus be made a powerful force for international harmony instead of international strife. The editor who realizes the immense potentialities of his paper will use caution and judgment in presenting foreign news, with the thought that he must keep the minds of his readers free from prejudice.

The coming newspaper then will be, first, a news sheet, with dispassionate accurate news items and balanced editorials; second, a financial success, with business management and advertising on the highest efficiency basis; thirdly, a power in the community for world peace.

The newspaper of the future will be equipped with trained men and women in the editorial, business and mechanical departments. It will exercise the most discrimination in the publication of news. It will, in cases of necessity, exercise its influence negatively, i. e., by becoming silent rather than committing itself and becoming prejudicial and unjust. *The newspaper of the future will indulge in no sensationalism, in no personal attacks, in no recriminations. It will be an independent paper, ready to tell the majority when it is wrong, challenging public opinion without fear when it is right. The newspaper editor will have no axes to grind, no theories to expose, no object to reach except one—the desire to do good.*

MINNIE MILLER

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Journalism In India

NOTHING like leather, they say. Once upon a time, so the story runs, a town being in danger of a siege called together a council of the chief residents to fix upon the best means of defence. A mason stood up and a shipbuilder counselled "wooden walls." Last arose a currier and said, "There's nothing like leather." As a journalist I have, of course a good conceit of my profession. Nevertheless, I do not wish to imitate the example of the worthy leather-dresser and observe that, among professions, "There's nothing like journalism."

I may be reminded to the other version of the saw, "nothing like leather," which is understood to mean, "Nothing like leather to administer a thrashing." Journalism is, no doubt, very often used to give people a regular drubbing. But I do not think my fellow journalists would like to run a race with the knights of the thong or the cane for first place as censors of morals. I say this with all respect for the journalistic genius of whom Morley tells in his Recollections :

A young man once applied to me for work, when I was editor of the PALL MALL GAZETTE. I asked him wheather he had any special gift or turn. "Yes", he said, "I think I have a natural turn for Invective!" "That's capital", said I, 'but in any particular line, may I ask ?' "Oh no—General Invective". I found myself yesterday blessed with a wonderful outpouring of this enchanting gift.

Fletcher of Saltoun wrote in his Account of a conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind ; "I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Chirstopher's sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation."

An Indian journalist would be considered oversanguine and conceited if, following in the footsteps of Fletcher, he were to declare : "Let me but make all the newspapers and periodicals of a nation, I would not care who should make its laws."

Having said all this to prove that we journalists are not wanting in humility, we may be permitted to claim that our profession is a very useful, very influential, and very honourable one. It is not meant that there are no useless journals, none which have little influence or have influence of the wrong sort, and none which are conducted in a dishonourable manner. What is submitted is that, like other things, journals as a class are to be judged by the best specimens or at least by those which may be regarded as average or normal ones.

Just as capable journalists of high character whose mission is to serve man can do great good, so these newspaper-men whose character and intentions are the reverse are a source of great danger to the world. Five years ago, at the annual dinner of the London District of the Institute of Journalists, Lord Hewart, Chief Justice of England, once a journalist himself, said in the course of his speech :

A newspaper has a considerable power, especially for mischief. Suppose that a man has acquired a great deal of money and he puts that money into soap, mustard, tobacco, or any household commodity, his opinions, likes and dislikes are precisely of as much consequence to the civilised world as they were before. If he was a foolish person before, his friends know he is a foolish person still. But suppose that the same man chooses to put his money into double rotary printing machines, the merest caprice and whim of that man, by the mere force of this mechanical duplication, may become a danger to the peace of the world.

I say in all seriousness that that is a very formidable circumstance. When you put aside for the moment the dreadful consequences of infinite multiplication—by the double rotary machine—it may now be a quadruple rotary—the merit of the newspaper depends, in the last resort, upon the individual capacity and character of the man who writes. The merit or demerit of that which is given to the public depends absolutely upon the character and the attainments of the individual journalist.

The power for mischief that Lord Hewart spoke of is possessed particularly by widely circulated newspapers in powerful independent countries. In subject countries like India no newspaper, whatever its influence or however large its circulation, can endanger the peace of the world. But journals in India, particularly those owned and conducted by Europeans can do great harm to the cause of Indian's political, economic, educational and social progress. Though Indian-owned and Indian-edited journals cannot cause wars, they can nevertheless foment intercommunal hatred and jealousies and thus jeopardize the progress of the country. *It ought, therefore, to be the primary concern of an Indian journalist to study how he can do good to his country and the world. His power for good depends on his character, attainments, and capacity.* And the good which a journalist can do is very great indeed. The ways in which he can serve his people and all mankind are the ways in which social reformers, educators, spiritual teachers, and great and good statesmen

serve man and in which financiers and industrialists may serve man but often do not. It is for this reason that Wendell Phillips, the American abolitionist, reformer and orator, declared : "Let me make the newspaper and I care not who makes the religion or the laws." When he said this, he had the ideal newspaper in view. Like all other ideals, journalistic ideals cannot be entirely realized ; but we can in any case make strenuous endeavours to come up to them.

It is only in recent years that some Indian journals have been started mainly as business enterprises. Formerly Indian newspapers for the most part used to be conducted mainly with the object of serving the country. I do not mean to suggest that no journal conducted for pecuniary gain can do good to the country, though in starting and running newspapers the sole or chief object should not be money. It is true, newspapers cannot be conducted without money : but sufficient money can be earned for running a journal without sacrificing moral principles and public good.

The average young Indian journalist who works for money takes to the profession with a high object. His achievement can, however, only be commensurate with his character, attainments, capacity and industry. Whatever his attainments, capacity and industry, he cannot be much of a public benefactor unless he possesses character. He should also be able to work very hard systematically regularly. A journalist need not be without genius ; but however great a genius he may be, he must be prepared for a life of unremitting toil to begin with—call drudgery, if you will. Readiness is another quality which he must have. He should have all his wits about him. A journalist cannot succeed in his profession if his memory be not very retentive and capacious ; for one cannot command a reference library everywhere and at all times and very frequently there is no time to consult books. At the same time, accuracy must never be sacrificed. Moreover, there are things which cannot be found in any book, which a man learns by using his eyes and ears ; and though a journalist should carry a note-book with him, everything that one sees and hears cannot be noted down immediately.

Journalists should cultivate the habits of considering a question from as many points of view as possible, of judicious impartiality and of calm and balanced judgment. Eloquent and impassioned writing may come after. It is a mistake to think that any one can be free from bias and prejudice without effort. It should be a journalist's constant prejudice, partisanship and self-interest. Though a hero does not court danger and death and though it is not a soldier's ideal to run unnecessary risks, yet it is only a truism to say that an ideal journalist should be quite fearless.

Journalist has been the butt of ridicule of many who are masters of a good literary style. But however much it may be carried down, if a journalist can write clearly, forcibly and tersely, he will be able to gain his object, even though he may not have cultivated all the graces of style.

A journalist may be truly said to have taken all knowledge as his province. It would be difficult to say what kind of knowledge would be perfectly useless to him. The

omniscience of editors is a well-worn joke. But though it goes without saying that editors, like other human beings, cannot be omniscient, the more subjects and more things they know, the better fitted for their work they would be.

The chief subject of discourse and discussion in newspapers is politics. Hence politics in the abstract and as embodied in the history and laws of nations and their constitutions and government should be seriously studied by journalists. As we have to do with India, a study of Western politics alone, from the work of Aristotle and Machiavelli downwards, will not do for us. It is necessary for Indian journalists to read *SuEraniti*, the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, the maxims of Kamandaka, the *Santi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*, etc. An up-to-date journalist needs to be acquainted with even the latest thing in popular government, viz., the principles underlying the Soviet government of Russia.

Circumstanced as India is, we cannot do without a sound knowledge of history, which is a sure cure for national despondency. The history of those peoples in particular which, after arriving at a high stage of civilization and then falling into decay or remaining unprogressive, have again joined in the onward march of nations, is sure to fill us with new life and hope. The history of Japan is well worth study. A somewhat detailed knowledge of the history of our own country is necessary, in order that we may know why and how we have become what we are and how we may be what we ought to be. No true lover of his country wants bloody revolution. History tells us their causes. A journalist who is a serious student of history may be able to suggest how bloody revolutions may be prevented and how at the same time ordered progress resulting speedily in a peaceful revolution may be secured.

The last big war and its after-effects have convinced thinking men in all civilised lands that the fates of all peoples and nations are inextricably interwoven. This makes it necessary for all public men and newspaper man to be acquainted with world history and world politics. Indian newspapers and periodicals generally fight shy of the discussion of foreign politics, partly because of ignorance, mainly because of pre-occupation with our own disabilities, grievances, and misery. It would be better if we could feel more at home in international politics. It is true, formally and officially India has no independent political relations with other countries. But informally and non-officially, we can influence and be influenced by foreign nations.

The interdependence of nations would be more evident even to the man in the street (if he knew and would only think of it), in the spheres of commerce, industry, finance banking, business in general, and economics than in the province of politics. Newspaper men have, therefore, to be in their element in economics and all that is related thereto and included therein.

Like houses, machinery and vehicles, social systems, too, are liable to decay and disruption. They can be mended or renovated to the advantage of society by those who are acquainted with human psychology, moral philosophy and the principles of sociology.

Anthropology, the principles of heredity, and the art and science of race culture as related to sociology should also engage our attention.

Progress and improvement are impossible for any people without education. The art and science of education, the relation of the State to education, the influence of Art, Literature, Science and Religion on national character, and how these in their turn are influenced by national character,—these are subjects well worth the serious attention of those who desire faithfully to serve their people. There is not the least doubt that children and, along with them, all mankind have suffered because of ignorance of child psychology. Our loss has been no less because of ignorance of what women are capable of and owing to preconceived notions relating to the sex. Newspaper men should have sufficient up-to-date knowledge to be able to do full justice to the women's cause.

News relating to crimes, arrest, trials, judgments, punishments, prisons, prison reform etc., form not an inconsiderable portion of the contents of newspapers. Hence journalists require to know jurisprudence, criminology, and penology.

Editors have to discuss village and town improvement schemes, the respective advantages and disadvantages of rural and urban life, rural and urban sanitation, etc. Our equipment should, therefore, include a knowledge of the history and causes of outbreaks of epidemics, sanitation, town-planning, & c.

Village and town industries (including agriculture), and various vocations and professions are necessary for the existence and progress of society. All kinds of productive activity are attended with some disadvantages of other. Publicists ought to be able to suggest and discuss their remedies. This would require an adequate knowledge of these industries, etc. Mining laws, forest laws, etc, should be such as would tend to the conservation and promotion of the interests of people of a country. To be able to safeguard such interest we require to be acquainted with such laws, particularly with mining laws in all progressive and democratically governed countries. A knowledge of geology also will not come amiss.

All questions and legislation relating to labours in field, factory and plantation have to be studied by us. The publications of the International Labour Office at Geneva have facilitated such study.

Vitally connected with agriculture and other industries are the problems of Railway transportation and administration, shipping and navigation on the high seas, coastal navigation, inland waterways, motor traction along highways, aerial transport, radio, telegraph, telephone and postal rules and rates, customs duties, transit dues, octroi, terminal taxes, tariff, etc. Great progress has been made in the handling of these problems in the West and in Japan. We should be acquainted with the state of things in the most progressive countries. As forming the ground work for such studies, a thorough knowledge and grasp of commercial geography would be of great use.

In politics and in industries, as well as in transportation, larger and larger masses of men are getting involved and interested day by day. Crowd psychology, implying a knowledge of the group mind, should also, therefore, be studied by us.

The duty of journalists is to conserve all that is good in the existing state of things, to revive, if possible, all that was good in the old order, to reform abuses where they exist in order that the good may survive, and to suggest and help in the introduction of what is new for the promotion of the common weal. Progress in any sphere of life is dependent on progress in all other spheres. Hence a publicist who is a genuine and thoughtful progressivist in any sphere cannot but support and sympathise with progress in all other directions. But faith in the possibility of progress in any sphere and all spheres is itself born of faith—it may be unconscious faith—in the certainty of human improvement. That, again, is founded on the conviction—though we may not always be conscious of the fact—that this universe is ruled by an Immanent and Transcendent Spirit Whose will makes for the welfare of man.

Hence, when Wendell Phillips declared that if he were allowed to make the newspaper he would not care who made the laws or the religion, he had in mind, not the ordinary run of money-making partisan or sensational newspapers or the gutter press, but ideal newspapers conducted by persons who, in addition to being statesmen of high character, lofty aims, great capacity and ripe wisdom, are inspired with the faith of the man of God and guided by the light that lightens the world.

No journalist can know everything, no one can become a walking encyclopaedia. Some of us have to specialize in some subjects, others have to specialize in certain others.

It has been said above that a journalist need not be without genius. Some very distinguished men of genius have, however done journalistic work. A living example is that of R. K. Indranath Tagore. Ordinarily, however, journalism does not require genius of a high order, but only the qualities and talents which have been referred to before. Nor should it be taken for granted that a great or a successful journalist is to be counted among the immortals. We cannot too clearly grasp or too vividly and tenaciously bear in mind this fact. For, as it is our task sometimes to sit in judgment on even the greatest poets, philosophers, artists, and scientists we are apt to suffer from a swelled head, considering ourselves equal and sometimes superior to those whom we criticize.

It has been said above that a journalist may be said to have taken all knowledge for his province. But his special function is to make even abstruse and difficult things intelligible to the man in the street. This he has to do without sacrificing accuracy. It is a hard job. But if he cannot do it, he will fail in his duty as popular educator. For his business is not merely with the ephemeral politics of the hour, but with all that makes life worth living. So all knowledge and beauty, all elevating influences, all that makes for power, have to be brought to everybody's doors, in acceptable but not sensational forms.

It is a main part of our duty to report and record what happens. Now, these happenings are of various kinds. Some are good, some bad; some sensational, some quite humdrum. Things which are reported to a far greater extent than things which are good. Criminal news of various sorts and the reports of many kinds of courts make more "interesting" copy than stories of the good that is being done all over the world in innumerable ways. I do not know whether this is inevitable. But perhaps it is possible to narrate even

little acts of kindness and courtesy in a charming and inspiring manner. I must confess I do not possess this gift. But others do. We are all too ready to report that one man kicked another and that the assailant was brought before a magistrate, but not the fact that a blind man was led by a little boy at considerable risk to himself across a public thoroughfare along which continuous streams of all sorts of vehicles were rushing. Or take this true little anecdote. A blind old beggar woman sat by the wayside with her hand outstretched asking for alms. Many a well-to-do person passed her by, without taking any notice of her. But another old beggar woman, who was returning to her hovel after the day's collection of alms, saw her, took pity on her, and gave her something out of her own all too insufficient store of doles. Or take this other true story. During the last famine year in Bankura, in a small village, a little boy, belonging to a very poor family all whose members had been literally reduced to skeletons, got a little food for himself unseen by his brothers and sisters. But as soon as he had got it, he went to them of his own accord and shared it with them.

As examples of courtesy and kindness are generally not reported, whereas instances of rudeness and cruelty are, an impression may prevail that in this world there is more of the latter than of the former and that in human nature the evil predominates over the good. No doubt, if newspapers took to reporting the former, there might sometimes be the danger of ostentation and theatricality in well-doing and some faked stories, too. But by a process of sifting what is genuine may be separated from what is not. Of many of the donations reported in newspapers, it cannot be said that the donor's left hand did not know what the right hand did. Yet such announcements serve a useful purpose. It should be noted here with pleasure that the organised activities of all public bodies and institutions whose object is to do good are given publicity to by our newspapers.

As between countries, people, nations and governments, all signs of strained relations, all sinister surmises and suspicions and scares are quickly published. But the efforts to promote amity between peoples, and all those things which naturally go to draw peoples closer towards one another, do not receive prompt and prominent publication and most often they are not at all published. The world-public may thus be led to believe that all peoples are only waiting for an opportunity to fly at one another's throats; which may not be a fact. It has often seemed to me that we journalists do not do all that we can to promote friendship between the peoples of the earth. If we devoted more time and space to the literatures, arts, humane and philanthropic activities and the like, of different countries, the peoples of the world might love and respect one another more than they do. This is a kind of work which journals belonging to powerful nations can do better than others. But they do not. If they really want to promote peace they should do such work.

Our duty being to report what is happening in the world, we should not only record new scientific discoveries and inventions, but also take note of new ideas, thoughts, feelings and impulses themselves in the work of contemporary thinkers, poets, philosophers and

artists of different countries. No doubt, it is not so easy to discern the emergence of new thoughts, ideas, forms of beauty, feelings and impulses as to grasp and publish the other things which are our usual stock in trade. But the things which may be called objective or external happenings ought not to be allowed to monopolize all our attention, to the exclusion of what may be styled subjective happenings or events in man's inner world.

Movements and organisations which strike across the barriers of country, race, nation, creed and language have begun to claim our attention. This is all to the good. A time there was when history was understood to mean a chronicle of the rise and fall of dynasties, of dynastic wars due to dynastic ambitions, fights between nations and their kings, etc. A sounder and more comprehensive view of the historian's work has prevailed for some time past. Modern books of history which approach the ideal are histories of peoples—of their culture and civilization, of the evolution of their society, literature, art, commerce, industry, and the like, in their interaction. The historian also notes how there has been and may be the spread of cultural influence of various kinds, though there may not have been any political and economic conquest and domination.

Italian and French influence was in the ascendant in England long after all traces of Roman or Norman supremacy had disappeared in Great Britain. India influenced many countries which she never conquered. Though a subject country now, her philosophy, religion, literature and art are still influencing mankind. The influence of the English language extends over countries which England never conquered. Not to refer to deeper and more important proofs of the fact, two small incidents may be referred to. One is that a treaty which was concluded between Japan and Russia was composed originally in English and ratified and was subsequently translated into Japanese and Russian. Similarly, recently the Italo-Albanian treaty was drawn up in English.

The change in the conception of history indicated above ought to bring about a change in the conception of our duty as journalists. For newspapers are fragments of the history of our own times.

Ours is a very difficult task. I shall point out the difficulties with reference to Indian conditions. We have to serve and please many masters. The staff of those journals which are owned by capitalists have to serve them. They may not in all cases have to do their bidding directly, but there is indirect, perhaps unconscious, pressure on their minds. But even in the case of those who own their own papers, there are other masters to serve and please. There is the circle of readers, drawn from all or some political, social, religious (orthodox or reforming), or communal sections. There are the advertisers. And last of all, one must not offend the ruling bureaucracy beyond a certain more or less unknown and unknowable point. Having to serve so many masters, we may seek to be excused for not listening above all to the voice of the Master within, speaking through our conscience. But there can be no excuse. Ours is a sacred duty. We must not sacrifice our convictions for any advantage whatsoever. Great is the temptation to play to the gallery; but our task is to mould and guide as well as to give publicity to public opi-

nion. Capitalists who are not journalists but own journals should not interfere with the freedom of opinion of their staff. If they want a particular kind of policy to be adopted, they would be well-advised in choosing and employing only such men as have the same kind of political opinions as themselves.

The very nature of our work rouses in us the desire to be first in the field. Nevertheless we must hasten slowly and publish news and views and conclusions after due deliberation and examination of all the evidences and arguments available. That requires equanimity, impartiality and self-examination. The spirit of partisanship is one of our greatest enemies. It often impels us to take it for granted that those who do not belong to our party must necessarily be wrong and act from wrong motives.

It is obvious that the spread of literacy and education has greatly to do with the progress of journalism and journalistic success. Political freedom and economic prosperity are other factors in such progress and success. Religious and social freedom also are indispensable for progress in journalism. Indians are for the most part illiterate, only 82 per thousand persons, aged 5 and over, being literate. India is also a dependent country subject to stringent and elastic laws of sedition, etc. Our religious and social servitude is another obstacle. And, last of all, India is a very poor country. No wonder then that we possess only a small number of journals compared with other peoples who are more educated, more prosperous and politically and socially free. The following tables will give some idea of the position we occupy in the field of journalism. The figures are taken from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1927.

Country	Population	Number of journals
India	318,942,480	3,499
Canada	8,788,483	1,554
United States of America	115,378,000	20,681
Japan	61,081,954	4,592
Chile	3,963,462	627

The table shows that in proportion to her population India possesses a much smaller number of newspapers and periodicals than the countries named above, which are all politically free and more educated and prosperous. But the mere number of India's Journals perhaps gives an exaggerated idea of her progress in this respect. For, whereas in U. S. A., Japan, etc., many newspapers and periodicals have each sales exceeding a million, no journal in India has a circulation of even 50,000, most papers having a circulation of only a few hundreds or a thousand.

Though India has a large population, the multiplicity of languages spoken here, added to the prevailing illiteracy, stands in the way of any vernacular journal having a very large circulation. Of all vernaculars Hindi is spoken by the largest number of persons, namely, about 99 millions of people. But unfortunately all the Hindi-speaking regions in India are among the most illiterate in the country. Moreover, as the speakers of Hindi live in 4 or 5 different provinces, and as owing to distance and other causes,

papers published in one province do not circulate largely in others, Hindi papers cannot under present circumstances have a large circulation. About fifty millions of people speak Bengali. Most of them live in Bengal. But owing to most of them being illiterate, Bengali journals also cannot have a large circulation. Each of the other vernaculars is spoken by less than 25 millions, and several by only a few hundred thousands. Some papers conducted in English particularly those owned and edited by Britishers, circulate in more than one province. The British-owned and British-edited papers are more prosperous than Indian ones ; because the British sojourners here are well-to-do and can all buy papers, and the adults among them are all literate. Another reason is that as India's commerce, trade, industries and transport are mostly in their manufacturing hands, their papers get plenty of advertisements. Our journals cannot prosper and multiply in number unless all our adults are able to read, and unless the commerce, manufacturing industries and transport of our country come into our hands.

Besides illiteracy and other causes, our postage rates stand in the way of the circulation of our papers. In Japan postcards cost four and a half pies, in India 6 pies. In Japan the lowest postage rate of newspapers is half yen or one and a half pie ; here it is 3 pies. There are differences in other items, too, all to the advantage of Japan. For this and other reasons, though Japan has a much smaller population than India, the number of letters, postcards, newspapers, parcels and packets dealt with by the Indian Post Office is smaller than the volume of ordinary (as a part from the foreign) mail-matters handled by the Japanese Post Office, as the following table shows :

Country	Population	Mail Matters	Year
India	318,942,480	1,244,425,235	1924-25
Japan	61,081,954	3,806,120,000	1920-21

The invention of type-writing machines has greatly facilitated the speedy preparation of quite legible "copy" for the press. But so far as the Vernaculars of India are concerned, the invention has not benefitted their writers much. For, those vernaculars have different kinds of character and alphabets, for all of which typewriters have not been invented. And the machines constructed for some of the vernaculars are not at all as satisfactory as for Roman characters. A great difficulty is the existence in Sanskrit alphabets of numerous compound consonantal letters and the different forms which the vowels assume when connected with consonants. The compound consonantal letters and these duplicate vowel forms could be done away with by abolishing the convention that the vowel (অ) *a* is understood in all consonants written without the *hasanta* sign. My suggestion will be clear from the following two examples : instead of writing করিয়া (করিয়া) we should write কঅরইয়া, কঅরইয়া which in Roman characters would be *kariya* ; instead of writing ভক্তি (মকিত) we should write ভঅকতই, মঅকতই which would be *bhakti* in Roman characters.

A far greater handicap than the absence of satisfactory typewriting machines for our vernaculars is the non-existence of type-casting and setting machines like the linotype,

the monotype, etc., for our vernaculars. Unless there be such machines for the vernacular, daily newspapers in them can never promptly supply the reading public with news and comments thereupon as fresh and full as newspapers conducted in English. The vernacular dailies labour also under the disadvantage that they receive all their inland and foreign telegraphic messages in English, which they have to translate before passing them on to the printer's department, which dailies conducted in English have not got to do. Reporting in the vernaculars has not made as much progress as in English, which latter even is here in a backward condition. This fact often necessitates the translation of English reports into the vernacular. I am dwelling on these points, because journalism conducted in English can never appease the news-hunger, views-hunger and knowledge-hunger of the vast population of India. Of the 22,623,651 literate persons in India only 2,527,350 are literate in English. When there is universal and free compulsory education throughout India, this difference between the number of literates in the vernacular and that of literates in English will most probably increase instead of decreasing. Therefore, for the great development of journalism in India, we must depend on its development through the medium of the vernaculars.

Madras has earned for itself the credit of establishing an institution for imparting education in journalism. Fully equipped institution for giving such training should be established at all University centres. As reporting has necessarily to be taught at such schools, special attention should be paid to reporting in the vernaculars.

Progress in journalism depends to a great extent on the supply of cheap paper, ink, etc. Raw materials for their manufacture exist in India in abundance. If we could supply our own paper, ink, etc., that would be a great step forward. The manufacture of our own printing machinery would also be a great help. Though that is not a problem whose solution can be looked for in the immediate future, we note with hope that the mineral resources of India are quite sufficient for all such purposes.

Photographic materials and everything else needed for equipping process engraving departments are also required for big newspaper establishments. How far India can ever be self-supplying in this respect can be stated only by specialists.

One of the disadvantages of Indian journalism is that the supply of foreign news is practically entirely in the hands of foreigners. Reuter gives us much news which we do not want, and does not give us much that we want. Moreover, what is given reaches us after manipulation in British interests. "The Free Press of India" has recently rendered good service in arranging for news being sent, quickly from London in relation to the Simon Commission. Permanent arrangements for such independent supply of foreign news would remove a much-felt want, though the disadvantage of cables and ether waves being controlled by non-Indians would still remain. Some of our dailies have correspondents in London. There should be such correspondents in the capitals of other powerful and progressive foreign countries.

Indian dailies in many provinces already have correspondents in all the principal provinces, who ought to pay greater attention to their cultural movements and events and vernacular journals than they do, it would perhaps be very desirable for the most flourishing dailies to have among their editorial assistants competent young men from different provinces, who could pay attention to things appearing in their vernacular newspapers also. The German mode of apprenticeship known as *wander-jahre* or wander year, that is the time spend in travel by artisans, students, etc., as a mode of apprenticeship, may be adopted by our young journalists also. Of course, they could do so with advantage only if our dailies in the different provinces would by mutual arrangement agree to allow such persons to serve in their editorial offices for fixed periods. Such all-India experience would stimulate our love of India as a whole, broaden our outlook, and cure us of our provincial narrownesses and angularities to a considerable extent.

It would be desirable to have an All-India Journalist's Association and Institute with branches in provincial centres. These should be registered under Act. XXI of 1860. The association may have a monthly journal and draw up a code of ethics and etiquette for journals. Without such Associations, solidarity and co-operation, we cannot aspire to acquire and exercise the influence belonging rightfully to the Fourth Estate. There should be libraries connected with such Associations or with the schools of journalism referred to above. In these libraries, in addition to books, reports, etc., required by the profession complete files of all important journals should be kept. It may be difficult if not impossible, now to procure files of all such papers from the beginning; but earnest attempt ought to be made.

There should be Journalist's Defence Funds in all provinces, in order that no deserving journalist may go undefended for want of means when prosecuted for sedition, and similar technical offences. A Journalists' Benevolent Fund may also be created for helping the families of deceased journalists under stated conditions.

So far as I am aware, there is no complete and connected history of journalism in any province of India, though fragmentary notes and articles have been written. When such provincial histories have been published, it would be easy to write a complete History of Indian Journalism.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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The Study Of Man And His Antecedents

The study of man in his relation to race and geography is an area of intellectual discipline which has been of comparatively recent growth. But the importance of the subject in historical evaluation of the process of evolution of civilization is being increasingly realized and applied with the progress of the times. In fact, by modern reckoning such studies are considered to be the very bones and flesh of history, and not just a mere chronology of names and events.

And history, it is now universally recognized, is the very foundation upon which the future trends of the entire human race are based. It is history which has enabled civilized man to break through the barriers of geography and race, of language and culture, of religion and custom and, thereby, increasingly move forward towards a widening integration of the human race. How true this is, would be demonstrated by the increasingly widening horizons of human association cutting across conflicting political systems, warring race ideologies, belligerent religious institutions and contradictory cultures towards an integrated pattern of synthesis of cultures, religions, races and social values.

In India *The Modern Review* has been almost a pioneer in lending its support and making valuable contributions to such studies of man and his antecedents towards the universalism which modern man of all races, cultures and religious persuasions have been gradually moving forward to. Man in isolation within the context of his little bit of territory, the narrow confines of his religious beliefs and social habits, has hardly any place in modern thinking which has been endeavouring to place him beyond these confining inhibitions into his true heritage as an important and vital unit *in the world of man as a whole*.

We have great pleasure to include in this section a few important studies in this field of endeavour published in *The Modern Review*, beginning from a very early stage in its sixty-year career.

Anthropometry And Race

Even so late as thirty years ago there were philologists who thought that races speaking related languages must themselves be related. This opinion, opposed as it was to the most obvious facts, is now entirely abandoned, and it is recognized that the test of race is not linguistic but physical. More common sense would lead to the same conclusion, for it is evident that a negro who speaks English is not an Englishman. But the signs of race which the ordinary man applies, colour, curliness of hair, &c., are not visible in the skeleton, and cannot help us to distinguish the races of the past. Even for living races it seems to many more scientific to be guided by quantitative distinctions rather than by general aspect. Hence systematic measurements have been introduced, especially of the skull, and, in the living man, of the head. The proportions of the head and face have been expressed by various indices of which the most important is the cephalic index equal to a hundred times the ratio of the breadth of the head to its length. When this index is below 75 the man is said to be dolicho-cephalic ; when above 80 to be brachy-cephalic.

There is however great divergence as to the conclusions to which anthropometry leads. The Scandinavians and the Southern Italians are dolicho-cephalic, and are said by Sergi to be of the same race, his Mediterranean race, while Keane considers them to belong to different races. Keane is influenced by the differences in stature which Sergi thinks of subordinate importance. According to Broca, the Ligurians were brachy-cephalic, while Sergi and Keane agree in taking them to be dolicho-cephalic. Canon Trylor Says :

"We know, that in the early centuries of our era Southern Germany was Teutonised in speech by German invaders, whose tombs known as the Row Graves, contain dolicho-cephalic skulls with a mean index of 71.3."

But Sergi Tells us that

"The so-called Reihengraber types are not Germanic Aryans but belong to the pre-Aryan population."

As to "Aryans", that is to say, the men who spoke the primitive language from which Indo-European languages are descended, there is the widest difference of opinion. Penka maintains that they were dolicho-cephalic and originally inhabited Scandinavia while Sergi holds that they were brachy-cephalic and came from Asia. Indeed, so numerous are the contradictions of anthropometry, that an eminent archaeologist, Professor Ridgeway, says :

"As the physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement, the historical inquirer must not at present base any argument on this class of evidence."

When experts arrive at different conclusions, the layman begins to doubt the validity of their methods. Let us then see what is the method of the physical anthropologist. He goes to a country, measures some heads, finds the average of certain indices, and from this average infers the race of the inhabitants. His method rests on the following assumption : "Difference in an average index implies difference of race." No doubt the more cautious anthropologists would not make this assumption without reserve and Sergi repudiates it altogether. He tells us : "that indices may serve to approximate the most diverse forms and to separate the most homogeneous." But other writers have no hesitation in deducing race from index. Thus Canon Taylor on the ground of mean index distinguishes between the people of Jena and the people of Hesse. The inhabitants of Jena whose mean index is 76.9 are dolicho-cephalic Germans, while those of Hesse, with a mean index of 79.2 are brachy-cephalic Celts.

In a previous article we have examined the use of the average, but it is perhaps as well again to call attention to the fact that the statements of anthropologists refer to averages, not to individuals. A single department of France, the Charente, has indices varying from less than 70 to more than 90, so that some of the inhabitants are very dolicho-cephalic and others very brachy-cephalic, and every department shews a range of variation as great or nearly as great. In every one, brachy-cephals and dolicho-cephals are to be met with. But further, even in the same family broad and long heads may be found. A French writer, quoted by Holmes, says :

"Of two brothers one will have black eyes and the other blue ; one will have a long and the other a round skull ; the father and mother will be tall and the children short."

The celebrated Viennese anatomist Hyrtl used to puzzle the anthropologists by asking them the races to which the skulls in his museum belonged. They would name the most various races, but as a matter of fact, the skulls were all German. The present writer remembers that in 1885, after a course of lectures on anthropometry by Professor Macalister at Cambridge, two of the audience measured their heads and one was brachy-cephalic and the other dolicho-cephalic. They were cousins.

When these facts are brought before the anthropologist he replies : "The reason is that the Germans and English are not pure races." Putting the biological questions on one side, for the moment, it is clear that this use of the word "race" deprives it of all political significance. Obviously, from the social and political points of view brothers and cousins belong to the same race. It follows that any inference as to conquering and conquered races when based only on the cephalic index must be very doubtful. We noticed the variations of cephalic index in a single French department. Now the indices of 900 Bavarian skulls were found to vary from 70 to 98, or if we exclude sporadic cases from 76 to 90. So that on any battlefield of the Franco-German War of 1870, we may expect to find dolicho-cephalic and brachy-cephalic skulls. Both kinds of skulls belong to both nations, but if we did not know the facts and followed the methods of some anthropologists we might suppose there had been a conflict between a broad-headed and a long-headed race. Now the ancient nations were also not pure races, so that when for example in Crete, broad skulls and long skulls are found dating from before 2,000 B. C., it may well be that their owners belonged to the same community.

We come now to the biological question of pure and mixed races and we shall see if there is any sense in which brothers or cousins may be said to have different racial peculiarities. According to one view there is no such thing as a mixed race. Of course the existence of mulattoes, the offspring of parents of different races is not denied, but it is said that these mulattoes are sterile, or comparatively sterile, among themselves, so that the breed can only be maintained by intercrossing with one of the parent stocks. In a memoir published in 1864, M. Broca cautiously summed up the evidence available at that time. He points out that the word "race" has been used in two senses. When used in the first sense :

"To distinguish two races, a single character, however slight, is sufficient, provided it be hereditary and sufficiently fixed. If, for instance two peoples differed merely from each by the colour of the hair and the beard, though they may resemble each other in every other respect, by the simple fact, that the one has black, whilst the other has fair hair, it may be asserted that they are not of the same race."

We may perhaps call the Jews, Arabs and Basques races in this sense. When used in the larger sense the word "race" is applied to groups consisting of those races in the narrower sense which have certain common characteristics. The Caucasian race is an example. Now M. Broca has collected a good deal of evidence to show that in certain cases when the parents belong to different groups the offspring is infertile. On the other hand he thinks that it is possible for a mixed race to arise from two nearly allied races of the same group. His conclusions are as follows :

1. That certain intermixtures are perfectly engenic.
2. The other intermixtures are in their results notably inferior to those of engenic hybridity.
3. That Mulattoes of the first degree, issued from the union of the Anglo-Saxon race with the African Negroes, appear inferior in fecundity and longevity to individuals of the pure races.

4. That it is at least doubtful, whether these Mulattoes in their alliances between themselves, are capable of indefinitely perpetuating their race.

5. That alliances between the Anglo-Saxons and the Melanesian races are but little prolific."

The evidence on which these conclusions are based is not always very satisfactory and as the reader will note, M. Broca expresses himself with great caution. His results need to be revised in the light of knowledge acquired since his time. Mendel's work, which has effected a revolution in the theory of heredity, was communicated to the scientific society of Brunn in 1865, a year after the publication of M. Broca's memoir, but it did not become widely known till 1900. Although Mendel's laws have so far only been verified for human beings in a few cases, they have been proved true for so many animals and plants that it is not likely man will be an exception.

"The deficiency of evidence is probably due to the special difficulties attending the study of human heredity. Human families are small compared with those of our experimental animals or plants, and the period covered by each generation is so long that no observer can examine many."

What Mendel's discovery was may be stated in his own words. When the parents belong to two varieties possessing constant differentiating characters.

"The hybrids from seeds having one or other of the two differentiating character, and of these one-half develop again the hybrid form, while the other half-yield plants which remain constant and receive the dominant or the recessive characters (respectively) in equal numbers." "If A be taken as denoting one of the two constant characters, for instance the dominant, a the recessive, and Aa the hybrid form, in which both are conjoined, the expression $A + 2Aa + a$ show the terms in the series for the progeny of the hybrids of two differentiating characters."

In one set of experiments Mendel crossed two varieties of the edible pea, one tall and one short. The hybrids were all tall. When only one of two opposite characters appears in the hybrids, it is called the dominant character and in this case tallness was dominant. The other character, in this case shortness, is called the recessive. This character is absent from the hybrids but it appears again in their descendants, for the next generation consists of both tall and short plants in the proportion of three to one. Further breeding shews that the short plants are pure, but the tall plants are two parts hybrid and one part pure. So that altogether the generation bred from the hybrids consists of one part pure tall, one part pure short and two parts hybrid. Mendel emphasizes the fact, so entirely opposed to popular beliefs, that transitional forms were not observed in any experiment. The germ cells of the hybrids convey either the character of tallness or the character of shortness, not an intermediate character. This separation of characters in the germ cells is known as segregation. It is the chief part of Mendel's discovery. Dominance is of less though of great importance and does not always occur. When dominance is imperfect the hybrids produced by the union of germ cells of opposite characters may present an intermediate

character. In any case however as far as single pair of opposite characters is concerned there cannot be more than three types, two pure and one hybrid. The common belief is that there is an indefinite number of intermediate types, as if the phrase "mixture of blood" were to be taken literally and blood could be mixed in the proportion of one-to-one or three to one, or seven to one. But this is impossible according to the Mendelian laws of inheritance.

So far we have only spoken of one pair of opposite characters. But the parents may differ in several. Mendel examined seven distinct pairs of characters in peas. He found that "the relation of each pair of different characters in hybrid union is independent of the other differences in the two original parental stocks." The descendants then may be pure in certain characters and hybrid in others. It is an essential part of Mendel's theory that each character must be considered separately. Sometimes it may happen that a character apparently simple depends on more than one factor. Professor Bateson has shewn this to be the case with the combs of fowls. When this happens, the validity of Mendel's laws can only be proved by a good deal of careful analysis and experiment.

The investigation of heredity in man is, as has been said, peculiarly difficult. One case, which has been very carefully studied is the transmission of the colour of the eyes. Eyes may be divided into two classes according as there is pigment in the front of the iris or not. Those with pigment will generally be considered brown and those without blue, but the popular estimate does not always correspond with the result of scientific examinations. Using then the words "brown" and "blue" in a somewhat technical sense, it is found that the brown colour is dominant to the blue, so that the blue are always pure blue while the brown may be either pure brown or hybrids. According to Mendel's theory then, the union of blue and blue should produce only blue, and this was verified in for children the result of 20 marriages. When brown is mated with brown if either of the browns is pure the children should be all brown and blue in the ratio of three to one. This result was also verified. These investigations were carried out by Mr. Hurst in a small English village, so that if with Broca we say that any character transmissible by heredity is sufficient to distinguish a race, then the inhabitants of an English village are a mixed race. It would be possible to produce from among them a pure blue-eyed race by selective breeding. In this sense two brothers might belong to two different races. For if the parents be both hybrids some of their children may be pure blue-eyed and some pure brown-eyed.

The transmission of skin colour is not so simple. If it depended on a single factor we should expect that in America, the children of mulattoes, would be a quarter pure white, a quarter pure negro and the remaining half again mulatto like their parents. This is not what happens, but it does not follow that the Mendelian theory fails, because its application is not immediately obvious. Instances of segregation have been adduced; in some mentioned by Mr. Mudge the races were Scotch and Canadian Red Indian, and in another published in the Journal of the R. A. M.C they were northern English and

Panjabi. If segregation does not usually occur the explanation may be that suggested by Mr. Doncaster :

"It is also not impossible, when germ-cells differing very considerably in constitution combine in fertilisation, that in the formation of the germ-cells of the next generation the machinery for segregation is inadequate. Extreme cases of this are possibly the cause of the frequent sterility of hybrids, but it may be that when the parental differences are insufficient to prevent the formation of fertile germ-cells, they may yet be enough to interfere with normal Mendelian segregation."

That is to say, absence of segregation is a stage on the way to sterility. It may be conjectured that when the parental races are far removed there is at least partial sterility, and when they are near there is segregation. At any rate, there are, I believe, hardly any instances of a mixed race breeding true to an intermediate type. Before Mendel's time Waitz wrote :

"The sterility of Mulattoes, when it is complete, may be compared with the fact recognised by Wirgman, that the hybrids of intermediate types between the two parent stocks are sterile, whilst those resembling one or the other species are prolific.

Sterility, it must be remembered, does not mean that the hybrids have no children. It means that comparatively few of their children reach maturity, so that the race unless blended with one of the parent races would become extinct. M. Jacquinot, a Zoologist, who travelled in Oceania from 1837 to 1840 claims to have been the first to point out the sterility of human cross-breeds in this sense. He asserts that "if their unions were constantly between themselves they would not be long before becoming extinct." M. Jacquinot's belief was founded on general impression, not on precise statistics, but Dr. Nott, a physician in South Carolina who had exceptional opportunities for ascertaining the facts, arrived at the same conclusion for the hybrids between the negroes and Anglo-Saxons. According to him the children of Mulatto women generally die young and when Mulattoes intermarry they are less prolific than when crossed on the parent stock. M. Broca has collected with great care and caution much more evidence of the same kind. Perhaps the most striking fact is the diminution of free coloured men in the old slavery days, after the owners had been prohibited from emancipating their slaves. These free coloured men were the natural children of slave owners and had been emancipated by their fathers. They could neither marry slaves on one hand, nor white men on the other. When the liberation of slaves was forbidden their numbers diminished rapidly. The census of Charleston shew a decrease from 2,107 to 1,491 between the years 1830 and 1848.

It seems then very doubtful whether a mixed race can maintain itself, and the existence of such a race ought not to be believed without strong evidence. According to Sir Herbert Risley the inhabitants of the United Provinces are Aryo-Dravidians descended from Aryan fathers and Dravidian mothers. The original Aryan invaders, he thinks, had no dislike to Dravidian women and often took them as wives. *But the sons issued from these unions developed such an aversion to the race of their mothers that marriage with*

Dravidian women was forbidden under the severest social penalties, This is not very probable in itself, and Sir Herbert Risley seems unaware of the serious reasons for doubting whether races so far apart as the Aryans and Dravidians could unite to form a mixed race. He makes no mention of segregation or of sterility in the unions of hybrids. If the Aryo-Dravidian hybrids had, as Sir Herbert Risley thinks, "closed their ranks to all further intermixture of blood," they would, we may infer from the example of South Carolina, in all probability before long have become extinct. Sir Herbert Risley does not bring forward any direct evidence in support of his conjecture but he refers to the cases of the Eurasians of India and the "Burghers" of Ceylon. Now the Eurasians do not form a caste. They merge one side into the English born in India, and on the other into the Indian Christians many of whom have English names. It is not true, as Sir Herbert Risley incorrectly states, that the Eurasians "do not intermarry with natives and only occasionally with pure-bred Europeans." Such marriages, I can say from personal knowledge, are by no means uncommon. Indeed it would be impossible to prevent them, for the pedigree of the Eurasian is generally unknown and he may be as fair as a pure Englishman or as dark as pure Indian. About the Burghers of Ceylon I know nothing directly. But Mr. Willis, a competent authority, writes in his "Ceylon":

"This term dating from the days of the Dutch is commonly applied in Ceylon to people of mixed European and native descent, in fact as the term Eurasian is used in India, but strictly it applies to descendant of the Dutch, some of whom are quite white and have no native blood in their veins."

Obviously the example of the Burghers proves nothing.

It is as well to note again that when speaking of mixed races we mean mixed in one particular character. The separate transmission of characters must not be forgotten. Professor Bateson says:

"In current parlance, dogs, for example, derived from a cross a few generations back have been spoken of as $1/8$ Bulldog, or $1/32$ Pointer blood, and so forth. Such expressions are quite uncritical, for they neglect the fact that the characters may be transmitted separately, and that an animal may have only $1/32$ of the 'blood' of some progenitor, and yet be pure in one or more of his traits."

If segregation takes place a race may be produced resembling one of the parent races in some character and the other parent race in another character. In one of Mendel's experiments hybrids were formed from peas with round seeds and yellow albumen and peas with wrinkled seeds and green albumen. Among the plants produced in the second generation some had round seeds and green albumen and some wrinkled seeds and yellow albumen. Perhaps in human races features and complexion are two distinct characters. Every one who has lived for some years in India must have seen Eurasians who had perfectly English features with a very dark complexion.

We have seen that if Mendelian segregation takes place, it is possible for two brothers to have different racial characteristics. To distinguish the races is comparatively easy, at least for an expert, when the difference consists in the presence or absence of a certain

character, such as a pigment. But it is not easy, when as in the case of cephalic index the difference is only quantitative, for there will always be quantitative differences between individuals of the same race. For the same race, the frequencies which the different values occur will very often, though not always, follow the normal law. Conversely, if the curve of frequencies can be broken up into two normal components we may suspect a mixture of races. But the real distinction is whether the differences are transmitted hereditarily, or not. For instance, if the index 72 occurred in a dolicho-cephalic race, we should expect the children to have an average nearly 72, but if the same index occurred in a brachycephalic race whose average index was 86, we should expect the average of the children to be between 72 and 86.

So far as I know the laws of the hereditary transmission of cephalic index have not yet been examined, so that these expectations have not been directly tested. But it has been found that the average height of sons lies between the average height of their fathers and the average height of the community to which they belong. More conclusive results are obtained for plants which can be self-fertilized so that the complication of two parents is avoided. It has been shown that the exceptional qualities of parents are only in part transmitted to their descendants. Hence species cannot be indefinitely modified by the repeated selection of individuals as the older Darwinists supposed.

"The conception of Evolution as proceeding through the gradual transformation of masses of individuals by the accumulation of impalpable changes is one that the study of genetics shows immediately to be false."

Since the researches of Bateson and De Vries most biologists believe species to have arisen by discontinuous changes. They distinguish between the "Mutations" through which species have arisen, and the "Fluctuations" among individuals within the same species, De Vries states five laws as characteristic of mutations, and two of these may be quoted here :

"New elementary species appear suddenly without intermediate steps."

"New elementary species obtain their full constancy at once."

Clearly this last point can only be decided by breeding experiments, and it is in the institution of systematic breeding experiments that the work of Bateson and De Vries and their followers chiefly differs from that of the older biologists. In the words of De Vries "the origin of species is an object of experimental investigation." An American naturalist Mr. Tower has shewn in the potato-beetle that a mutation may be produced artificially by exposing the parents to special conditions during the time of development and fertilisation of the area. When the new species was crossed with the old, the result was according to Mendel's laws, the parent species being dominant. It may be conjectured that mutations in man arise in a similar way from change of climate. All the sporadic instances of fair hair and blue eye which occur in such countries as Kulu and Afghanistan ought to be studied by some medical man.

Obviously experiments cannot be carried out in human beings. But a partial equivalent may be found by collecting pedigrees and noting the resemblance between parents

and children. To some extent this has been done empirically from the earliest times. It is a matter of common knowledge that the features of the Jew and the hair and thick lips of the Negro are transmitted from father to son. But cephalic index has never fallen under popular observation, and the laws of its transmission are, I believe, entirely unknown. Before this index is used as a test of race, we ought to know its range of fluctuation in a pure race. Then, for a mixture of races, we ought to know if there is any dominance, and if so whether brachy-cephalism or dolicho-cephalism is dominant. The effects of climate too must be considered. We meet with typical Jews in all countries, so that his peculiarities of feature are not much affected by climate. But it is doubtful if this is the case with cephalic index. Observations by an American Anthropologist, Professor Boas, seem to prove the contrary. The children found in America of long-headed Europeans are less long headed and the children of broad-headed Europeans less broad-headed than their parents. In both cases there is an approach to an intermediate type. Until these points are cleared up, there is no satisfactory scientific basis for the use of the cephalic index.

According to Dr. Haddon, "in a race as pure as possible there may be range in the cephalic index of 13 units." The Babhans of Behar, who form a single endogamous group are found on consulting the tables of the "People of India" to have cephalic indices varying from 70 to 90. But it is not easy to ascertain the purity, or to speak more strictly of the cephalic-index purity, of a race. If Mendelian segregation takes place, a group which has been endogamous for centuries may still be mixed. For the sake of definiteness let us take an imaginary illustration. The Romans were, the old story tells us, the issue of marriages between the followers of Romulus and Sabine women. Let us assume that the fathers belonged to a dolicho-cephalic and the mothers to a brachy-cephalic race. If either of the types was dominant the first generation of hybrids will all belong to that type. But the second generation and all subsequent generations would contain both dolicho-cephals and brachy-cephals. The race would always be mixed even if there were the strictest laws against marriage with foreigners. Now from the earliest times men of one tribe have carried off women of another tribe and to this extent the old legend corresponds with actual fact. It seems then that the possibility of mixture can never be excluded. Some indication might be obtained by finding the curve of frequencies of the cephalic index. On our assumption this would probably break up into two normal curves. But, as has already been said, parents and children ought to be compared. If we suppose brachy-cephalism to be recessive, then the children of two brachy-cephals would themselves be brachy-cephals. We may note again that a politically homogeneous people might by anthropometrical tests be proved to consist of two races.

In the absence of all knowledge of its hereditary transmission some idea of the value of the cephalic index as a test of race may be obtained from its correspondence with other race characters. As a matter of fact, it does not correspond at all.

"If we compare the maps of the distribution of the cephalic index, with those of colour and stature we find that there is absolutely not a shadow of relation between them."

The cephalic index separates races closely allied and is almost identical for races widely different. Judged by this index the Frenchman of Haute-Vienne is nearer akin to the Bengali Brahman than to his brother Frenchman of the adjoining department Correze. Bengali Brahman readers may be interested to learn that their average cephalic index, coincides with those of the English and Chinese. All three are intermediate in value between those of the Swedes and the Germans and also between those of the North Italians and the South Italians. Panjabis, Arabs, Esquimaux, Scandinavians, Negroes, South Italians, Burmese, Frenchmen, Koreans, Germans, North American Indians are brachy-cephalic. Parsees, English, Bengalis, Chinese, are mesati-cephalic. Should, however, any reader feel dissatisfied with his racial affinities he may reflect that these statements only refer to averages. In almost every nation we find almost every cephalic index so that whatever the individual cephalic index of the reader may be, he may claim on the strength of it to belong to the race which pleases him best.

The nasal index does not give any better results. This is an index which requires peculiar care, since owing to the smallness of the quantities measured slight errors in measurement will give rise to a large error in the value obtained. Sometimes the height of the nose is very difficult to determine. The opinion of anthropologists as to this index has changed, for while M. Broca estimated its value very highly, M. Collignon after elaborate researches thinks it of minor importance. Sir Herbert Risley however relies on the nasal index to prove that "community of race and not, as has frequently been argued, community of function, is the real determining principle of the caste system." This theory is founded on (1) the assertion that the nasal index of a caste corresponds with its social position; (2) the hypothesis that the varying nasal indices of the different castes correspond to the varying proportions in which two races have been mixed to form the caste. As an illustration of the "mixed race" theory of caste Sir Herbert Risley takes the Southern States of America where, he says, "Negroes intermarry with negroes and the various mixed races, mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons, each have a sharply restricted *jus conubii* of their own, and are absolutely cut off from legal unions with the white races." No evidence is offered in support of these statements. In the United Provinces the two races are the Aryans and Dravidians corresponding respectively to the whites and negroes of America. The Aryans have fine and the Dravidians coarse nose. But in the Panjab, it seems, there is only one race, the Aryan, and the inhabitants present a great uniformity of type, so that there is the closest physical resemblance between the Rajput and the Chuhra in spite of the social gulf which divides them. Why then, on Sir Herbert Risley's theory, there should be castes in the Panjab is not obvious and is not explained. Even if it were true that the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons, of the Southern States formed distinct castes, that would hardly give rise to castes in Canada. Nor is it any easier to see why there should be castes among the pure Dravidians who are said to occupy "the whole of

Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chutia Nagpur." Yet it is in Southern India that the caste system is strictest. If, as Sir Herbert Risley says, "representatives of the Indo-Aryan type" have passed down south to Madras, we can understand their forming a separate caste from the Dravidians, but this would not account for the Dravidians having castes among themselves. However "even in the provinces farthest removed from the Indo-Aryan settlements in North-Western India, members of the upper caste are still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion" and these upper castes are, still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion from the mass of the population" and these upper castes are, we suppose Aryans. The Bengalis, however, are only credited "with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups" and are said to be "a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements." We are not told in what proportions the Mongols and Dravidians are blended in the different castes. But among the Scytho-Dravidians of Western India, the Scythians predominate in the higher groups and the Dravidians in the lower.

This is, so far as I understand it, Sir Herbert Risley's theory of caste. To put it in short, caste arose in the United Provinces, Bengal and Madras owing to the refusal of Aryan half-breeds to marry Dravidian women, and in Western India owing to the refusal of Scythian half-breeds to marry Dravidian women. How caste arose in the Punjab is left unexplained. The theory of heredity implied is somewhat antiquated and it is doubtful whether hybrid races such as Aryo-Dravidians, Mongolo-Dravidians, Scytho-Dravidians could exist. But without further discussions of questions of heredity, we will examine how far caste and nasal index correspond. It is said that this correspondence is particularly close in the United Provinces so that there the castes rank substantially in the orders of their nasal indices. Now if we turn to the table for the United Provinces we find that the difference between two consecutive indices is generally less than a unit and is hardly ever much greater. But the probable error of random sampling is sometimes a little under and sometimes over a unit. Before we can feel confident that a difference is significant it ought to be three or four times the probable error. But this is not the case for any one of the differences between consecutive indices. We may then be particularly certain that the actual order of the indices is largely a matter of chance, so that the alleged correspondence with the order of social precedence is of no importance whatever. Let us then consider only the really significant differences such as that between Brahmans and Chamars. The Brahmans have an average index of 74.6 and the Chamars of 86. This is a considerable difference, and the higher caste, has, as it ought to have, the lower nasal index. But unfortunately for the theory, the Kanjars, a caste even lower than the Chamars, have a nasal index of 78, and index not much greater than that of the Brahmans and almost identical with that of the Chattris and Khatris, two of the best castes in the provinces. Further the Chamar or Muchi of Bengal has a nasal index of 74.9, which, within the limits of error, is the same as that of the Brahman of the United provinces. It seems then that if a low nasal index is a sign of Aryan blood, Sir Herbert Risley is wrong in attributing to the

Bengalis merely a "strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups." He ought rather to have said that even the Chamars of Bengal have as pure Aryan blood as the Brahmans of Hindustan.

In the "People of India" the indices for the castes are given in different tables and sometimes arranged in order of nasal index, sometimes in order of cephalic index. It seems to us fairer to follow always the order of nasal index and not to make any artificial divisions between the different parts of India. As we cannot give all the castes, since this would exceed the space at our disposal, we select some from each province. The theory to be tested is, we remind the reader, that the higher castes have lower nasal indices because of their purer Aryan blood. Decimals are omitted as of no significance.

Index of 67. The Gujar, a low though not untouchable caste of the Panjab.

Index of 69. The Sikh of the Panjab; the Lambadi, an untouchable caste of Southern India.

Index of 70. Brahman and Kayasth of Eastern Bengal.

Index of 72. The Rajput of Panjab; the Coorg; the Brahman of Western Bengal.

Index of 73. The Khatri of the Panjab; the Nagar Brahman of Ahmedabad; the Vella, a low caste in Southern India.

Index of 74. The Bhumi-har Brahman (or Babhan) of Bihar; the Chandal, the most degraded caste of Bengal.

Index of 75. The Chuhra (or sweeper) of the Panjab; the Shenvi Brahman of Bombay; the Brahman of the United provinces; the Muchi (or Chamar) of Bengal,

Index of 76. The Brahman of Bellary; the Koli (a low caste) of Bombay.

Index of 77. The Chitpawan Brahman; the Goala of Behar.

Index of 78. The Chhatri; the Kanjar; and the Khatri of the United Provinces.

Index of 79. The Brahman of Puri in Orissa; the Dom, the lowest of all castes, the Lohardaga in Chota Nagpur; the Kurmi of the United Provinces; the Deshaste Brahman of Poona.

Index of 80. The Bania and Kahar of the United Provinces; the Maratha of Poona; the Pariah of Southern India.

It will be seen, I think, from the above table that nasal index has no relation either to caste or to race. The Rajputs of the Panjab are said to be pure Aryans, while the Coorgs of Southern India speak a Dravidian language and practise polyandry. Yet the two races have the same nasal index. This example would alone be sufficient to refute the assertion that a low index is connected with Aryan blood. The utmost that can be said is that the highest nasal indices occur among low castes... But this has no special connection with race, for in Japan too, where there is no caste system, the lower classes have coarser noses than the higher. I have seen an ingenious explanation of this fact by a member of the Indian Medical service, but I do not mention it here, as I believe it will before long

be published. Whatever the explanation, the fact shews that differences in feature may arise through occupation and intellectual culture even in countries where there is no caste. The converse proposition that the lowest nasal indices occur among the high castes is not true, for the Chandal of Bengal has a lower nasal index than the Brahman of the United Provinces.

We have seen then that neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race. The truth is, the method of indices has been thoroughly discredited among anthropologists, and were it not employed in the "People of India", a book published in 1908, we should have supposed it had no longer any followers. Sergi, the eminent professor of anthropology at Rome, says :

"A method which is only in appearance a method inevitably leads to errors and can produce no results ; if the archaeologists have had no faith in anthropology they have been justified."

For this "old and irrational method" he would substitute the natural method which consists in judging by the form of the skull. "Indices," he says, "may serve to approximate the most diverse forms, and to separate the most homogeneous." "An index of 74 is in its ethnic significance the same as one of 76 or 77."

Sergi's method has led him to the conclusion that there is a human species with "four characteristic and constant cranial forms, always found together in every region and in every clime, with whatever variations in external characters ; these are the pentagonal, the ellipsoidal, the ovoid and the arrow-shaped." The species Sergi calls Eurafrican "because having had its origin in Africa, where it is still represented by many peoples, has been diffused from pre-historic times, in Europe, and has formed the basis of the most primitive population." It is divided according to the pigmentation of the skin, hair and eyes into three races, the African, the Mediterranean and the Nordic, found in Scandinavia, North Germany and England. In Central Europe another species is found called by Sergi, Eurasiatic, because he supposes it to have originally come from Asia. It is characterised by broad skulls of four different forms, cuboid, cuneiform, spheroid and platy-cephalic. We may call the Eurasiatic race, brachy-cephalic, as the mean index is about 83 ; and the Eurafrican race with a mean index about 72, dolichocephalic. But it must be remembered that in individual cases importance is attached not to the precise value of an index but to the shape of the skull. The Eurasiatic race was the original Aryan race, that is to say, the race which spoke the parent language from which Indo-European languages are descended. Sergi writes :

"I am also convinced that this Eurasiatic species has yielded those populations called Aryan, and today represented by three chief branches, the Celts, the Germans, and the Slavs ; while the populations, outside these three branches, which have been called Aryan on linguistic grounds, i. e., the Latins, Hellenes, and Germans of the Reihengraber, are not Aryans though Aryanised in language. I am finally convinced that these Aryans when they invaded Europe were savages, very inferior in civilisation to the neolithic Eurafricans,

and hence that they were not the imposers of a new and superior civilisation as has been stated by those who were in ignorance of the real facts."

If we look at a physical map of Europe and Asia, we shall see that there is an almost unbroken plain north of the Alps, the Carpathians, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian. In this plain we may, if Sergi's theory be correct, suppose the primitive Aryan to have lived. They were a nomad people with scarcely any knowledge of agriculture. In physical type, they were of moderate height and markedly brachy-cephalic. They burned their dead and reckoned descent through the father. Scholars approaching the question from the philological side have come to substantially the same conclusion as Sergi. Thus Schroeder, the Professor of Sanskrit at Vienna, writes :

"There can no longer be any doubt that the Aryans once lived, still undivided, diffused over Central Europe as far as South Russia, before the Asiatic branches of the family, Indians and Persians, separated themselves from it; before Greeks and Romans penetrated into the southern peninsulas of Europe."

When the layman thinks how often learned philologists have applied the words "there can be no doubt" to theories now abandoned, he may be excused some scepticism. In any case Professor Schroeder must be assumed to give the opinion of scholars at the present time.

Projecting towards the south, there are three peninsulas, separated from the central portion of Europe by mountainous ranges. These peninsulas were, and still for the most part are, according to Sergi, inhabited by a different race, the Mediterranean race. It is markedly dolicho-cephalic, somewhat short, and of darker complexion than the Aryans. In the northern peninsula of Europe we meet with a people that is also dolicho-cephalic but of very fair complexion and tall stature. These people, says Sergi, also belong to the Mediterranean race, and differences in height and complexion are the effects of climate, but in this opinion he is not followed by all ethnologists. In the west of Europe, we find the earliest inhabitants of Britain were of the Mediterranean race. They had long skulls with an average index of 72 and by a coincidence fortunate for the memory buried their dead in long barrows. Later came Aryan invaders who buried their dead in round barrows and had round skulls. Still later, in historic times, came the Saxons, a dolicho-cephalic people belonging to the nordic branch of the Mediterranean race. We may then sum up Sergi's results, roughly but conveniently, by saying that Central Europe is inhabited by Aryans, while the outlying portions—Spain, Italy, the Balkan peninsula, Scandinavia and the British isles are inhabited by the Mediterranean race of its nordic variety. The high civilisation which in very early times grew up round the Mediterranean sea, with Crete for its centre, was the work of this race, and is non-Aryan. In this opinion he is followed by many eminent archaeologists.

One very distinguished archaeologist however, Professor Ridgeway, is of an entirely opposite opinion. He maintains that the whole of Europe, excepting only the country of the Basques, has from the earliest neolithic period been inhabited by Aryans. Professor Ridgeway does not believe in pigmentation or in cephalic index as a test of race, and to

far he agrees with Professor Sergi. But he goes much further, and, unless I have misunderstood him, rejects the methods of physical anthropology altogether. All anthropometry depends on an assumption which is thus stated by Broca :

"Man, transplanted into a new climate, and subjected to a new mode of life, conserves and transmits to posterity all the essential characters of his race, and his descendants do not acquire the character of the indigenous race or races,—*Coslum non corpus mutant Qui trans mare currunt.*"

This assumption Professor Ridgeway denies. According to him :

"Osteological differences may be but foundations of sand because it is certain that such variations take place within very short periods, not only in the case of the lower animals, as in the horse family, but in man himself."

The difference, of course, turns on "short periods, for if we take long enough periods, all the varieties of mankind have, on doubt, had a common origin. But we are only looking back some five or six thousand years, not one or two hundred thousand years. Professor Ridgeway goes on to maintain the rather strange doctrine that language is a better test of race than physical appearance is. It is impossible to summarize an argument already condensed, and we must refer the reader to the address itself.

Let us put on one side question about which scholars disagree and note the points which may be regarded as fairly established. First, the belief that race can be determined by means of an average index is generally discredited. "The methods of the old anthropometry," Professor Burrow says, "are at present out of fashion." Next, the countries of Europe and Asia are inhabited for the most part by the same race as four or five thousand years ago. All the many invasions have not substantially altered the character of the populations. The conquerors pass away, the conquered survive. As Mr. Collignon says, it is not *vae victis* but *vae victoribus*. We may suppose that among human beings as among other animals, the different species and varieties are restricted to their own portion of the earth's surface. Species may be transplanted to a country with a similar climate, as European species have been transplanted to North America, Southern Australia and New Zealand. But in general a species or variety adapted to a temperate climate cannot live in a tropical climate, nor a species adapted to a tropical climate in a temperate. Often the invaders are destroyed by diseases from which the conquered population is comparatively immune. Even if they escape disease they lose their fecundity. Voleny in the 18th century had already noted this with reference to the Mamluks in Egypt.

It makes no difference whether the invaders marry with women of their own race, as the Mamluks did, or with women of the conquered population. Whichever happens the foreign race gradually becomes extinct.

This has been forcibly expressed by Professor Ridgeway :

"Where are the hosts of fair-haired warriors who streamed into the Balkan and the Mediterranean basin under the Roman empire? Where are the Goths of Maedia for whom Velfilas translated the Bible? Where are the posterity of the stalwart Norsemen,

who formed the Varangian guard of the Emperors of the East? Where are the Normans who once carved out kingdoms, marquisates and countries in Sicily, Italy and the Levant. These children of the North have all melted away beneath the southern sun as inevitably as does the glacier when it descends into the heat of the valley."

But Egypt, as Mr. Collignon points out, furnishes the most striking example of the permanence of the original race. Egypt has been ruled by Persians, Greeks, Roman, Arabs. Several millions of negroes have been brought into the country as slaves. Yet the Egyptian peasant of to-day is exactly like the peasant of the oldest dynasties. It is well known that one of the statues of the old kingdom is called "Sheikh-el-Beled" because the workmen who excavated it found a close resemblance to the Sheikh of their village Beled."

Three factors tend to bring about the gradual extinction of an invading race. First, there is the relative infertility of hybrids between widely differing races. Next, even if the invaders are accompanied by women of their own race, there is infertility due to climate. Lastly apart from hybridity and climate, the invaders die out from the fact that they in general form an aristocracy. We will quote Professor Ridgeway again:

"It is a known fact that the upper classes in all countries have an inevitable tendency to die out. As has long ago been pointed out by Sir Henry Maine, an admirable example of this sociological law is to be found in the peerage of England. How few families are there whose patent of nobility dates before 1700! What a small number are those who have had a title before 1600! While those whose nobility dates from before the Wars of the Roses are a mere handful. The House of Lords is therefore only kept going by the constant creation of new peers. We may therefore conclude that the dwindling of the master race in the Mediterranean, whether they were Achaeans, Goths, Celts, Norsemen, or Turks, must be in part accounted for by the mere fact that they formed in each case, the upper and ruling class, and could therefore afford to lead a life of luxury, which was the bane of their race."

It is true, not only of men, but of animals and plants generally, that excessive nutrition diminishes fecundity.

Another point to be considered is the comparatively small numbers of the invaders in all those invasions of which we have historical accounts. Gibbon notes this for the Teutonic invaders of the Roman empire in the 8th century, the Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths. There is a similar or even greater disproportion of numbers in the Arab conquest of Syria, Persia and Egypt, or the Norman conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily. We need not suppose that the conquests of which historical record is lost differed in this respect. Indeed, from the nature of the case, and invading host, even when accompanied by women and children, must be fewer in numbers than a settled population. The invaders, even if they had the power, would not have the wish to exterminate the peaceful original inhabitants, any more than they would wish to exterminate the domestic animals of the country. At all times men have preferred making others work for them to working for themselves. The only exception is when the two races are so different in character

that they cannot live together, as when, for instance one race wants for hunting land which the other wants for agriculture.

This exception does not apply to India, for agriculture seems to have been known in India, from very early times. In all the historic invasions of India the invaders have been few in number and we may suppose this to have been the case in the prehistoric invasions also. If the climate of southern Europe is fatal to the northern conqueror, much more so is that of India. Foreigners coming from the north can only live in India as rulers and administrators, not as colonizers doing the work of the field. This is not a matter of conjecture, for at the present time the hillmen cannot stay in the plains during the hot weather. These foreigners, for the reasons already given, have gradually died out. They may have changed the language of some parts of country, as the Arab did that of Egypt, but the character of the population has remained unchanged. In all probability the Indian of to-day is the same as the Indian of five thousand years ago.

If this is true we must reject the theory that India is inhabited by several distinct races, for the most part hybrid. In spite of all the differences to be met with in different parts there is a common Indian type distinguishing the Indian from the European or Chinaman or Arab. The stranger coming to India first notices the likeness of Indians to one another, and if the resident of many years overlooks this likeness, it is only another example of the common mistake of not seeing the forest because of the trees. There are differences no doubt between the Panjabi and the Madrasi, but they are not greater, perhaps not so great as the differences between the Swede and the Sicilian. Yet Professor Sergi and Professor Ridgeway are agreed in thinking that the Swede and the Sicilian are only two varieties of the same race. India must have been inhabited for as long as Europe, indeed for much longer, since it is a matter of obvious common sense that the countries in or near the tropics were inhabited before those of more northern latitudes. There is then ample time for the differences of local type we meet with in India to have been produced by climate. In the horse, Professor Ridgeway points out in his address, differences as great have been produced in a shorter time. As he remarks, we need "a rigid application of zoological laws in studying the evolution of the various races of man," otherwise the problem is insoluble.

The theory of the "unity of the Indian race" which Mr. Nesfield put forward twenty five years ago is then that which fits in best with the whole of the known facts.

"It presupposes an unbroken continuity in the national life from one stage of culture to another, analogous to what has taken place in every other country in the world whose inhabitants have emerged from the savage state."

We may imagine then that a single race, undergoing local modifications from climate, spread from the south of India to the Himalayas. They spoke Dravidian languages. Even now there is an isolated Dravidian language, Brahui, spoken in Baluchistan, pointing back to the time when Dravidian languages were spoken throughout the whole of India, as Gaelic and the recently extinct Cornish point back to the time when Celtic

were spoken throughout the whole of England and Scotland. Invaders imposed Aryan languages on the people of Northern India, as the Romans and Arabs imposed their languages on the people of Gaul and Egypt. But these invaders did not alter the racial character of the population.

Even if this theory has not been proved yet, it is more probable than a theory which assumes that two, or perhaps three, races can be mixed in different proportions as, an American barkeeper mixes drinks.

"From the evidence already to hand there is high probability that intermarriage can do little to form a new race unless the parents on both sides are of the races evolved in similar environments."

An "Aryo-Dravidian" race will, we may believe, come to be held as absurd in anthropology as the hippogriff in zoology. Nor again, is it likely that the Panjab is inhabited by a race of foreign conquerors. These conquerors, the "Indo-Aryans", came, we are told by Sir Herbert Risley, from the now desolate but once fertile regions of Eastern Persia and Baluchistan. They brought their own women with them and consequently felt, "no need and no temptation (!)" to form unions with the women of the country. But though models of chastity and conjugal fidelity, the "Indo-Aryans" were somewhat lacking in humanity, for they appear to have destroyed all the original inhabitants of the Panjab, men, women and children. It need hardly be said that an invasion of such a character is purely fiction. We may be sure, that to use Gibbon's words, "the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour" in the invasions of India, as it was in Alaric's invasion of Greece. Further, if Sergi be right, the markedly brachy-cephalic Aryan of Central Europe, is altogether different from the tall and hyperdolichocephalic Panjabi, so that even according to the methods of physical anthropology, there is no reason why the Panjabis more than other Indians should be called Aryans.

We have come to the end of our discussion and the only conclusion at which we have arrived is purely negative. Until experts are better agreed among themselves the layman will be wise to distrust the inferences of anthropometry.

Professor HOMERSHAM COX, M. A.

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(continued from page 220)

Romain Rolland was well known for his deep attachment to India's cause and his profound appreciation of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. He was also a great friend of the poet Rabindranath Tagore with whom he kept in constant touch during their life time.

Miss Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita): A young school mistress of London who became a Hindu, "Hinduised her thoughts, her conceptions, her habits" and perhaps, even forgot her own past. She became a nun of the Hindu monastic order and devoted her life to India and the Indians. She came in contact with Ramananda Chatterjee and other intellectuals of Bengal and took up work for Indian freedom in a whole hearted manner. She was well known to the Modern Review circle of writers of those days and inspired many of them to develop a profound and deep sense of nationalism.

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We had thought of recording our indebtedness to many other writers and associates but lack of space and time left the work incomplete. There have been many others who helped the Modern Review to present India and Indian thought and civilisation to the world in a wide and general manner. Our efforts will be directed to placing their names in our subsequent numbers appearing in 1968. We shall note here some of the names that come to our mind without making any attempts at a proper and full appreciation of their achievements. Among those who made it possible for us to reproduce paintings in colour we must mention the names of the late Upendra Kishore Ray and his talented son, the late Sukumar Ray. U. Ray was a pioneer in the field of colour reproduction in India and S. Roy was a master of technique which he acquired in foreign training institutions. Without their assistance the work of colour reproductions in the Modern Review would not have been possible.

Among Indian scholars whom this Review should acknowledge as important and frequent contributors the names of Radhakumud Mukherjee, N. N. Law, Boshi Sen, Nirmal Bose, B. S. Guha and Suniti K. Chatterjee come to our mind easily. Radhakumud Mukherjee of Lucknow University, has been an authority on many branches of India's social, economic and political history. N. N. Law an erudite scholar and person of great importance in the field of commerce and industry, made his position firm in the intellectual circles by his learned monographs on different subjects. Boshi Sen was for many years a research scholar in the J. C. Bose Institute. He later on moved out of Calcutta and set up his own research centre in a Himalayan station. Nirmal Bose specialised in archaeology and history

and his knowledge of Orissan art and history could be considered to be infallible. B. S. Guha was a person of great experience in anthropology. He worked among the American Indians for many years and thereafter spent years in eastern India in the study of castes, tribes and types from the anthropological angle. His premature death in a railway accident removed a man of unique quality from the sphere of human sciences. Dr. Suniti K. Chatterjee has been famous as an authority on linguistics. He has intimate knowledge of more than a score of languages and has travelled all over the world repeatedly in order to make his knowledge first hand. He is a man of superior talent and rare capabilities, and holds his own quite ably in any gathering of top scholars of all nations. All these learned men have been of assistance to the *Modern Review* from time to time and the journal acknowledges their help gratefully.

Mahesh Chandra Ghosh : One of the most remarkable men who contributed to the *Modern Review* articles on philosophical subjects was the late Mahesh Chandra Ghosh. He was a School teacher by profession and remained a bachelor. He brought up his nephews and a niece who all distinguished themselves in their respective fields of work. Prof. N. K. Siddhanta who held the chair of English in the Lucknow University and later became Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was the eldest among his nephews. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh was a profound scholar and his study of philosophy was both intensive and extensive. He built up a library which was remarkably representative and covered all schools of philosophical thought of Europe and America. He could have held chairs of philosophy in Universities or gone on lecture tours round the world but he chose to do his own work and to satisfy himself by knowing a little more everyday. A vastly learned man with an ever increasing desire to add to his knowledge. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh wrote highly illuminating articles on the most abstruse problems of philosophy. In his day all advanced students of philosophy knew about him and studied what he wrote carefully and with keen interest.

It would be necessary here to mention some contributors who were politically of the revolutionary type but were constructive and idealistic in their outlook too. Among them *Dr. Taraknath Das* was one of the most important. He worked for Indian freedom from the United States of America for many years after he had escaped from the hands of the British police of India. Later he used to live in Germany and collaborated with all who served mother India selflessly and without fear of the imperial rulers of this country. Dr. Taraknath Das contributed many articles to the *Modern Review* and was a friend of this journal which has fought for Indian and human freedom all along in its sixty one years of existence.

Miss Agnes Smedbey : was a foreigner who had adopted India as her own country. She wrote her articles from the U. S. A., from Germany and from China too. She was well versed in the various turns and twists in modern ideologies and could unravel the entanglements of thought processes of political logicians. She wrote in a lucid manner and avoided ultra-intellectual involvements without sacrificing anything of real importance.

We must name here one who had been a person of great importance in Indian politics and was a close associate of the Modern Review. *Bipin Chandra Pal*, who with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai formed the Trinity of Indian politics at one time should be remembered as a fighter for Indian freedom of great courage and determination. Bipin Chandra Pal had great personal magnetism and was an orator of outstanding ability. He wrote in English and Bengali in a clear and precise manner for which his fame spread all over India. He was also of a highly religious turn of mind and believed in following the Path of *Bhakti* for coming closer to the Supreme Being.

Gurusaday Dutta : The founder of the *Bratachari* movement wrote many articles in the Modern Review about the aims and objects of bratachari. The founder editor of the journal the late Ramananda Chatterjee took a keen interest in the movement and wrote about it in the "Asia" (U. S. A.) in January 1940. Dr. Radhakrishnan said about bratachari, "Our youngmen and women to-day suffer from a lack of colour and poetry in their lives. This movement will help to restore these lost elements to life." During his life time the late G. S. Dutt spread the idea of bratachari far and wide in Bengal. It is still a living force in numerous places.

Jogesh Chandra Ray Vidyavidhi was another widely learned man who was a teacher but had extensive intellectual interests in various fields of thought. He was a keen student of science and the humanities, and a scholar of repute in ancient Indian culture and philosophy.



The Discovery Of The Source Of The Nile By Ancient Hindus

The system of Hindu Geography is one of those branches of historical studies which have attracted very little attention in our days. One attempt alone was made and that was made over 100 years back.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Francis Wilford, an officer in the Indian Army, studied the Puranas and published some remarkable essays on them. One of them was a paper "On Egypt and other countries adjacent the Kali river or Nile of Ethiopia, from the Ancient Books of the Hindus." It was published in 1791 in vol. III of the Asiatic Researches. The paper covers a little less than half the volume ; it extends from p.294 to p. 468 of the volume printed in London in 1799.

In the time of Wilford certain geographical traditions of the Hindu race were still alive which he collected at Benares and other centres. This method helped in his process of identification of the names in Hindu geography with places on the modern map. For instance, "Even to this day the Hindus occasionally visit, as I am assured, the two Jwala-mukhi or Springs of Naphtha, in Kusha-dvipa. Within the first of which dedicated to the same Goddess with the epithet Anayase is not far from the Tigris ; and Strabo mentions a temple on the very spot inscribed to the Goddess Anaias."

"The Second or great Jwala-mukhi or spring with a foaming mouth is near Baku, from which place, I am told, some Hindus have attempted to visit the Sacred Island in the west, an account of which from the Puranas will (if the public approve this essay) be the subject of a future work. A Yogi now living is said to have advanced with this train of pilgrims as far as Moscow."

"Many Brahmins indeed, assert that a great intercourse anciently subsisted between India and countries in the West."

Wilford discussed the divisions of the earth by Hindu Geographers into two hemispheres—the Su-Meru and Ku-Meru, and into Dvipas and Upa-Dvipas, and came to the conclusion :

"We may collect from a variety of circumstances that Kush-Dvipa extends from the shore of the Mediterranean and the mouths of the Nile Serhind, on the borders of India."

The Puranic geography has a method in describing countries. It gives the mountains, the rivers and lakes, and describes the climate and the people with occasional notices of fauna and flora. Wilford followed the description of that portion of Kusha-Dvipa which the ancient Hindus called the KUSHADVIPA EXTERIOR, and identified it with Abyssinia and Ethiopia.

The river Kali or Krishna which according to Hindu records flows through the land of Barbara and entering the forests of Tapas runs through Misra-desa of Sankhadvipa and finally falls into the Sea of Sankha (Sankha-Abdhi), was taken by Wilford as identical with the Nile. In a legend of the Saiva-Ratnakara, he found the Nila (नील) mentioned along with BARBARA-DESA, Misra-Sthana and Arvasthana (Arva-sthana he identified with Arabia).

Now we know that MISRA is the representative of the oldest name of Egypt, and BARBARA occurs in the oldest inscriptions of Egypt as the name of an Egyptian tribe (cf. the modern BERBERA). KUSH is recognised as an ancient name of Abyssinia. Linguistic evidence thus supports Wilford's indentifications. Wilford also found that the ethnological descriptions tally with known data, Shepherds, savages, KUTILAKESA (men with curly hair) and Syamamukhas (black-faced people) are the tribes located along the Krishna by the Hindus.

But the greatest confirmation of Wilford's thesis came about seventy years later when the source of the Nile was discovered or rather re-discovered by Speke (1862).

At the same time Speke's discovery proves that the Hindus and the Hindus alone in ancient times had discovered the source of the Nile.

Wilford had quoted the complete Sanskrit description of the complete length of the Nile—from its source up to its fall in the Sea of Sankha which according to modern calculation covers 3473 miles.

And he had also made a hypothetical map on the basis of that description. This is reproduced here.* Speke had the description and the map before him in 1860.

In the Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile, Capt. Speke writes under September, 1860 :

"Col. Rigby now gave me a most interesting paper, with a map attached to it, about the Nile and the Mountains of the moon. It was written by Lieut. Wilford from the Puranas of the ancient Hindus. As it exemplifies, to a certain extent, the supposition I formerly arrived at concerning the Mountains of the Moon being associated with the country of the Moon, I would fain draw the attention of the readers of my travels to the volume of the Asiatic Researches in which it was published (vol III). It is remarkable that the Hindus

have christened the source of the Nile AMARA which is the name of the country at the north-east corner of the Victoria Nyanza."

The discovery which has made Speke immortal is that the Nile rises from the Lake which he christened 'Victoria Nyanza.' The Hindu description says : "THE CELEBRATED AND THE HOLY RIVER TAKES RISE FROM THE LAKE AMARA in the region of SHARMA-STHANA between the mountains of AJAGARA AND SITANTA which seem to be parts of the SOMA-GIRI or the MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON THE COUNTRY ROUND THE LAKE BEING CALLED CHANDRI-STHANA OR MOONLAND" (Wilford). Speke searched for a lake near the Mountains of the Moon and found it. He found the neighbourhood of the Lake which he called Victoria Nyanza and which our forefathers called the Lake Amara, still called Amara ! The Mountains of the Moon are still called the Mountains of the Moon in the native tongue of the locality.

Speke wrote on Jan. 16th, 1862 :

"All our previous information concerning the hydrography of these regions, originated with the ancient Hindus, who told it to the priests of the Nile ; and all those busy Egyptian geographers who disseminated their knowledge with a view to be famous for THEIR long sightedness in solving the mystery which enshrouded the source of their holy river, were so many hypothetical humbugs."

The writer who has contributed the article "Nile" to the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica declares that the origin of the name (Greek and Latin) Nile is unknown. If the writer had taken into consideration the part played by the Hindus in the history of the discovery of the source of the great river, he could have easily found the mystery of the name solved. The people who told the priests in Egypt the hydrography of the regions also communicated the name they had given to the river in their mother tongue to those priests who passed it on to the Greeks and Roman. An Arab geographer was nearest the truth when he said that the word NIL is a Hindu word (Es-Saghani).

[* The Map is not reproduced here because of lack of space—Editor]

K. P. JAYASWAL, M. A. (OXON)

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Hill Tribes Of Assam

Assam is made up of valleys and hills. Civilization of the valleys of Assam has undergone many changes. There were Cachari and Ahom kings, there were Burmese raids and border feuds,—these are all things of the past. Peace has come to prevail. With all these, there has not been very marked change in the life, habit, customs of folks living in the hills of Assam. They are objects of anthropological study more or less. We know, their ancestors in China and Tibet have a very old civilization and a highly developed one even today. History has it that after they were driven out of China they came and hid themselves in Assam and Burma hills. High virgin tropical forests of the eastern Himalayas gave these exiles food and shelter. Cut off from civilization they settled down in these hills. For a time they lived entirely on fishing and hunting. Afterwards circumstances compelled them to grow a few eatables by cutting a patch of forest (jhum) which has gradually increased so much as to become a menace to the valleys. Good old days were those when there were no caste or racial distinctions. Even Pandavas roamed freely about these hills in their exile. One is inclined to believe the folk-tales of Pandava princes 'wooing' the Naga girls when one sees the features of Angami and Thangkul Nagas. Hills ex-communicated them from the inhabitants of the valleys and even from one tribe and the other. Each tribe occupied a hill and had its own manners, customs and language. They must have been a peace-loving and contented people at first, but later on, as everywhere else, village feuds and tribal factions began to increase with the struggle for existence. Thus developed a war mentality for the preservation of their race. Now we see nothing good in them except

that they are head-hunters, warriors, suspicious looking and dirty people not to be bothered about. As long as one village lives in peace with the next village, one tribe with the other, there is nothing to worry about.

Villages are scattered about and generally situated on hill tops, well fortified with big boulders, cactus etc. against any aggressor, and they are linked up by short-cut routes. Graded paths are disliked by the hill people, they always prefer a short-cut.

Hills populated by a particular tribe derive their name from that tribe which is further divided into sub-tribes or clans. Garo Hills are occupied by the Garos, Lushai hills by the Lushais, Cachar hill by the Cacharis, Khasia hills by the Khasis, Naga hills by the Nagas, Abor hills by the Abors, Mikir hills by the Mikirs and so on.

All the hill tribes are wandering in habit. You may see a village on a hill-top this winter, next winter, it may have shifted itself to another hill-top five miles away. The reasons invariably are based on supernatural misconception followed by some deaths in the village or constant sickness or repeated bad harvests. Villages are generally populated on pure tribal basis, e.g., a village may consist of only Kacha Nagas or Lota Nagas or Thangkul Nagas or Thado Kukis, etc. Their houses are artistically built. A typical house is a 'Chang' house of one large room with two doors in extreme ends stuck up on bamboo or wooden supports. Bamboos, thatch and timber posts are used in construction.

Cooking, sleeping, planning are all done in that room. Their domestic pets are generally pigs and goats for which there is invariably an enclosure nearby. Life is all struggle. In winter men, women and children are all engaged in cutting a 'jhum'. Jhums are sown with paddy millet and cotton. Most of the cotton supplied to Assam and Bengal comes from the jhums of the hill of Assam.

After paddy harvest is over real fun begins. There is general rejoicing in the hills as every where else in India. Pots are cleaned and rice put in with some barks for rice beer to brew. Beer being ready, there is general excitement in the village. Dance and merry-making are held in the house compound of the village chief. Sacrifices of fowls, pups and goats are made to appease the spirits. Drinking and merry making starts in real earnest. Old men and women, youngsters all join in the dance. There the gong is being beaten continuously for music and there is singing, which may go on till early hours of the morning when men and women may be seen lying about dead drunk and trying to have another drink if possible. These conditions prevail all over the hills after the paddy harvest. Drinking parties are given and there is always a brewed vat lying handy in corner to entertain a visitor. I suppose, without a drink hill men would not exist. Like the French, temperance will make a hill man's life most miserable. Give them meat and drink, teach them any religion, work them any way you like.

Rice, salt, chillies, a few jungle leaves and roots form their delicious diet. Now and then fish or a wood-cock trapped by a youngster is eaten. Tigers, elephants, mithan, dogs, snakes, mice are relished by one or the other of the hill tribes. Probably a fat tummy of a valley man makes a hill man's mouth watery too! Milk is of no use to the hill men.

Marriages and ceremonies are simple. Polygamy is not practised as a rule. A girl is taken away after payments of beads necklaces, may be a few rupee, goats, fowls, pigs or animals are not given by the groom, the girl's father has a right to recover the daughter, may be with half a dozen of kiddies. Such a dispute may be decided by the village chief and elders. If they can't bring about a settlement, a case against the groom may be brought by the girl's father in the court of the nearest political officer. There justice is simple and sure. A summary enquiry is made and verdict given.

There are no civil procedure code, no court fees, no pleaders and no botheration. When a very knotty problem comes up for decision, say, about a plot of land and it is difficult to come to a correct judgment, the parties agree to dive in a tank, whoever comes out first loses the case. Parties are quite happy with the verdict. They quietly walk away. Here and there villages want to fight out a point and then the trouble starts. Fights and raids take place. The officer in charge has to rush out with a posse of constables and bring the parties under control. The greatest punishment a village may have is to set the whole village minus their belongings on fire. It is with such severe punishments that hill tribes are kept back from head-hunting which is believed to be necessary to increase the spiritual force for the welfare of the village.

Chiefs of villages are expected to go and report points of interest to the officer in charge whenever they can, otherwise, there is an agency for bringing reports from the villages. In fact, there is not much to report from the villages.

Some tribes are healthy while others are not. Death rate is appalling. Epidemics of smallpox are common. Tuberculosis is spreading amongst the hill tribes probably due to living in dark and dingy houses full of smoke and non-observance of hygienic rules.

Generally men wear a loin cloth and a big home-made wrapper to cover their bodies. Women have one piece wrappers artistically woven at home and wrapped round their breasts and legs. Youngsters throw all their clothes off when hoeing a jhum on a hot day. There you may see followers of 'Van Vagel' in their natural beauty!

Here and there they are changing their simple garb to expensive hats and coats but alas, they are not learning how best to create wealth to buy those luxuries!

Each tribe and sub-tribe has its own language and there are perhaps more than one hundred dialects spoken in the hills of Assam. Very few tribes can communicate themselves with their neighbours of another tribe. Unfortunately no definite policy has been laid down for the education of the hill tribes. A few mission schools teach the Bible in their own language written in Roman character. One feels sorry for the hill men when they come down to the valleys to sell their produce being cheated by the clever valley traders because of their absolute ignorance of the language of the valley people. Here is an opportunity to introduce the Assamese language first written in Roman characters all over the hills of Assam in a uniform manner.

Medical aid is scarce. Ojhas who are quite ignorant of medicine, rule supreme. They treat by doing some sort of sacrifices and magic followed by a drinking party, that is all the treatment they know. It is these Ojhas who take advantage of the ignorance of the hill tribes and foment trouble asking them to revolt against law and order. These blood thirsty Ojhas preside over ceremonies which are held to celebrate slaughtering of innocent human beings.

Every tribe seems to have its own ideas of religion. There is always a fear of the unknown. They feel that there is something like the spirits over which they have no control. Here and there Christian missions have imparted to them the spirit of Christianity. Each mission has given a Bible in the language spoken by a particular tribe and this is written in Roman characters. In mission schools teachers and pastors selected from hill men are being trained and taught to read these Scriptures. These trained men in turn go out in the hills to spread the gospel of love and peace to the hill tribes. Unfortunately these young men too educated in mission schools cannot carry on trade with the outside world and they are ignorant of the language spoken by others outside the hills.

There is no denying the fact that what Christian missions have done for the hill tribes by way of education and medical aid was never done before by any society. This debt the hill tribes will have to owe for generations.

MODES OF LIVELIHOOD

But still their wants are few and simple. Women are hard working, they cut jhums, hoe the soil and ashes, plant and harvest crops. They rear children, do fine weaving and cooking. The lot of the hill women is a hard one but they are a jolly lot and quite unlike womenfolk in India. Men and women carry their produce for sale in the baskets hung on their backs to the nearest markets in the plains below, may be a distance of 30-40 miles through densely wooded hills.

Marketable produce is cotton, bananas, potatoes, pieces of hand-woven cloth, lac, horns, hides, honey, cane work, oranges. In exchange they buy salt, oil, tobacco for smoking and chewing, tea, beads and necklaces. Some might spend their entire earnings in a liquor shop. Having come to a distant market they must anyhow dispose of their produce and return home. They seldom get a square deal in a distant and unhospitable market, the tactics and language of which are very little comprehended by the simple folks of the hills.

Here and there, they are employed to construct and repair roads and bridle paths running through the hills.

Hill men form excellent forest labour. Forest contractors go into the hills to exploit timber and employ the hill men to carry out various operations. With great regret it must be said that forest contractors seldom pay according to contracted rates or don't pay at all on some pretext or other. Relations become strained and the result sometimes is that the contractor's elephants are shot dead and operations have to be suspended in those remote

parts of the hills. General nervousness prevails over the hills and hill men non-co-operate with the contractors and harass them. Without the co-operation of local hill population timber operations become difficult and expensive. Rice and rations in general have to be carried by expensive imported labour into the hills. Hundreds of workers from the valleys have to be taken into the hills annually to exploit timber. Near a forest camp a jhum will be cut and planted with a view to pick up quarrels when elephants of the contractor will surely get loose and destroy the jhum. Money has no attraction to the hill tribes and they cannot be coerced to do any work against their will. Feel one with them, they are your slaves.

CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS

Cut off from civilization the hill tribes really got stranded in the hills surrounded by cleverer people and people suffering from superiority complex in the valleys down below. The hill tribes could not keep pace with them in material and moral progress.

They came from the jungles and the jungles have claimed them as their own, Aryans and other advanced inhabitants neglected them and called them 'Rakshasas' fit to be exterminated. Like everybody else in the tropics they felt lazy and enjoyed a happy-go-lucky life. They could not mix freely with valley people due to jungle and hill barriers and lost all contact with the civilized world. Jhums yielded plenty of paddy to eat for the whole year. Cotton for cloth was grown in the jhums and they hardly cared for the outside world. Village feuds always kept them busy and on constant guard. No progress could be made. Suppressed and shunned by the valley men the hill tribes began to retaliate and became turbulent and started headhunting raids on the villages in the valleys. They grew more suspicious of strangers and murdered them whenever possible. Such were the conditions prevailing in Assam when the province was annexed by the British and remained so long after. To keep the hill men in check from raiding the villages in the valleys, the hill districts were demarcated and the boundary line was called the 'inner line' into which no man was allowed to cross without a permit and armed escorts from the Political Officer-in-charge of the district. There is no free access to most of the districts for the valley men. In half a century or so hill tribes have cooled down because of the isolation policy of the government. The customs of these people have undergone little change except of those who have been influenced by Christian missionaries. No other mission cared to take them over.

Such are conditions in which we find the hill tribes today. It is beginning to be realised that the lot of the hill tribes is hard and something must be done to improve it and that quickly. They can not be segregated forever. With the march of civilization they must be taken along by more advanced people.

The clearing and felling of forests for jhumming in the hills is increasing; that is a danger of the first magnitude. Floods in the valleys are becoming an annual affair. With

the increase of population, the pressure for jhum lands has increased and forest officers have not been far behind in warning the public about the impending disaster which must follow when hills are denuded of forest cover. Going over the hills one is struck with the varied climate, soil, altitude and luxurious vegetation of the hills of Assam. Khasia hills with their wavy tops look like Scottish highlands. Naga hills have 6000' to 8000' hill tops. Manipur has temperate climate all the year round. Cherrapunji, the heaviest rain station in the world, is situated in Assam hills. Vegetation both alpine and tropical meets the eye in many hills.

Suggestion for the development of the hills for the benefit of the hill men in particular and valley people in general may interest the readers.

FOREST DEVELOPMENT

Departmental operations may be undertaken in forests within the 'inner line' for the welfare of the hill tribes. With cheap labour and supervision and assured wages hill men will be too glad to do felling, logging, rafting, floating of timber to the forest depots. Each village on the bank of a floating creek can co-operate in the operations. Bamboos for export to Calcutta paper mills can be cut and sold departmentally too.

Collection of minor forest produce like agar, chal moogra seed [lac, tea seed, Terminalia fruits, Semul cotton, canes, musk, skins, honey, live animals, resin, gum, bee's wax may be done departmentally.

No supervisor recruited from hill men need be paid more than Rs. 10 per month, that is a decent remuneration in the hills.

In the depots logs will be sold by the forest department and proper wages paid to workers. In this way all village chiefs will start taking interest in forest conservation and like to hoard money and have a better standard of living.

All the minor forest produce will be collected and disposed of at the recognised depots and wages paid by the department to the collectors. Wages can be paid in cash or in kind or in both. If some hill men restrict jhumming they can be given wages in paddy. Some forests should be constituted into village forests so that village chiefs might take care of them. Hill people in this way may learn timber operations, catch and train elephants and keep them for their own good.

AGRICULTURE

There are vast possibilities of development of agriculture in all its branches.

CROPS

Cultivation of potatoes, tobacco, American cotton, chillies, Tung oil, pi etc., may be extended. There shall have to be established big nurseries and seed propagation of these crops at all important subdivisional headquarters like what the Land Commission has in Great Britain for forest development. Co-operation of overseers, road moharirs of hill districts may be sought for distribution of seed grafts. Hill men should be trained as 'Malis' in large numbers in government

Terraced cultivation shall have to be seriously introduced in some hills to save hill-sides from erosion.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Cattle, pigs, silver foxes, or mules which may be raised in Manipur, can be reared in the hills. Milk is disliked by the hill men but they can utilize milk in making Ghee. In important 'Bazars' demonstrations of ghee manufacture may be arranged for training men. Silver fox farming can be experimented upon in suitable hill localities. Bee keeping and poultry can be introduced in places ; these should be kept in hill farms for distribution.

HORTICULTURE

Assam hills can be great suppliers of fruits to eastern India. Khasia hills are a living example for fruit growing which should spread all over the other hills. Pine apples, oranges, etc., should be pushed out from the nurseries to the hills. Apple may flourish in places.

SPECIAL CULTIVATION

Cinchona-Assam hills (Mhow in Naga hills) can grow its own Cinchona, a great modern necessity of our times. Naga hills have soil and climate good for Cinchona cultivation. For glove (Digitalis) may be tried on some high altitudes. Tung oil cultivation may be experimented upon. Pan is there, black pepper may be tried.

SERICULTURE

Rearing of silk worms of various species can be made popular. Mulberry will grow well in some hills. At present hill-folks do cotton growing and weaving only.

INDUSTRIES

Carpentry should be made compulsory in all primary and higher schools of the hills. Hill men will supply ready made furniture, toys, boats built from timber from their village forests, which will command respect there.

Baskets, mats, umbrella handles, cane sticks can be easily made, and with a little modern training by a demonstrator going round the villages, the hill men will work wonders. Department of industries has so much to do in these areas.

WEAVING

Early all the hill women are expert weavers and some of them so good. Modern can be introduced for better speed and design.

MARKETING

Special funds should be created to finance marketing of special produce brought to the hill men to important bazars of the valleys. A successful example of marketing musk at Sadiya by the authorities may be quoted. There all the musk is received, and auctioned after due advertisement and the price obtained is paid to the through Government agency. A small fee is levied on all sales for the creation of a

fund for welfare of the countryside. An experiment on these lines can be conducted in bazars of some districts with special produce such as lac, musk, canes, etc.

EMIGRATION TO THE VALLEYS

To remove pressure for jhum lands, surplus population of the hills should be coaxed to come down and work in the tea gardens. There are very few of them employed in the valleys. I dare say they will like hard labour in the gardens, but some will take up work seriously, others will run away. A systematic recruitment of families through Government agencies should be taken up. It is to be hoped that some will get stranded and settle down in the valleys for their own good and will make useful settlers like the Cacharis, Boros, Rabbas, Garos, Miris, who settled long ago in the plains.

The writer of this article had an opportunity to move amongst the hill tribes of Assam extensively when he was exploring the resources of Manipur forests during 1932-33. He has made an attempt to survey generally the life, habits conditions, and possibilities of improvement of the hill tribes in Assam. He will be only too glad to offer further suggestions and information about them if any one interested in the welfare of these people calls for it.

D. C. KAITH, B.Sc. (Edin.)

THE MODERN REVIEW,
OCTOBER—1939, Pp 409-15



Our Founder's Last Editorials

The Modern Review and its sister Bengali periodical, the *Prabasi*, have been, perhaps, even more highly prized by their wide circle of discriminating readers for their great founder's editorial comments even than the wealth of other materials they published. These editorial articles and short comments have been characteristic. They have always been completely free from emotional overtures or passionate extravagance. They have always been coldly dispassionate, objective, measured in expression and, yet, when the occasion demanded, were fearlessly and even scathingly outspoken. Always founded upon a dispassionate, objective and balanced judgment of events and pronouncements, *The Modern Review's* editorials have always been models of editorial circumspection and invariably gave evidence of the grave sense of responsibility our great founder-editor demonstrated while writing his editorial comments.

Another characteristic distinction of *The Modern Review's* editorials has been the extraordinary breadth of their horizon. Everything that concerned man, both in the context of his own national life as well as in the wider sphere of international events and thought, were included within the purview of the editor's balanced observations. Politics and economics, education and culture, art and architecture, literature and poetry, there was nothing worthwhile that would be ignored. And everything that would be said, on whatever subject it may be, had always proved to be worthwhile and relevant.

Our great founder passed away to the Great Beyond in September 1943. We feel that to reproduce a few of his last editorial notes in this present supplement would be meet and proper not merely as a fitting homage to his hallowed memory, but also as examples of how he continued to think about his people and of the world with almost the very last breath of his being.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR WORLD PEACE.

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 13.

The United States Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull gave an outline last night of how he thought the world should be organised after the war to prevent further wars. He said :

The immediate thing was to win the war. But next to that was to ensure world peace. The United States was ready to play its part in this task.

Explaining the American Foreign Policy he said that all nations were entitled to manage their own international affairs in their own. All nations were equal in the world whatever their size.—*Reuter*.

Possibly Mr. Cordell Hull had the white races at the back of his mind while speaking of the equality of all nations. It remains to be seen how the Anglo-American entente establishes world peace by keeping India, Africa and a large part of Asia under imperialist heels. Neither Britain nor America has as yet showed any inclination to liquidate the Empires and free the subject races after the war for the establishment of world peace.

INDIA'S NEED FOR FERTILISERS

During peace time, the production of fertilisers in India was estimated at 28000 tons and imports averaged 84000 tons a year. Even this quantity is a mere fraction of the country's real requirements. India's deplorable position in regard to fertilisers would be realised from the following statistics available at the commencement of the war :

Country	Artificial fertilisers used per sq. mile
Belgium	600 lbs.
Japan	410 „
Germany	310 „
Denmark	226 „
Britain	178 „
France	141 „
India	0.6 „

HORNIMAN'S CASE

Contempt of Court proceedings have become too frequent in India and the Allaha-bad High Court seems to have become too sensitive about its own dignity. Within a short time of the rebuff it had received at the hands of the Privy Council in their judgment on the *Hindustan Times* case, this High Court has got another set back from Bombay. The facts of the case are : Mr. B. G. Horniman in the issue of the *Bombay*

Sentinel dated April 28, made certain editorial comments which according to the Allahabad High Court constituted Contempt of Court. On September 3, this High Court issued a bailable warrant over the signatures of two judges addressed to the Commissioner of police, Bombay, for execution. Mr. Horniman was arrested and produced before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who enlarged him on bail and directed him to appear before the Allahabad High Court on September 18. A revision petition was filed in the Bombay High Court against the C. P. M.'s order and the case was heard by Chief Justice Sir John Beaumont sitting with Mr. Justice Sen. The Chief Justice, in a reasoned judgment, held that the order made by the C. P. M. was not within his jurisdiction. In passing orders, cancelling the bail bond of Mr. Horniman, his lordship remarked that the comments were only a mild criticism. His lordship added :

"The question before me, is whether the order passed by the C. P. M. is valid or not. It seems to me that the procedure adopted by the Allahabad High Court is *obviously erroneous and misconceived*. The power to punish for contempt of court is a power inherent in the High Court. No doubt, the Allahabad High Court, has powers to charge a person with contempt of court but the point is whether it can deal with a person who is outside its jurisdiction.

"I know of no power in this Court to take notice of contempts in another High Court and it has been held by the Calcutta Judges and rightly too that a High Court could not take action for contempt of court against one who is outside its jurisdiction.

"So the Allahabad High Court cannot take action against Mr. Horniman who is not within its jurisdiction. If this cannot be done the Chief Presidency Magistrate also cannot take action and he has no power even in his own court to take contempt proceedings, much less the Police Commissioner."

Contempt of court was not an offence covered by the Indian Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code. In the warrant the offence was said to be contempt of the Allahabad High Court and no other offence was mentioned in the warrant. He therefore held that the Chief Presidency Magistrate's order was not within his jurisdiction.

Oversensitiveness in the judiciary about its dignity produces exactly the reverse result of what is actually intended.

HIGH-HANDEDNESS OF A LAHORE MAGISTRATE.

The manner in which the British District Magistrate of Lahore ordered the arrest of Mr. A. C. Bali, representative of the *Tribune*, shows how emergency measures can be abused. Mr. Bali was arrested under Sec. 129 of the D.I. Rules on the ground of having "misrepresented" the speech of the District Magistrate delivered at a Press Conference. The Magistrate, according to himself, stated at the conference that, "although the A.R.P. was perhaps the largest organised body of non-officials in Lahore and open to all classes, certain persons in Lahore seemed to think that its members had in some way become officials and were no longer entitled to be considered as representatives of the public". But Mr. Bali's report stated: "Mr. Henderson, however, quoted instance of

the A.R.P. organisation and said that public-spirited men did not come forth to join the A.R.P. organisation because it was treated as an official organisation."

How the inaccuracy in Mr. Bali's report constituted a "prejudicial act" within the meaning of the D. I. Rules, has not been explained by the magistrate, who, however, finding his position hot, took the earliest opportunity in releasing Mr. Bali.

CORRUPTION IN THE ADMINISTRATION

The Chief Minister of Bengal has made the following statement on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on September 23 :

Sir Nazimuddin said that the firm of Ispahanis were being grounded down merely because that was means of attack on the Government itself. The real object was to utilise the situation for the purpose of attacking the Government. Ispahanis were the handy-target for an attack on the Government of Bengal. He took full responsibility also for the appointment of Ispahanis as the sole agent of the Government of Bengal. That was done after consultation with the Regional Commissioner and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. He could now say—let the members deny if they could that the propaganda had been so successful that even the highest in the land been subjected to it.

Dr. Sanyal : Who is the highest in the land ?

Sir Nazimuddin : And the whole thing can be seen by this that even it had been said that the whole illness of the Governor of Bengal was not correct. Could that be denied ? Could it be denied that all this was propaganda ?

Dr. Mookherjee said that the Hon. Chief Minister had stated that there had been insinuations that the highest in the land, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, was somehow implicated in connection with the contract being given to Ispahanis and he had also stated that it was rumoured that Sir John Herbert had faked illness. Up till now such reports had not appeared in newspapers. Would this statement of the Hon. Chief Minister be allowed to be published in the newspapers ?

The Speaker replied : "Why not ?"

Two days earlier, the Upper House of Bengal Legislature, allegations of corruption and jobbery among Government officials formed a subject-matter of the budget discussions. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, a member of the Ministerialist Party, said : "the administrative machinery had been rudely shaken as a result of corruption existing for the last seven years and it was for the India Government to Sanction Unlawful Order."

The London *Times*, commenting on the failure of the Government to give relief to famine-stricken Bengal, Says :

Another difficulty arises from the reluctance of surplus provinces to collaborate fully with the Central Government in the release of stock of grain, a reluctance which persists and many eventually compel the Centre to take the risk of assuming overriding powers or of setting up a special administration of relief independent of the Bengal Government itself. After all, as the *Calcutta Statesman* has said in its outspoken criticism, this is a 'man-made' famine, and if the provinces fail the Centre must repair their mistakes.

India Government has yielded to the pressure of some of the surplus province demand to put ban on the export of foodstuff from their territory, in spite of the fact that the Government of India Act expressly denies this power to the provinces Sec. 29 (1) (a) of the Government of India Act 1935 states :

Sec. 297 (1), No Provincial Legislature or Government shall (a) by virtue of the entry in the Provincial legislative list relating to trade and commerce within the Province, or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply and distribution of commodities have power to pass any law or take any executive action prohibitive or restricting the entry into, or export from, the Province of goods of any class or description.

(2) Any law passed in contravention of this section shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid.

Lawless laws are nothing new in India, but such gross violation of an express provision of the Constitution Act has surpassed them all. Development of a bloated sense of self-importance by the Provinces, the Centre meekly yielding to it, has even been the sure sign in history of the decay and downfall of Empires.

R. CHATTERJEE

We in America hear all too little about India. Seldom does news filter through and then it is most likely to be news of violent or spectacular events. Even the most important developments in the life of India receive but scant notice in our newspapers, and then only in a few of our large cities.

Therefore as an American editor I feel it to be a peculiar privilege to have a contact, across thousands of miles, with such a man as Ramananda Chatterjee. He is so able an editor, so thoroughly informed, so sanely balanced and so courageous in his writing, that I know I can trust whatever he may say. I met him once, in his home in Calcutta, surrounded by his family, and instantly conceived the deepest admiration for him. This admiration has grown steadily as I have read his outspoken comments in THE MODERN REVIEW. Sometimes there comes a letter from him, cordial, honest, clear and to the point. All too rarely he sends us an article, and that always makes a *red-letter* day in the Asia office.

All who like myself hope for a better understanding of India among Americans and Englishmen too, must wish that Ramananda Chatterjee will long continue to wield his pen and to train other journalists to carry on his noble work.

RICHARD J. WALSH

EDITOR OF ASIA MAGAZINE

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NOTES

Russian Attitude Towards Pakistan Aggression

Pakistan was created by the British in order to satisfy their imperialistic motive of creating divisions where none existed. The British would justify their action by quoting Hindu-Mussalman antagonisms; but we all knew who stimulated and created those ill feelings and also who the originators of the two nation theory and that of a separate State for the Indian Muslims were. British imperialism has been at the root of all these separatism, and all those who believe in the unity of the peoples of the world are against such breaking up of States on grounds of religion, race, language or political ideology. The Russians are great believers in unity and peace. They are also against all acts of aggression which have no basis in reason or justice. The Pakistanis created a State for the Muslims of India with the help of the British and nobody could justify this partition of India on any rational political grounds. Pandit Nehru found it advantageous for his party to accept the partition although most of his party members thought the arguments put forward by the Muslim League were pure concoction and had no connection with linguistic, cultural, racial and historical FACTS. But the British made intensive propaganda for the creation of a separate State for the Muslims and as India was their imperial domain, the partition was carried out by Act of the British

Parliament. Pandit Nehru did not try to have a referendum nor made any effort to discover how many Indians wanted the partition and how many did not. The creation of Pakistan was therefore both unnecessary and unjustified and whatever the Pakistanis did or are still doing vis-a-vis India could be easily proved to be inspired by malice, greed or the secret dictation of foreign powers who believed in old imperialism or its newer version of the Communist sort. The sympathy of the British and the Americans for the Pakistani variety of national struggle for existence, as well as the Chinese support that Pakistan gets, prove that Pakistan has the secret and open support of the powers which believe in justifying injustice and rationalising unreason. The Russians have not been party to all this until they chose to fall in line with Anglo-Americans at Tashkent, after the twenty-two days Indo-Pakistani war in which Pakistan was chased out of almost all her illicitly occupied Indian territory. The British-Americans had always supported the Pakistani marauders in their acts of aggression; and they wanted very badly to reinstate Pakistan in their unlawfully occupied territory of Azad-Kashmir. This was sanctioned on an international basis at Tashkent under Russian sponsorship and what was banditry to begin with took the colouring of a recognised territorial dispute between two parties, one of which believed in uncontrolled lawlessness and the other in meek submission to anything

that had a flavour of Sunday school goodness about it.

The Russians have now begun a career of political *Guruship* with credal axioms which no powers observe in their own actions, but want to impose on weaker nations. The Tashkent declaration or agreement really means nothing to Pakistan. Ayub Khan and his fellows are preparing for aggression all the time and will try to occupy parts of India again as soon as they feel they can manage to do it more successfully than the last time. India, on the other hand, will go on quicting Tashkent and allow Pakistan to get prepared for another bout of aggression in an unhampered manner.

Russia does not officially recognise the importance of religion in human life. One may assume that the Russian attitude towards theocratic forms of government would be unsympathetic. But she finds it necessary to put a finger in the Pakistani pie which is fanatically religious. The claim of Pakistan on Kashmir is based on only one pseudo-argument—that of the majority of Kashmiris being Muslims. Pakistan could have claimed territorial rights over large tracts of Asiatic Russia too on a similar argument. India could have claimed the island of Bali on the ground that the people there are Hindus. In any case, we find no resemblance between Russia and Pakistani political ideals in so far as Pakistan is a theocratic State calling itself an Islamic Republic. We are very sure that Islam does not permit alliances with parties which are openly anti-God like the followers of Mao t'se Tung; but Pakistan gets on quite well with the Anglo-American Christians as well as with the Communist Chinese. Apparently the Russians also can peacefully coexist with the Pakistanis, so long as they do not claim any political rights over Uzbekistan or Georgia.

Mr. Kosygin discussed Pakistan with India when he came to Delhi; but we found his talks with Mrs. Gandhi very unproductive of results. Ayub Khan sent him a message through the Pakistani High Commissioner at Delhi, which could have been sent to Moscow at anytime with equal hopes of serving any useful purpose. We do not know why foreign dignitaries visit India. These

visits cost a lot of money to the poor tax payers. If such visits do not serve any useful purpose, i.e., if neither the visitors nor the people of this country gain anything by these visits; these friendly calls and the counter visits by our own political leaders, which follow inevitably, merely cause waste of money and energy. No doubt such calls are news and enable our leaders to be more in the public eye; but such added publicity is hardly necessary in a country in which the radio and the newspapers habitually give the utmost prominence to the political heads of the governments.

Mr. Kosygin's disinterestedness in taking any further "initiative" in Indo-Pakistani affairs is somewhat belated for our purpose. Had he been equally disinterested in the past too and not meddled with our affairs at all, Indo-Pakistan relations would have been more realistic and fruitful. For no nations should ever undertake to observe any rules of political ethics in their relations with bandits, marauders and lawless expansionists who consider military aggression their birthright. The only right solution of Indo-Pak differences can be forcible ejection of Pakistani personnel from all territories occupied by them unlawfully. So long as India is prevented by the Powers from doing this Indo-Pak relations will always remain unsettled. For though Pakistan knows she cannot conquer Kashmir, she has hopes of dragging in Britain, America, China and Russia into the field and acquire permanently as much territory through the intervention of these powers as might be possible. These powers too have hopes of making use of Pakistan for their own purposes whatever those purposes may be. Of course, Pakistan will never keep faith with any one, but that is neither here nor there.

In the beginning, when Kashmir was discussed by the nations Russia always agreed that Pakistan was guilty of aggression. But after Mr. Khrushchev retired, Russia began to think of expediency rather than of justice and facts. There was the idea of leadership in international political matters too, and the Indo-Pakistan War brought the question of Kashmir to the forefront. India was at that time inclined to consider

Russia more trustingly than the other nations which showed an interest in Indo-Pakistan relations. Russia therefore was believed to be working for justice and a fair settlement when she invited India and Pakistan to meet at Tashkent. That her attitude would be a replica of that of Anglo-America was not thought possible. In any case, what happened merely enabled Pakistan to continue to enjoy her aggression, rather than to be forced to vacate it. In the circumstances, Pakistan lived on with a greatly increased appetite for further acts of lawless occupation of other nation's territories. She is now biding her time, for she feels certain that if she won in the next fight she would be permitted to retain the fruits of her marauding expedition; while, if she lost, Britain, America, Russia and China would come to her assistance and re-establish *status quo* to the disadvantage of India and in favour of Pakistan. Mr. Kosygin's visit to Delhi has confirmed us in our reading of the Indo-Pakistan problem.

The Congress Recovering Lost Ground

The Congress after having mismanaged the nation's affairs for about nineteen years, got defeated in the elections of 1967 in several States. The members of the parties which formed Coalitions to set up governments in these States were mostly of the same type as those of the Congress. That is, they had very remarkable and ideologically rich ideas of building a nation and running it in the light of their superior feelings. But they had very little else which could enable them to manage things for the progress and benefit of the people. As a result when these coalitions started to function as governments the ministers did everything to satisfy their rarified whims and fancies but not much to operate the administrative machine for the advantage, convenience and profit of the people who paid the expenses incurred. The result was confusion and stoppage of necessary governmental work everywhere, which could not be tolerated by all the members of the legislatures who had backed the Coalitions initially; but found the later developments too fantastic and disgraceful for their satisfaction. The

Congress took advantage of this state of mind of the members of the legislatures and tried to intensify the disagreements by propaganda and other means. The consequent defections from the forces of the anti-Congress coalitions led to their defeat and the formation of new pro-Congress Coalitions, heralding the return of the Congress to the governments of some States where they had lost power after last year's elections.

These happenings have proved the utter lack of interest of the intelligentsia of India in political matters. For although there has been no lack of criticism of the various governments by the educated public since 1947, there has been little visible effort by them to remove the professional ideologists from the political field. Two hundred years of subservience to foreigners has trained the people of India to accept anybody as a ruler. The basic emotion and urge of self government seem to be absent to a great extent from our minds. But unless intelligent people took an interest in politics and tried to control the governments, in order to make them function for the good of the nation as opposed to bringing about ideological impossibilities into realisation; the governments at the Centre and the States cannot ever be of much use to the people. We have said repeatedly that the basic functions of government are never performed by our governments. As a result we have great deficiencies in the fields of law and order, education, food supplies, health and medical aid, employment and training for productive work, military preparedness and nationally honourable foreign relations. Our self willed and self seeking politicians have brought us down to a level which the members of a self respecting nation cannot tolerate for any length of time. But we appear to be thrown from one undesirable position into another without any hope of ever setting up proper governments guided by the highest principles of politics, economics and social ethics.

Certain Fundamental Misconceptions

Propaganda has the nature of the much discussed and criticised practice of indoctrination

and brainwashing allegedly carried out by authoritarian governments. If the same sort of ideas are disseminated in a non-stop manner through the radio and the newspapers and by all other means available to governments, then the people slowly come round to think in the manner desired by the governments, no matter how wrong the ideas are. These efforts at propagating specially prepared ideas are made by all governments and most popular misconceptions about political and economic matters are born of governmental propaganda. The people are also made to be indifferent to important considerations, by the planned recalcitrance of the propaganda machine to bring certain things to the notice of the people. These latter are usually related to essential shortcomings of the administration, such as failures to make proper arrangements for maintaining law and order, organising mass education, giving suitable medical aid to the people and managing the posts, telegraphs, telephones, railways etc., in an efficient manner. The misconceptions that are created in the field of politics and economics by the blaring loud speakers and the large size printed types on the front pages of newspapers mostly relate to the pronouncements and speeches made by the nation's leaders on every conceivable subject, solely with a view to guide public opinion into channels chosen by the leaders and to make the people think that the most important things in our national life are visits from foreign dignitaries, the glorification of dead leaders, schemes for teaching people some particular language and exporting goods or borrowing money. In fact, most of our dead and living leaders have achieved very little to deserve immortality in the public mind. The visits of foreign grandees or the return visits of our own V.I.Ps to foreign countries have done nothing to make our lives more enjoyable or worthy. As a matter of fact these visits divert our attention from more important things to things of no importance. We are also made to think that our foreign relations are progressing wonderfully. The position of India now in the council of nations is not at all enviable or even honourable. We are also made to think that increased exports of a few crore of rupee worth of goods to Russia

or Rumania will largely solve our economic difficulties. In reality the most active cause of our economic backwardness is our large scale lack of employment for numerous millions of persons who have no work or very little work. Our leaders think that more borrowings and further setting up of industries will solve this problem of mass unemployment. They cannot think how an undeveloped country can develop its economy without foreign borrowings. A study of our national standards of living would show that industrially produced goods do not play much of a part in the consumption programme of most people. So that a national scheme for the production of goods which people actually want and use would both employ large numbers without foreign or internal borrowings as well as enable people to procure those products of agriculture, pisciculture, horticulture, market gardenings and all kinds of cottage industries which appear on their family budgets. If the people are assisted to set up cottage industries or those who have the necessary capital are not chased out of productive enterprise by government departments, the growth of organised establishments in the field referred to above come about quite easily. We have seen what happens to the nation's economy, when political leaders and bureaucrats collaborate to establish a socialist pattern of economy by mortgaging the nation's assets to foreigners and local capitalists. The people of the country should by now realise how efficient and effective the leaders and the government servants could be in running industries. The credit structure of the State has been damaged beyond repair and the only way to recover economic balance is to use the labour power of the nation to the fullest by using internal resources only.

The misconceptions that the government's propaganda machine has been propagating in order to give permanence to the present party system of running our democratic socialist republic, are belief in the inevitability of falling under the leadership of the existing parties, and that of borrowing funds locally as well as from abroad to industrialise the country more intensively than the country can adjust itself to. The people should

now form parties with realistic connotations and try to run the States for the benefit of the people.

The Central Government should be organised by reference to the nation's needs and not by giving any imaginary importance to ideals which have little significance in the sphere of developing the nation's economy and international position.

Spirit and Mechanism of Democracy

When India became politically independent of British overlordship, we took it for granted that the Indian people had attained full liberty, equality and all the rights that the members of a free nation should enjoy. In fact, we got our independence by being forced to accept a partition of India as well as by agreeing to an assumption of political power by the leaders of the Congress. There was no consultation with the general public in any manner and the Congress took up the Government of India as a matter of right by reason of the negotiations that the British carried on with them. When elections were held no body could be sure that it was a free and fair election. Corrupt practices were found in operation everywhere. In other elections too vote buying, false voting, obtaining votes by subterfuge and by intimidation were quite commonly practised. The parties and the persons standing for election spent large sums of money which they obtained from trading cliques, business houses, foreign powers as well as from their own funds. These facts pointed to the presence of motives other than the good of the people and when particular groups got into power they used their power for the creation of privileges of a highly profitable nature. Other parties and persons came into the picture with ideas which perhaps aimed at public good; but only through the agency of parties which wished to be benevolent in a despotic manner. Free and fair elections have not been the fashion in Indian politics and the reason has been love of power in minorities which desired to wield power for their own gain and on rare occasions for the good of the people too. But that was not democracy in spirit, even if the mechanism of representative

government used was in fair imitation of truly democratic countries.

We have a Constitution which guarantees to us all kinds of things which remain on paper without taking any shape in reality. "Justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the Unity of the Nation". There are millions of persons in India who own nothing, have no employment and quite often live by begging. There are other millions who receive no education or training. Even among those who are privileged, nepotism, favouritism, bribery and corruption predominate in all matters connected with trade, business and industry. The professions are only for those who have influence behind them. Among the fundamental rights there is "prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth". There is "right of the minorities to conserve their culture, language and script". Anyone who has knowledge of the position of Bengalis in the Districts of Dhanbad, Singhbhum etc., in Bihar will know how they are discriminated against in every way. Even their lands are taken away from them by all sorts of unfair means by the Government of Bihar. These examples are given just to show how we have things on paper without having anything in reality. Democracy too has a paper existence. In fact, the people of India have a representative type of Government only in appearance. Factually Indians live as the political party men want them to. They pay heavy taxes without getting much in return. They are used by the party men as their instruments. The party principles are also on paper. In fact, the people are not benefitted by any type of party creed. Socialism or Communism have no real existence. They are names which the party leaders use to strengthen their own autocracy and nothing apparently is allowed to stand in the way of their success. Power lust in the leaders is India's greatest misfortune in the field of establishing the rights of the people, freedom and equality.

When Sri Ajoy Mukherjee put in his resignation on the 2nd of October, 1967, which he later

withdrew he accused the CPI (M) group in his United Front combine of what would be called High Treason in plain language. Now that the same group are carrying on propaganda that Dr. Prafulla Ghosh is a destroyer of democracy and they the CPI (M), are the saviours of peoples' political rights; it would not be unfair to reproduce Sri Ajoy Mukherjee's words "... Pro-Chinese left Communists seem to be preparing the ground for a bloody revolution in West Bengal with China's help. If that happens, perhaps for many years the entire area of Assam, Manipur, Tripura and parts of Bihar and Orissa will be turned into a battle ground with deadly modern weapons of foreign powers." The CPI (M) therefore cannot be trusted by the people of India to do anything for liberty and freedom. Chinese suzerainty may put the CPI (M) leaders into positions of power like Hitler's Gauleiters; but the general public will be reduced to the status of the Tibetans in Chinese occupied Tibet. Moreover, China is a poor country and extremely over-populated. It would therefore be logical to expect large scale Chinese inroads into India's economy. Chinese craftsmen will soon put Indians in a position of disadvantage and they would be used as slave labour by their Chinese supervisors. In fact, we Indians have not the least desire to see any Chinese personnel in India. The CPI (M) therefore, should be watched carefully and made to suffer the fate of traitors if they had any dealings with the Chinese.

The Ways of Democracy

Democracy being Government of the people, by the people and for the people, much depends on the people in giving shape and character to the governments they set up. In the circumstances the saying, "a nation gets the kind of government that it deserves", is found to be largely true. There are numerous democratic countries in this world. Some are monarchical in structure and some republican, while a few call themselves democratic but are in fact fascistic or authoritarian. Those which are truly democratic i.e., actually ruled by the freely elected representatives of the people

are some of the most advanced and progressive countries of the world. There are others which have not quite got used to the spirit of true democracy and therefore allow undemocratic forces to gain the upperhand at times and, then, flounder in lawlessness and anarchy for months, even years before the truly democratic elements in the nation manage to recapture power and enable the people to rule themselves again. In the old established democracies nobody ever tries to express political dissatisfaction by breaking the law; nor by any unseemly behaviour in public. The only way in which the public try to establish majority rule in these countries is by the votes of their elected representatives cast in a lawful manner in their legislatures. There are no displays of mutual hatred by the political parties in the streets of the big cities; nor any mass disobedience of the law by persons deposed from power. There are also no misunderstandings about the strength of the parties in the Legislatures. One knows quite clearly which party or parties should form the Government and no ill mannered recriminations ever cloud the reputation of persons who are supposed to be the leaders of the nation. The reason why the representatives of the people as well as their supporters can remain completely within the law and observe scrupulously the rules of civilised behaviour, is that they do not ever arrogate to themselves powers which they do not rightfully possess. In some of the halfbaked democracies of the world the political party members and their leaders feel that they have a right to transcend the law whenever it suited their little programmes of impetuous and arrogant display of disapproval of other parties and party leaders. This lack of discipline in the political parties and their leaders really makes it difficult for true democracy to develop and function in these countries. For surely things like mass civil disobedience, breaking into protected or prohibited areas, refusal to pay taxes and forcing a general stoppage of work can never be parts of a free nation's, normal political life. When nations suffer under foreign domination or from internal tyranny of a clearly evident type, they can of course break the law to establish their

rights. But where there are only differences of opinion and party ideologies, and constitutional government functions in a broad and general fashion, even if questions are raised regarding the constitutional correctness of certain actions taken by the custodians of the law; such doubts and objections can be settled strictly in a lawful and constitutional manner. There cannot be any occasion or scope for revolutionary activities where the problems are those of law and constitutional practice. In undeveloped democracies, the rules of democracy are easily violated by persons who are undisciplined and have no ingrained respect for the law and for the rights of persons other than themselves. In such countries the law is habitually not enforced. Lack of discipline, lawlessness, corruption and anti-social activities are noticed everywhere at all times. And at the slightest provocation, the law makers change to law-breakers and the administrators of to-day go all out for anarchy to-morrow if they feel the slightest frustration in giving vent to their innermost personal feelings. This mixing up of personal feelings with their sense of broader public duties, causes them to be failures in the field of democratic politics. No political party or party leaders in an old established Democracy can ever impose their ideosyncracies on the people of the country. All political thoughts and schemes have to pass the test of public usefulness at all times.

Struggle for Existence and Self-Improvement

We do not know exactly when man evolved out of less intelligent and adaptable animal forms; but we know it must have happened more than a million years ago. It may have happened in many places at different times out of different ancestors; but all such evolutionary incidents date back hundreds of thousands of years ago. Then began man's struggle for existence against sabre-tooth tigers, giant lizards and reptiles, mammoths and bisons and that must have gone on and on for several hundred thousand years. We cannot call it a part of the class struggle of humanity which explains all things to some persons; for the monsters of the animal world of 1 million B.C. were

beyond the jurisdiction of the forces of socio-ethical significance that regulated biological evolution. When men became more organised in the neolithic age differentiations in individuals and classes occurred. Hierarchical divisions began to be recognised for their usefulness rather than for narrow advantages that they gave to some groups and persons. Quite often realities had to yield to imaginary and traditional rights; but in all cases realities eventually asserted themselves. Dynasties rose and fell, conquests and counter conquests established correct relative merits and assumption of rights lost ground when facts argued the case. Family or ancestry, religion or faith, communities or classes have put forward the claims to special privileges time and again; but to no avail. Superior might or craft always won and ethical values worked out by forced reasoning and sophistry had to give way to the basic forces of human evolution. The Holy Roman Empire or the Buddhist or Islamic Empires could not stand up to the challenge thrown out by a million swords; and humanity moved along paths paved by might as against the perfection of ideas.

The men of to-day still make the same mistakes and are disillusioned when fundamental biological rights are established by the steadily increasing pressure of human needs and desires. Imaginary classes, non-existent merits and qualities, and ideals cooked up with synthetic ingredients may bring about great emotional explosions; but the resulting changes in individuals or communities can only be very short lived. Thus a war for the establishment of puritanic ideals or one for glorifying equality and the brotherhood of man, will soon begin to respond to other and stronger urges and no change in human character will take a permanent shape. Gandhian ideals easily respond to the "grow rich quick" economic experiments of Jawahirlal Nehru; and man's spirit of self-abnegation and austere attachment to the ideals of *sanyas* soon turn to stylised shapes of virtue for the achievement of unattainable ideals. Great men and greater thoughts have constantly given way to the laws of nature. Men have assumed fancy dress and worn fantastic masks but have never been able to discard their

inner urges. All changes for the better have been achieved by a slow and steady manipulation of natural urges and not by drastic attempts at changing human nature.

The struggle for self-improvement has been a part of man's instinct for self-assertion and the glorification of his ego; but much of the efforts spent after self-improvement have really improved man's nature and character. Cultural forces which civilise men basically out of their barbaric desires and habits work slowly and require a long period plan of action. Even then great cultural ideals quite often stumble and fall due to barbarian onslaughts which somehow always wait in the back lanes of civilisation for a chance to recapture their lost citadel. In art, literature, music and social conduct, decadence remains a constant hazard. A little relaxation can cause a great landslide. In political and economic matters too, the crowd is easily led astray by false prophets of new thought and promises of a new world. Great upsurges occur and human energy runs to waste in a great flood of misspent effort. Men return to their old ways in exhaustion and the world goes on again as it always did. Class wars are fought and classless societies are built in which virtue becomes rampant and nothing wrong can exist. But the slow and steady process of return to man's own natural reactions regains *tempo* and reasserts its force eventually. It is therefore wise for people to stick to what is natural and is supported by history and tradition. The great leaps forward usually land people in the ditch.

Students and the Future of the Nation

Most of our students are not very ardent in their studies. Though some show preference for the sciences and others for the arts; in fact, a close scrutiny will show that most students do not apply themselves to any branch of studies with any degree of intensiveness. In games and sports too they do not take up training or practice very seriously. The result is that most students are quite indifferent in their knowledge of the various subjects that they are admitted in educational institutes to study. Their knowledge of games and sports, of

debating, acting or any other subject they may take up as a hobby, is also found to be extremely sub-standard. Physically the average student is below par too.

One may take it therefore that whatever subjects our students may show preference for, their application to acquire a precise and accurate knowledge of those subjects will never be satisfactory. In the field of languages, our students, on an average, cannot acquire even a good knowledge of their mother tongues. Mathematics, the sciences, logic, philosophy, etc. etc. are studied indifferently by them, with the result that they fail to satisfy any one in any sphere of life with their mastery of any subject. There are, of course, the outstanding students who may not number even 5 per cent of the total, who study well and deeply and succeed in giving a good account of themselves. The rest slowly drift into relatively unimportant branches of work and increase the number of those who are of not much use or importance in the community.

Now, the point is, can we not increase the percentage of these who are serious scholars? If that is not possible, can we not divert the types who will not work hard for scholarship into various branches of work in which training becomes more important than knowledge? For surely society does not gain much if large numbers of students just hang round the colleges without doing any serious work. They merely get mixed up in all sorts of activities which do not help them in later life. If the students cannot be learned men and women, they should then try to become useful and productive members of society. They can be trained to become good soldiers, good aviators, good technicians for the manufacture, maintenance and operation of machinery and plant for domestic or industrial use. If through participation in cultural and social activities they can develop their character and mental stamina, then they can be useful and active members of the community in a productive and contributing sense. During their years of studentship the young men and women who attend schools and colleges are really maintained by the com-

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PLATO AND THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY

Prof. SATYENDRA NATH PAL

Here, we propose to analyse the treatment of the problem of slavery by Plato,—the great lion of Greece, and the relation of his political philosophy to slavery. It is curiously astonishing that slavery was the habit of ancient Greece and it is equally astonishing that this slavery assumed importance in the writings of Plato to present a coherent and comprehensive system of philosophy that can stand among the greatest systems of history.

Before the Christian era Greece with all her glory like many ancient cities, was the citadel of slavery. And it is painful to see that the great Master of the Academy supported the institution of slavery in glowing terms. 'Just as we marvel', says Prof. Macmunn, "at a cultured and beautiful society made hideous by homo-sexuality, so are we shocked to find that slavery is the basis of its labour (Greek) and a slavery which had not the excuse of world development' (Macmunn : *Slavery Through The Ages* : Ch. I.).

It is highly puzzling and distressing to many Platonists who look upon the master with calm appreciation that Plato should have admitted slavery into the ideal state and the best practicable state described in the Republic and in the Laws respectively. Some have taken it to be a concession to the age-old custom of Greece ; others have pointed out various humane aspects of his law of slavery ; and the last group of analysts

simply pass over the matter as if it is of little importance. Here we should try to draw a true portrait of Plato as the stout defender of the institution of slavery. In doing this I should face enormous difficulties. Because, as stated earlier, a long line of thinkers have interpreted Plato in their own trend of thought and out-look. In moving along the tortuous path of analysis we must always be on our guard and generously just ; we must hold the balance as fairly as possible like the "goldsmith weighing the failures with fruitfulness'.

Plato in his voluminous dialogues has discussed many problems of profound and perennial importance formally and thoroughly. But curiously enough we find nowhere in Platonic texts any full and formal discussion of slavery. We are to collect our materials, from casual references scattered in different dialogues. Of the Platonic texts we are to depend heavily on the Laws for a fuller, freer and comprehensive discussion of slavery. To achieve this we divide our analysis into three parts : (1) Slaves and society, (2) law, slavery and punishment and, lastly, (3) Slavery and political ideals and institutions.

It has been conclusively proved by socialists and sociologists that we are products of our environments. Plato is not an exception. He drew his inspiration from the prevailing conditions of Greece which necessitated the existence of slavery. That is, Plato's idea of slavery is the temporary para-

lilegram of forces, social, economic and political of the then Greece. (2) Though his thought process was moulded by the then prevailing conditions of Greece yet he was uneasy in his generation. He pined for the golden past and regretted it. He analysed the causes of its failure, and the failure made him angry and irritating. (3) Thus in order to solve the problem, like the mathematician as he was, he slightly deviated from the age-old customs. (4) He was not revolutionary but reactionary in his thinking. That is why we find nowhere in his works the slightest suggestion that the institution of slavery is to be abolished.

We now propose to proceed to Platonic attitude towards. Slaves in their social relations. It was the prevailing and almost universally accepted concept in Greece in the fourth century B. C. that the slaves were a variant of property. Even Aristotle in the *Politics* B. K. I. 1253 b ch IV Sec. 2 regards the slave as a species of property: 'that the slave is an animate article of property. In the *Statesman* Plato has regarded the slave as a species of animal, and as a servant that is bought and owned. In the *Republic* the remark is 'all property in tame animals, except slaves. (*Republic* : 289 B. C.) But the height of all this abundance of freedom.....is reached when slaves, male as well as female who have been bought on the market, are every whit as free as those whose property they are. Again in the *Laws* Plato says: He (slave) is a troublesome piece of goods, as has been often shown by the frequent revolts of the Messenians' (*Laws* VI: 777) As a damaged property is compensated by the person causing the damage so

when a man inflicts any injury on the slave other than his own the master is legally entitled to compensation (*Laws* : 865). But property in the slave is movable and alienable. There is no restriction on the sale of slaves. If a person sells a homicide to another.....there shall be a right to restitution (*Laws* : 916C). This property in slaves is amply exemplified by the fact that Plato has launched caustic comments on Athenian liberal attitude towards slaves and insisted on the legal rights of property, elsewhere severally attacked when the property is a slave. This is the most inhuman attitude of Plato towards human beings. Moreover he thought that the Greek citizens formed a superior class to those of barbarians like the Nazi racialists. Mr. Adam is also of the opinion that 'Plato does not admit slave labour in this city, unless perhaps in the persons of barbarians' (*The Republic of Plato* : Vol. I). Here Plato seemed to conform with the age-old tradition of Greece. In Greek law as well as in Platonic law the slave has been regarded as a human footed stock in contrast with four-footed stock—which brings into prominence the property aspect of the slave (Morrow : *Plato and Greek's Slavery* : 1939) In favour of Plato, it can be said that to regard the slave as a species of property is not unprecedented in the ancient world. In the Near East also, for example in Egypt and Babylonia, the slave was regarded as a chattel—he was bought and sold, leased and exchanged. But the rigour of repression of the law was to some extent softened by the attitude of the citizen towards the slaves. They regarded the slave as a human being is amply borne out by the Code of Hammurabi

Para 175. Here Hammurabi gives the slaves certain inalienable rights, for example, marriage between a slave and a free born woman was regarded as legally binding (Mendelshohn : *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*).

We now turn to an analysis of social relations between the slave and the free born. It is not startling to see that the great master of the Academy imposed limitations on all forms of playfulness in the relationship between the freeborn and the unfree. We have analysed the concept of property in slaves does not fully span the whole range of master-servant relationship. We have conclusively proved above this the slave was regarded on the testimony of Morrow, as a member of the household or servant. From the high altitude of idealism Plato could not draw any distinction between "Slaves and other servants" such as tradesmen, merchants and ordinary labourers. The only distinguishing point between the slaves and other workers lies in the fact that the slaves are 'acquired by purchase' (Popper : *Open Society and its Enemies* : Vol. I : Notes to Ch. 4).

Across the centuries it seems quite impracticable that a man like Plato, who with his high-flown ideal set himself to (4) reconstructing the society and arresting social change, deprived (5) the servant class from all types of social relations with the high-born. In our society cordial and friendly relations and a simple smile serve as oil in the wheels of our Social machinery. The absence of these will truncate our self and limit social progress. To debar a section of the community from parti-

cipating in any sphere of social activity is beyond the horizon of humanitarianism. But Plato looked upon the slave with infinite contempt. The language used to a servant ought always to be that of a command (Aristotle : *Politics* : I. 13 & 14), and ought not to jest with them (*Laws* 777 & 78). Plato also contended that the treatment of the slaves must always be right and just not out of regard to them, but yet more out of respect to ourselves (*Laws* : 777). 3. The slaves were meant only for manual and ignoble works. From this provision of just treatment of slaves we cannot conclude that the slaves were happy in the Platonic state. If the contrary were correct we could not find any reference to run-away slaves in Plato. The slave was dissatisfied. The slave was considered in the eyes of the law as a commodity but in his own eyes he was a human being who was bought and sold, despised and degraded would always be unhappy under the best of treatment. The slave fled because he refused to be a slave and wanted to be a man with rights, duties and privileges of a social being. This is anti-equalitarian and by this principle he wanted to stabilize the rule of the elite. But it would give rise to many social evils and a leisured class could grow on the serrating labour of the slave. But some Platonists including Prof. Levinson (*In Defence of Plato* pp 184-86) defend this Platonic attitude to the slave. He defends his case with apparently convincing arguments. In his own words.....it would never be possible to attach an equalizing smile to a privileged countenance without at least incongruity of effects. Here the Learned Prof. seeks support from Shaw's *Intelligent Woman's*

Guide to Socialism and Capitalism where Shaw contends that we cannot break the barrier between classes' by inviting one's cook to sit down at the family dinner table: Furthermore Mr. Levinson says with equal spirit 'such familiarity will make slavery more difficult on both sides. There is involved perhaps the moral repugnance which Plato would feel for the shared impropriety and ribaldry which such jesting could easily invite'. With due deference to the learned Prof. we can reply with full confidence that the arguments in support of the Platonic prescription do wear a frozen look. Sympathy and sweet words, may half soften their roughness and may make them affectionate and serviceable. And the relation between the master and the slave might stand on cordiality and mutual understanding resulting in the good of society. Both Plato and Platonists have woefully forgotten this point while advancing their arguments.

Our contention is further solidified and cemented by a dialogue in the *Lysis* ".....may no one use the whip to the mules ?

Yes, he said, the muleteer (the slave),

They esteem a slave of more value than you who are their son. They entrust their property to him rather than to you."

"Then you have a master ?

Yes, my tutor there he is.

And is he a slave ?

To be sure, he is our slave."

"Why do they keep you all day long in subjection to another ?

... ..

"Why", he said, "Socrates, the reason is that I am not of age." But Socrates expressed

grave doubts as to the reality of the reason. Then the boy said (the reason is that) I understand the one and not the other'.

(*Lysis* 208-209).

This dialogue, *inter alia*, gives us the picture as to the role of the slave in the family of the freeman. He was in charge of the master's property, he also was in charge of his owner's children. The slave, then, we can safely conclude, became a part and parcel of the family. Thus the slave was the decisive factor in moulding the manners of future citizens of Greece. And if under these circumstances, the slave was treated harshly without any touch of affection and friendship, he could turn from a friend to an enemy of his owner and could precipitate a crisis on the master's family.

Intermarriage between a slave and a freeman was absolutely forbidden by Plato in his ideal state. To keep the superior stock off the metics and the slaves, the Master took utmost precautions. That is why Plato has discussed in the early parts of the *Republic* the problem of obtaining a pure breed of men who could rule the State and arrest any change. With a view to achieving this end Plato prescribed that if a free woman have intercourse with a male slave ; but 'if a child be born either of a slave by her master or of his mistress by a slave this be proven the offspring of the woman and its father shall be sent away by the women who superintend marriage into another country, and the guardians of the law shall send away the offspring of the man and its mother' (*Laws* : IX 931). He further prescribed in the *Laws* that a child born of a slave and one free parent inherits the status of the slave

parent'. (*Laws* 930D). This unmanly attitude of Plato is unparalleled in the whole range of ancient slave legislation. Neither in Egypt and Babylonia, nor in India the parallel of this law can be found. At Athens the child of a freeman and an unfree woman could receive freedom. Plato sneered at it. These quotations finger out another important side of Plato's society, it implies that in consonance with the prevalent and widely accepted Greek institution of Concubinage Plato implicitly accepted this hated institution and free intercourse between a freeman and a slave.

Greek ethics and Greek Code of conduct did not condemn it. No where we see in Plato any adverse remark on illegal sexual connexion between a man and his slave. Thus the slaves were merely regarded as objects of self-indulgence. This further implies that the slaves in the Platonic city might either be baseborn or thoroughbred. The slave was nothing but a living instrument without heredity and without a name.

We find casual reference in Platonic texts to house-born slaves. From the well-established testimony of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* we learn that the prisoners of war were retained as slaves, and prisoners of war were often slain and only women and children were carried off. But in Platonic time the sources of slavery were two: prisoners of war; and slaves by purchase. In addition to these there was another class of slaves who are acquired neither by purchase nor by war,—in case a female slave have intercourse with a male slave.....the offspring shall always belong to the master of the female slave' (*Laws*

XI). Thus the children born of the female slaves would automatically be owned or possessed by the original owner. But Plato did not differentiate between a purchased slave and a house-born slave. Here we discover a fundamental difference between Platonic and the ancient Eastern outlook on slavery. In the East the house-born slave was generally regarded as a member of the family and their lot must have been better than that of the purchased slaves. (MENDELSON: op. cit.)

In the *Laws* (720d), there is a reference to slave doctors. We can learn from this passage that the slaves would be properly treated in sickness. But what is of importance here is that the Slave doctor relieves the master of the house of his invalid slaves. But the other doctor who is a freeman attends upon freemen." They would not be left to their fate like the slaves in the East. In Babylonia the unfortunate fellows who could not perform the duties assigned to them were abandoned. It is told that David found a slave being abandoned by his master "because three days ago he fell sick".

Plato not only imposed ban on social relations, especially matrimonial, between the slave and citizen, he also debarred the slave boys from obtaining higher education along with free boys. But Prof. G. R. Morrow in his well-known book *Plato and Greek Slavery* refers to several passages in the *Laws* which, he believes, suggest that the slave boys and the children of citizens received education. In the *Laws* (194 A-B) Plato only refers to the education of all children from three to six. But this does not

mean that free and slave children received education at schools. For his thesis Morrow mainly depends on a Platonic passage in the *Laws*. 'Children at that age (3-6) have certain natural modes of amusement which they find out for themselves when they meet. And all the children who are between the ages of three and six ought to meet at the temples of villages...' (794 A-B). This surely means that all free children between three to six, but this does not necessarily lead to the curious conclusion of Morrow. A passage in the *Laws* (773E), and another passage in the *Timaeus* (51E4) give us the proof that the slave is deficient in reason." And when the purpose of Platonic education to make the citizen perfect and reasonable and to rule and to obey (*Laws* 643C-643E) we can safely assume that Plato never dreamt of education of the slave boys along with the freeborn children. In support of our argument we can revert to Prof. Levinson's arguments. In his own words, "as there intervenes a discussion of the training of both slave and free in choric dances...even this does not prove that the slave children were among the three to six year old mentioned. And lastly it can not be the intention of Plato to train the slaves and the citizens simultaneously." (*Plato, Laws of Slavery* pp 43-46)

Apart from this there was also some sort of moral connection between the slave and his master. 'And he who in regard to the nature and actions of his slaves is undefiled by impiety and injustices, will best sow the seeds of virtue in them, and this may be truly said of every master and tyrant' (*Laws* 777E). The master imparted moral

education to the slave to tone up the moral standard of the "human cattle." This moral instruction of the master to the slave is not for the benefit of the slave alone. The ultimate benefit of the slave was not the aim of Plato. They were left to die unnamed, despised and degraded by the master.

(1) Thus far we have seen that the slave as a class was out-cast,—he could not have any relation with the master race. In spite of all humiliating provisions Plato was very much active in keeping down the human sheep economically. He knew it well that the crushing burden of economic subjection is much more effective than social inferiority and humiliation. Therefore Plato prescribed that freedman would never be able to acquire more property than the free-man. And if this was violated he would be killed and his property would be confiscated. Thus socially and economically the slave remained a subject class. (*Laws* 915 D-E).

(2) The organisation of the slaves, their social unity, their cohesion, their solidity all have been dissipated and nipped in the bud by Plato by introduction of the principle that the slaves must not be recruited from a particular class speaking the same language. This proves that the slaves were very much unhappy in the Platonic State. Plato strained the relationship between the slave and the citizen by denying the former all social benefits. Thus mistrust and hatred made their lives 'solitary poor, nasty, brutish and stark,' (Hobbes). From the high pedestal of lofty idealism Plato shamefully fails to feel that the slaves are after all men, they feel like free-men, they have the same feelings of

sorrows and sufferings, weal and woe, twists and tortures, jolts and jars and what is more painful is that the heartless philosopher denied the slave his nationality and his membership of State.

We may now turn to the next crucial problem of law, punishment and the slave. It is an unpleasant, unwelcome and unlovely task. Here Plato marks a radical departure from the existing *Attic law*. In formulating laws regarding slavery Plato undoubtedly gave much freedom to the private citizens. In the Platonic State the citizens were to enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy. This autonomous character of the citizen is amply widened by the fact that If a slave in a fit of passion kills his master, the kindred of the deceased man may do with the murderer (provided only they do not spare his life) whatever they please, and they will be pure, or if he kills a freeman, who is not his master, the owner shall give up the slave to the relatives of the deceased, and they shall be under an obligation to put him to death, but this may be done in any manner which they please (*Laws* : IX : 868). Closely analogous to this is that, if a slave wounds a freeman, his punishment must not be determined by the dictates of laws but by the free will of the relatives of the wounded (*Laws* : 879A). This seems to be the most inhuman aspect of Platonic prescriptions. In his urge for the unity of the state and the purity of the master race Plato with hatred towards the unarmed, uneducated human sheep', (Popper : *Open Society* Vol. I Ch. IV) could not properly measure the severity of his laws. This

attitude of Plato is in flagrant violation of his concept of rule of Law. Holding law in high esteem Plato said, "Men should not be subject to human masters but to laws" (*Letter* : VII : 334). And again in *Gorgias* : 468, he enunciated the theory of the sovereignty of the law.

The contrast may be more pronounced if we cite here the mode of punishment of citizens in case of murder of slaves. Here Plato prescribed, "He who kills his own slave shall undergo a purification, but if he kills the slave of another in anger, he shall pay twice the amount of the loss to his owner' (*Laws* : IX, 868 A-B). But Plato here did not specifically mention what kind of 'purification' the freeman would have to undergo. Here we see that the master could kill his slaves according to his free will. A further example of the severity of Platonic treatment of slaves is to be found in the *Laws* 882. The passage runs thus, "If a slave strike a free man, whether a stranger or a citizen, let any one who is present come to the rescue, and let the bystanders bind him and deliver him up to the injured person, and he (injured person) receiving him shall put him in chains and inflict on him as many stripes as he pleases ; but having punished him he must surrender him to his master according to law and not deprive him of his property...Let the law be as follows : the slave who strikes a freeman, not at the command of the magistrate, his owner shall receive bound from the man whom he has stricken, and not release him until the slave has persuaded the man whom he has stricken that he ought to be released. And let there be same law about women in relation to women and

about men and women in relation to one another."

Analysing this Platonic law Mr. Morrow hardly exaggerates when he says that this severe treatment of the slaves is unprecedented in the classical world. For in the Far East we see that the Bible prescribes in express terms the maltreatment of a Hebrew slave by his master for he is 'money.' But when the slave dies as a result of heavy beating the master becomes punishable by law of the land (*Exodus* : 21). But the question remains : was the slave helpless at the hands of the absolute master ? What would happen when the slave killed his master only in self-defence ? Plato did not give answers to these questions. It seems to us that Plato left it to the decision of the enlightened citizen would not unjustly or maliciously maltreat the slaves. But in the Platonic state where the citizen was more educated the slaves were expected to be treated properly. Here principles of holiness and of justice step in as morally limiting factors on the free will of the citizen. And from a careful reading of BK. IX sec 865 of the *Laws* we can conclude with disarming caution that the killing of a slave amount to religious pollution. From this one is constrained to contend that the slave in the Platonic state enjoyed a higher status than the cattle. Because when a cattle is killed there arise no question of religious pollution. There is another protection, rather negative protection, of the slave. We have earlier said that the slave was regarded as a piece of troublesome property. And as a piece of property, not as a man, the slave was protected from others...if he (the citizen) kills the slave of

another in the belief that he is his own, he shall bear the master of the dead man harmless from loss or shall pay a penalty of twice the value of the dead man...' (*Laws* : IX 865). But as a man with free and independent will, he had neither any right to remedy the wrong nor he could seek remedy in any court of law. He had no right because he was not a citizen. From this negative protection extended by Plato to the slave we can not assume that the philosopher looked after the interest of the slave at least partially. In this darkness the silver lining of this negative protection springs from his consciousness of the harmony of the state. It is not in the interest of the slave but in that of the citizen that Plato laid down this type of prescription. In the absence of such a rule disruption may step in and shake the state to its very foundation. If the contrary was true, Plato, apart from religious and moral prescriptions, could make provision in the positive law of the state for the protection of the slave. To impose moral restrictions on the unfettered will of the citizen is far from satisfactory. This seems to us, to be a convenient cover on the part of Plato to conceal crimes against humanity. The cause of this Platonic attitude is crystal clear to us. It is an ethical principle of Plato that the younger must not kill the elder even in self-defence. If this is allowed, the interests of the state will suffer grievously. And that is why in *Crito* (50E-51C) Socrates urges that a slave has no right to kill his master or a citizen against the state even in self defence. 'Would you have any right to strike or revile or do any other evil to your father, your master, if you had one

because you have been struck or reviled by them or receive some other evils at his hands'. And Plato as a faithful pupil has accepted this Socratic principle.

But the exception to this principle is also to be found in Plato. We are to remember that Plato intended to create a state, ideal in all respects. And as a logical consequence he sacrificed everything at the altar of the State. This assertion is corroborated by the Socratic injunction in *Crito* (51. C). Therefore in the interest of the State the master must be severely punished if it is proven that he has killed the slave only to conceal crimes and to evade punishment.

In Athens in the olden times the slave possessed the right to give information to the public authority of grave offences on the part of any citizen. In Platonic texts we come across frequent references to information by slaves. This is evident from the prescription '.....And if a slave inform he shall receive freedom (*Laws* 932 E). This means that Plato attaches great importance to this function either of a slave or of a freeman. (For details see Bonner: *Evidence in Athenian Courts*). But that freedom was enjoyed by the slave not in his private capacity, but for this quasi-public function. As informer, the slave became an agent of the state. Here Plato remarkably departed from the prevailing Athenian practice. It was not to the custom in Athens to torture the slave informer. But he was put to troubles if he denied any knowledge of the fact or suppressed something in the interest of the master. There is a notable passage in Antiphon's speech about the murder of Herodes in which the conduct of a slave and

of a freeman under the same torture are beautifully contrasted. In another place the contrast seems to be more glaring. The free man is 'coerced' by 'oaths' and 'solemn pledges' but the slave by torture by which they are compelled to speak the truth, even though they must die for it afterwards.' This type of inhuman torture of slaves has not been prescribed by Plato. This is the only case where Plato is more humane than the Athenian law givers (Mahaffy: *Social Life in Greece*: 240-44)

It was the sole aim of Plato to make the state safe for citizens, arresting all social change and thereby prevent deterioration and to ward off 'revolutionary dreams and sensational changes.' That is why on the other hand he imposes severe restrictions on the slaves and instructed his citizens in the *Laws* (777E) to do more justice to the slave only to wear out the smouldering discontent and disaffection in them. Our assertion is further corroborated by the fact that Plato in the *Laws* (777 A-B) seemed to be in favour of recruiting slaves of different nationalities and languages. Across the centuries we are now in position to judge the merit of these principles. Great men make great blunders. This is true of Plato also. He failed in his purpose miserably like a tree without roots and a castle without foundation.

He could not see that 'more justice' (*Laws*) could not wither away the inborn and eternal yearnings of human beings to be free. In his own eyes the slave is a human being—a man with aspirations, dreams and ideas. And therefore the shackles of slavery, to borrow a Nietzschean phrase, 'cut the sharpest welts on his flesh every moment. And this smouldering discontent was fanned into a devouring

flame, volcanic in volume and violence and the whole of Hellenic society was shaken to its very foundation.

We should now pass on to the absorbing topic of emancipation of slaves. Plato was generally not in favour of emancipation of slaves. Both in Attic law and in Plato there are provisions for the emancipation of slaves. In Plato, the following provisions can be noted: (1) When anyone neglects his parents and in this case if the slave informs the Magistrate, he shall receive freedom. Therefore when the slave acts as an informer he is declared free by the State (*Laws* 914d). Secondly, (2) 'If anyone takes away him who is being carried off as a slave intending to liberate him...' (*Laws* : 915) and (3) thirdly, 'if a slave comes to the rescue' of the man who is being beaten by his son shall receive freedom (*Laws* : IX, 881). The simple implication is this that a freeman can liberate a slave other than his own. And thirdly, the owner of the slave could emancipate a slave if the master was satisfied as to his services. But when a slave received freedom he could have no independent status of his own. He 'must' have intimate connexion with his former master. The freedom must satisfy the following conditions: (1) He must pay respect or sufficient respect to him who freed him.

(2) The freedman must go three times in the month to the person who freed him.

(3) He must offer to do whatever he ought, so far as he can.

(4) He shall agree to make such a marriage as his former master approves. (5) He shall not be permitted to have more property than he who gave him liberty and what more he has shall belong to his master.

(6) Lastly, the freedman shall not remain in the State more than twenty years but like other foreigners shall go away, taking his entire property with him (*Laws* : 915). If any freedman violates any of these above conditions, any freeman may carry him away and enslave him.

The differences between the Attic and the Platonic law regarding emancipation are the following: (1) There was no distinction between a freedman and a freeman in Athenian law but in Plato the free and the freed did not stand on the same footing as a social class the freed occupied a lower position than that of the citizen. He could not possess all the rights (civil and political) like the free-born. To keep unalloyed the racial purity Plato prescribed that ultimately only the citizens i. e. the freemen and not the freedmen would remain in the city. This was contrary to the then Athenian principle.

Next we proceed to look into the rules of slave emancipation in the Near East in the olden times to draw a comparison between the Attic, Platonic and the near eastern systems: (1) a slave concubine who gave birth to children was freed after the death of her master;

(2) a native born slave who had been sold to a foreign country was freed by the State upon his return to Babylonia;

(3) and any slave could be freed by purchase. These emancipation rules simply indicated the fact that the Babylonian lands were more lenient than the Greek. In Platonic law it was very difficult for a slave to receive emancipation. In Attic law emancipation was also very difficult. But the difference among the three types of laws is this that in Babylonia after emancipation

the slave could become a man, a human being: this was also the case with the Attic law but in Platonic law a slave might become a freed—man but not a freeman. Therefore after emancipation the distinction between the free and freed disappeared but Plato was not in favour of obliterating the demarcating line between the free and the freed. In this connection the Platonic and the Indian systems deserve comparison. The Indian freedman was completely absorbed in the society, where he might find relatives and friends. "We should also overlook the fact", says Mr. Chanana, "that in India the ascetic's goal has been for quite sometime, a good protection to many and this is confirmed, in a negative way, by the prohibition made by the Buddha against ordinary run away slaves' (*Slavery in Ancient India* : Ch. VII). The principle of *jus gentium* of Rome and the Platonic Principle of racial superiority kept the slave perpetually a stranger without name or fame, relation or friends.

To appreciate properly the tenor and temper and spirit of Platonic law of slavery the contrast between the Platonic law and that of Attica must further be prolonged. Plato gave his citizens autonomy which might result in dangerous consequences. Plato placed above the positive law the rules of morality and righteousness. But Attica upheld law above all and forbade her citizens to maltreat the slaves without juridical sanction. We even see in Plato that the citizens could murder the slaves; but Attic law forbade the putting of a slave to death without legal sanctions. In case of violation of this rule proceedings could be drawn

against the master. It was thought by the renowned Greek orators that not out of love for the slaves but for the sake of democracy these rules were enunciated. To illustrate, Aeschines said of the law of slavery in Athens—that, 'Perhaps some one might wonder at first hearing, why this word 'Slave' was included in the law dealing with outrage. But if you will ponder the matter, men of Athens, you will discover that this is the crowning feature of the law. For the frame of this law was not seriously concerned about the welfare of slave; it was out of a desire to accustom you to abstain absolutely from the violation of the bodies of free persons that he enacted the provision that not even slaves should be so abused. In short, it was his conviction that in a democratic state whoever commits an outrage upon anyone whatever—such a man is not fit to be a fellow citizen'. (Aeschines: *Against Timarchus*). For 'the legislator thought he ought to look not at the rank of the sufferer but of the nature of the act' (Demosthenes XXI). Whatever the temper and spirit of the law this is an admirable example of humanity to slaves and a fine expression of the democratic spirit of Athenians. There is complete absence of this type of law and humanitarian spirit in Platonic prescriptions. Now the authentic proof of this humanism of Athenian law is borne out by the custom that under Attic law slaves had the right of asylum from a menacing and and monstrous master. But curiously enough there is no provision for such asylum in Plato. In the Laws he scornfully said that slaves would find themselves better in democracies than elsewhere. And when Plato is essentially anti-democratic

what more can we expect from him? In another place in the *Republic* (578) he opined that the freeman was always afraid of the slave, 'he will be in utmost fear and he would flatter diverse of his slaves, and make promises to them of freedom'... 'he will have to cajole his own servants... 'the Suffering of injustice is not the part of a man but of a slave who indeed had better die than live.' (Gorgias : 843). Athenians treated the slaves with a marked degree of sympathy and leniency (see Zimmern : *Greek Commonwealth*). Thus Pasio the freedman and a citizen of Athens chose Pharmo to be his business successor and directed him to marry his widow. (Demosthenes : *Orations*). That in Athens the gulf between the free and unfree was so narrow that the old oligarch told us that in Athens the citizens and slaves were indistinguishable. And this high status of the slave was the root cause so maintained Xenophon, in his *Constitution of Athens*, of all tumults and troubles, social and political. But Plato as a reformer, out of his indomitable zeal for reform, widened the gulf between the free and unfree into a ravine. Thus the bridge between the slave and the master had been destroyed by Plato mercilessly. And that is why he neither accepted the Athenian nor the Spartan practices but took refuge from the hard fact of reality into the dream land of Utopia where rest is virtue and change is sacrilegious. But when everything has been said one thing remains that Plato at heart did not give his whole hearted support to brutal treatment to slaves. In favour of Plato it can be safely said that he appealed emotionally to the good sense of his citizen. A genuine and unfeigned rever-

ence for justice and hatred of injustice show themselves best in dealing with persons toward whom it is easy to be unjust (*Laws* VI 777D). The notion of reorganisation of society dried up the well springs of his joyfulness and humane qualities. He became disillusioned and bitterly he clung more and more to his belief in discipline and punishment. He had none of the high confidence of the Periclean age either in himself or in mankind (Bowra : *History of Greek Literature* pp 187-90).

Now we propose to enter into the perplexing problem of the role of the slave in Plato's state. This aspect of Platonic law of slavery did not receive due consideration at the hands of political analysts. This problem is of special importance to all of us across the countries, who have been brought up under democratic traditions and the idea of of equality. From another point of view i.e. in the context of Greek democracy Plato's law of slavery marks a radical departure from the traditional past.

In Platonic vision the state existed for the sake of the good life in which neither slaves nor beasts could have a share. According to Plato only the statesmen were fit to rule. 'Statesmanship is knowledge.' The only good form of government is where the ruler possesses knowledge (*Statesman* 293C) and conversely the only state is what possesses such rules. 'A state, in other words, can not be political society unless it coheres as a unity through the co-ordinating power of statesmanship based on knowledge. Such knowledge can be attained only by one, or at most a very few. The multitude cannot acquire political science (292B) and the only true statesmen

are the elect few possess that science. The art of statesmanship is the highest type of science, the knowledge of the statesman is kingly. That is in essence the art of ruling can be attained only by the few to have the capacity to acquire knowledge. Therefore, the slaves are automatically debarred from any share in the government because they do not possess *doxa* but *logos*. i.e. they have not knowledge but only opinion. This knowledge or *doxa* is the monopoly, so says Plato, of the select few, the ruling elite. Political science is not for everybody. 'Only picked souls, souls consumed with the desire for knowledge and understanding, are capable of acquiring scientific knowledge' (Koyre: *Discovering Plato*: P. 80). In the *Statesman* Plato has clarified the point "Stranger: do you think that the multitude in a state can attain political science? Socrates: Impossible. The science of government can only be attained by a very few (*Statesman* 292 D, 293Aj).

The slave according to Plato, possesses only belief and no reason. Therefore he can be persuaded. The mind which can be persuaded is that of a slave. He never suggests that the slave has no brilliance. But he has no knowledge but only opinion and therefore can not have any contact with the immutable Forms which can only be known by the rulers. As the ruler has knowledge, he has also the power of reasoning...the very faculty which is the instrument of judgment is not possessed but only by the philosopher.

What faculty?

Reason with whom.....the decision ought to rest.

Yes

And reasoning is peculiarly his instrument?

Certainly" (Republic 582 C—D).

This chain of arguments reaffirms our assertion that 'reasoning' is the essence of the philosopher, the ruler and therefore the ultimate decision as to the state will rest with the ruler. Further, as the ruler has knowledge, so he has wisdom because "wisdom is only utilization of knowledge" (*Charmides*: 174). Wisdom is the essence of virtue" (*Epinomis* 977) and as the ruler has virtue, he has the power of ruling, for 'virtue is the power of governing mankind' (*Meno*: 73) The ruler ultimately then has the soul because he has wisdom and reason and these two faculties" (*Philebus*: 30). And if the ruler possess soul, then as a logical corollary the slave has no soul.

It is the cherished ideal of Plato that the aim of the ruler must be the good of the governed. If the aim of the ruler is for the betterment of a part of the State. Such state is not a State in the true sense of the term. But the ruler will rule the state if he knows the form of the good. The rulers will rule not for their own sake but for the sake of the governed. They will regard this political service as a necessity, not a privilege. For this is.....the only condition of good government that the rulers should not seek office for private gain but should condescend to it from a higher and preferable life of their own' (*Rep*: 520A; *Laws* 941B; 520C; 517D; 484C; 540A; 500D; Shorey: *What Plato said*). But for this ruler will not seek the opinion of the governed, because they do not know their own good. Now automatically the question arises—what is 'good'? To this, the Platonic answer is that 'The Forms

or Ideas, are not only unchanging, indestructible, and incorruptible, but also perfect, true, real or good"; in fact 'good' is every thing that preserves and benefits...(*Rep.* X: 608E).

An idea of equality is hidden in the concept of contract. But the slave and the citizen can not stand on the same footing and therefore they can not demand equality. Plato emphatically remarks 'equality for equal, inequality for unequal'. The citizen and the slave can not be friends and if this principle is introduced the city will be filled with seditions (*Laws*, 757).

And...that slaves should be ruled and their masters rule? Of course...the stronger shall rule and the weaker be ruled? That is a rule not to be disobeyed.' (*Laws* 690B.)

In *Gorgias*, Plato is more expressive than in the *Republic* and the *Laws*. There he said.....and that justice consists in the superior ruling over and having more than the inferior (*Gorgias* : 690B.)

These are very strong words. In the whole range of Greek political thought we have never come across such a thinker hostile to the individual. The slave in the Platonic state must accept the rule. He will have no right of self-determination. He is a pawn in the hands of the absolute ruler. It is curious to think that the slave does not know his own interests, others out of love for humanity will do good to him.

This inhuman attitude is in striking contrast with the need of the liberal minded Protagoras that 'all men have a sense of reverence and justice that they all share in the political art. This shows that Plato has renounced the claim of the sensible world and found reality in the universal objects of knowledge. (Bowra : *History of Greek Literature* Pp 182-83).

Prof. Rankin is so wrong when he says ...'we have no reason to exclude altogether the possibility that prosperous members of the third grade could possess slaves' (Plato and the Individual p. 91).

There are many Platonists who out of their emotional zeal for idealising Plato try to rationalise this unwholesome attitude of master towards the slaves. Of them, Dr. Bosanquet deserves special mention. In his 'Companion to Plato's *Republic*', Bosanquet opines that the ruler will express the real will of the ruled. But this logic of Dr. Bosanquet is untenable to-day. We can not accept the theory that that ruler preferably represents the ruled. This seems to us to be an idealistic hallucination, a rhapsodical utterance of a metaphysical dreamer (Hobhouse : *Metaphysical Theory of the State*). And therefore we are forced to agree with Prof. W. L. Newman that here Plato speaks of slavery unmistakably and as a great pupil of the great master Aristotle derived his theory of natural slavery that some men are destined to be slaves of others. (Newman : *Politics of Aristotle : Introductory volume* : pp 109-10).

Plato had in view the stability of the state and to make his state safe for stability he was very anxious.

He neatly clarified the position of the slave in his state in the following way : the rule of the master over his slaves is equal to the rule of the statesman over the subject. This has been more beautifully expressed by Aristotle in the *Potitis* : 'They believe that the management of a house-hold, the control of slaves, the authority of the statesman, and the rule of the monarch are all the same' (1253 bg 4 : Barker's translation). Plato uses the same theory to support the principle of political authority and the right of the master to rule over the slaves.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Prof. N. SANTHANAM

Communication is an art of sharing ideas for which language is but a tool. Fortunately or otherwise, we have more than fourteen tongues spoken in various parts of our country, each one claiming to possess an abundant literary background and spiritual tradition. As a Nation, it is of course, a matter of pride to own a mass of literary wealth, but in mundane matters, where it comes to a question of gaining knowledge on scientific and technological subjects, so as to keep pace with the rapid progress of the world, an ugly dispute has arisen over the choice of the regional language or English as medium of instruction for higher education.

The one strong objection to the continuance of English is that it is a foreign language. It may be interesting to note in this connection how our poet Laureate, Tagore, was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. The panel which made the selection for the award, constituted of men who knew nothing about the language in which almost all his works were written. All that the judges had before them, was a thin volume in which the poet had rendered into English, a few of his original poems in Bengali. The spirit and soul of poetry were to be found in the marvellously musical and rythmical lines, which revealed a hitherto undisclosed subtlety of fascination. Even so, the judges could have scarcely realised that in going so far East as India, they were conferring a great honour upon the Nobel Prize itself. This only drives home the point that our revered poet, who has

given us the National Anthem, was introduced to the West only through the medium of English.

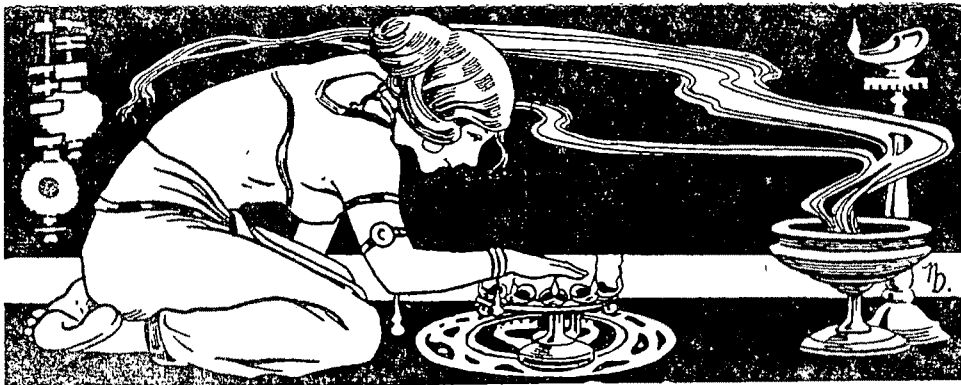
Again Swami Vivekananda, in his boyhood days had a contempt for English, but on being impressed by his teachers of its international importance, mastered that language with an unparalleled devotion, which carried him to Himalayan heights of fame. But for his oratory and perfect command over English, Hinduism might not have made so great an impact on the western mind, as to result in in the erection of centres of Ramakrishna Mission even in highly civilised and fashionable cities of America.

It will be sheer folly if not arrogance, to call ourselves more patriotic than such blessed souls. There is not even an iota of logic to associate this language with a foreign taint. Under a false cloak of patriotism, and seized by a craze for regional language, we have verily forgotten the innumerable objects and customs, foreign in every sense of word and deed, that have become a part and parcel of our life. In sports, are we not witnessing an over-enthusiasm for cricket, which is completely a foreign game? Maximum time is allowed for the relay of running commentaries of this game through A.I.R. which is the spokesman of the Government. We have imitated the West in the matter of dress, manners and behaviour. We like their games. We have copied their techniques of administration out and out. But for the

innumerable life-saving drugs from the West, the death rate in India will create a record ! Special medicines had to be flown from London recently, to revive the health of Dr. Lohia, and no prestige is lost in such actions. However, Despite all these fact we want to do away with English, and still shout from roof-tops to achieve wonderful progress on the International level !

To-day a stage has come when a language has to be studied not for the sake of its literature alone, but for its practical uses too. If the substance of knowledge contained in English books should be the motive power

behind our attention to it, we have no alternative except to adopt it in all spheres without fear or favour. English is certainly the gateway of all modern knowledge and progress, whereas the other languages cannot even be compared to windows. To-day it is not the language of any single Nation or any Imperial Power. It is a rare gift thrust on this country by the strange ways of destiny. It will be most cruel self-mutilation if not suicide to deny such an advantage. We should never forget that it was only a very small percentage of English-knowing Indians, who paved the way for the Freedom of this Country.



THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR

BHARAT BHUSHAN GUPTA

The dismissal of the West Bengal Ministry by the Governor has sparked off a controversy regarding the functions of the office of the Governor. The Constitution envisages some discretionary powers in the hands of the Governor. Is he expected to use them in his discretion is the crux of the problem. The background of the Constitution is perhaps against it. The original intention of the Constitution-makers was to have an elected Governor but the position was reversed a little later and a provision was made for an appointed Governor. Late Pandit Nehru considered it necessary in the context of "preserving unity, the stability and security of India." Consequently, the Constitution as it emerged provided for the appointment of the Governor "by the President by warrant under his hand and seal." This clearly makes the Governor an appointee of the President and not an effective head of the State.

Article 163 (1) provides that the Governor shall be aided and advised by "a Council of Ministers with the Chief Ministers at the head" in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is "required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion." It is thus clear that the Governor has a dual role. In one field which is likely to be wider he is expected to be advised by the council. The phraseology bears a close resemblance to article 74 (1) which explains the mutual relationship between the President and the Union Council of Ministers. The working of the

Constitution both at the Centre and the State hitherto has made the President and the Governor Constitutional heads. Any other construction of articles 74 (1) and 163 (1) would be full of dangerous potentialities.

The Constitution, however, envisages use of discretionary powers by the Governor under article 163 (1). This is likely to be a narrower field. The Constitution is very clear that in this field the "decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final." In this respect no appeal or review is possible under the Constitution. The President shall "make such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor of a State" through article 160. Strangely enough, our lengthy Constitution fails to provide details of the discretionary powers of the Governor. Article 163 (2) clearly precludes reference of Governor's decisions to any other authority and reference to Supreme Court under article 143 is, therefore, clearly inadmissible.

In the present case in West Bengal two issues have come to the fore. First, is the Governor competent to call a session of the State legislature in his discretion? Second, can he dismiss the State Ministry in his discretion?

In respect of the first issue, article 174 (1) is applicable. The power to summon the House at such time and place is vested in the Governor unequivocally. The only restriction is that "six months shall not inter-

vene between its last sitting in one session and the date appointed for its sitting in the next session." In the present case the six-month interval between one session of the State legislature and the other had not intervened. The Governor was, therefore, competent to advise the then Chief Minister to call the House but could not force him to do so. The fact that the Governor asked the then Chief Minister to agree to summon the session thrice which the chief Minister declined to do is immaterial. So long as the six-month interval has not intervened the Governor is not empowered to enforce his will against that of the Chief Minister. *In a clash of personalities between the Governor and the Chief Minister it is always for the Governor to yield.*

The second issue is whether the Governor can dismiss a State Ministry. Article 164 (1) is clear on this point. It says "the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor." The Governor, therefore, can dismiss the State Ministry but only if the Council of Ministers cease to be "*collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State.*" Article 164 (2) clearly delimits the power of dismissal of the Governor. It is a formal power conditioned to the Ministry ceasing to enjoy the confidence of the Legislative Assembly of the State. Were it a real power the President, on an analogy, *would be equally competent to dismiss the Council of Ministers at the Centre* under article 75 (2) as it holds office during the pleasure of the President. Reverting to the position of the Governor vis-a-vis the Council of Ministers it is pertinent to add that the Governor in case of doubt is free to call a session of the State legislature to deter-

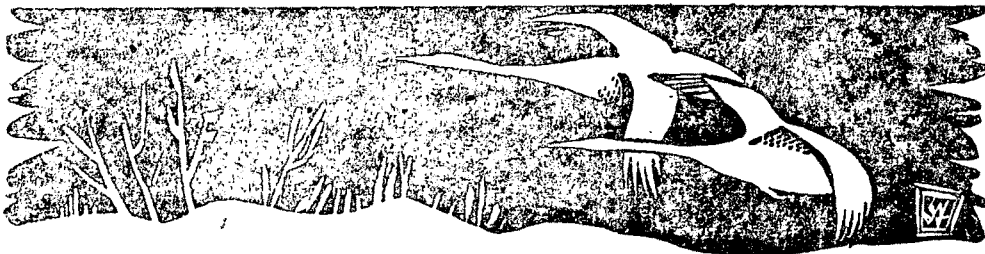
mine whether the State Ministry enjoys the confidence of the legislature. This was also the consensus reached at the Governor's, conference recently at New Delhi. In the present West Bengal case the gap between the stand of the Governor and the Council of Ministers was in respect of the date for the summoning of the legislature. The Governor urged that the House should meet on 30 November and the Council of Ministers wished to meet on 18 December. Since the gap was nominal it would have been desirable for the Governor to wait. The Council had to face practical difficulties. It had to settle legislative business in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition. By actually enforcing his views on the State Ministry at the point of dismissal the Governor has opened himself to the charge that he is an actual ruler rather than a constitutional head. One also cannot help feeling that the unchristian haste in calling the House has been prompted by the desire to reward the latest defection in West Bengal.

Indeed the claim goes further. It is claimed that the Governor can dismiss any Ministry even if it enjoys the confidence of the Legislative Assembly of the State. This actually happened in Kerala in 1959 and Haryana last week. This claim cannot be sustained. There is no such precedent in the long parliamentary history of Great Britain. One such precedent is quoted from troubled Nigeria. It is, perhaps, questionable whether parliamentary democracy can be made to rest on exceptions rather than on the basis of generalities. The West Bengal Ministry could also not be dismissed under Article 356 (1) as the circumstances prevailing then could not justify the use of emergency powers by the President. The Article could only be

applied when "a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

What has happened in West Bengal is, therefore, of considerable Constitutional importance. The dismissal of the State Ministry has taken place under Article 164 (1) and not under article 164 (2). The Legislative Assembly of the State which was the only competent forum to decide has not been given an occasion to meet in accordance with Article 174 (1). The action of the Governor under the direction of the President (advised by the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister) makes the Union Government responsible for intervention in State administration. When the nomenclature of ruling political parties at the Centre and the States differs the picture becomes more confused. *The Union Government is also held responsible for using the office of the Governor*

nor in toppling State Governments that are not to its liking. The exercise of discretionary powers by the Governor in matters cited above may serve as a boomerang. One is driven to the inescapable conclusion that the struggle for power did not end with the fourth General Election but is taking a more permanent shape. In the context of the new pattern visible after the fourth Election it is desirable that healthy precedents are set to enable democracy to survive in India. State Governors should invariably be appointed in consultation with State Cabinets. Governor's discretionary powers should be clearly defined. States should be treated as constituent units and less as agents of the Union Government. The writing on the wall should be clear to all who have the interest of the country dear to their hearts. The Union Government bears a heavy responsibility in this connection. Vision is the need of the hour.



LORD CLIVE'S CAREER IN ENGLAND

A LAWYER

It was two hundred years ago that Lord Clive left India for the third and last time. He reached England on 14 July 1767.

The empire which he founded in India has disappeared within these two Centuries. Few of us would now care to know what happened to him after he went back from here. Yet the tale is interesting and worth recounting.

Clive died at the early age of 49. His achievements had been already effected when he was 35. The last fourteen years were miserable for him. His rising star which led him from success to success since 1745 began to decline in 1760. It flickered for a year or two in 1761 and 1762 and then set, leaving him to chew the cud which he had laid in store for himself.

Clive was a youngman of 29 when he had returned to England on the first occasion in 1754 after his victory at Arcot. There he contested the Parliamentary seat at St. Michael in that year. He was elected but unseated on petition. It used to be said about his election that "Colonel Clive spent so much money in the contest as to occasion his return to India where he gained the battle of Plassey and established the Indian Empire." Clive had decided not to go back because the Indian climate was not congenial to his constitution. Yet Destiny brought back the young spend-thrift to refill his pockets beyond their capacity.

On the second occasion in 1760, Clive

had returned after Plassey, a young and a very rich man. He was then only 35 years old. His fame had already reached his native land. Clive naturally expected that his countrymen would honour him in a grand way. It appears that at this time his ambitions included a Parliamentary career at the top, an English peerage, the purchase of sufficient Indian Stock to give him control at the India House and the purchase of certain properties in his own county of Shropshire. A malignant fortune, however, blighted these his ambitions and hopes within about two years of his return.

Clive had gone out to India as a writer in 1743 in the service of the East India Company. He was to keep accounts, make advances, ship cargos, take stock and generally see that no infringement of the Company's monopoly of trade occurred.

This writer returned in 1760 with £234000 in his pockets and an annual claim of £30000 on his employers till his life time. The Court of Directors thought this was simply preposterous. They set about counter-ing Clive's demand for £30000 from year to year from the very day he landed in his Country. As there was a wave of admiration and a enthusiasm for him all over the land on his return, the Directors opposed him in a cautious and subdued manner. But gradually their enmity developed into a regular dispute. It was not necessarily out of motives of envy nor considerations about

their dividends that they took up a hostile attitude in this matter.

On Clive's return, there was a general election in 1761 and Clive took a vigorous part in it. He contested the seat at Bishop's Castle this time and was returned. He also set up six other candidates for different seats in Shropshire and these also were returned. These seven staunch whigs under the guidance of Lord Powis came to be known as the Shropshire gang because of their ardent devotion to the whig cause,

Because of these seven reliable votes and because of Clive's Indian wealth and fame, his friendship was much sought after by the politicians of the time. He became closely acquainted with several Parliamentary celebrities including the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Devonshire, William Pitt, George Grenville, Henry Fox, and the Duke of Cumberland. His devotion to William Pitt and then to George Grenville had been particularly marked. After a long spell of Government by Sir Robert Walpole and the elder Pelham, there occurred successive changes at the Treasury and within about nine years there were no less than six Prime Ministers, with all of whom Clive had become well-acquainted. His chances of a brilliant political career at the top were thus very high. As it happened however, he alienated all these distinguished friends one after another and he was left alone to face his detractors at the India Office

In 1760, the new king, George III, had come to the throne. He was principally advised by Lord Bute as a Secretary of State who eventually became a Prime Minister. Bute solicited Clive's support for his administration on any terms that Clive would make.

This was the supreme moment and a golden opportunity, but he failed to seize it. He declined his support to Bute and this proved fatal for his political career as well as his personal interests in relation to his Indian wealth. The opportunity was gone and circumstances thereafter so shaped themselves that he was never able to rally again, as we shall presently see.

The legend goes that Clive refused to support Bute because of his devotion to George Grenville. This cannot be true because Grenville was himself a Secretary of State in Bute's administration. It happened by mere chance at this time that there arose occasions for friction between Clive and Bute. In the 1761 Election, Bute was bent upon getting his friend Sir Edward Turner elected at Penryn but Clive had set up his own candidate there. Bute's election-manager wrote to him on 26 February 1761 : "Lord Powis is the person who has the most influence with Mr. Clive. Perhaps Mr. Clive might drop his attack upon the Falmouth family (Turner) if he knew that his Lordship (Powis) had made a present of his borough to His Majesty. Mr. Clive is Powis's election bull-dog and the master can certainly call him off." The election was however fought to the bitter end and Turner won.

It has to be noted that Clive during these days was an impetuous young man of 36, guided by his kinsman Powis. Herbert Lord Powis was the Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire for over 25 years and of Montgomeryshire also. For some time he was Comptroller of Staff (Bed-chamber). He was a whig and was well-acquainted with the principal politicians. Clive ingratiated himself into that high company through this his friend, guide

and philosopher. Lord Powis, Clive's son eventually married the daughter and sole heir of Powis and the Herbert—Clives thereafter held Shropshire seats in Parliament for several generations. As fate would have it, Bute dismissed Powis from the office of Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire at about this very time. This could not but have embittered young Clive towards Bute.

Further more, the war between France and England was being terminated by the Peace of Paris which was voted upon by Parliament on 10 January 1763 and the preliminaries of peace on 9 December 1762. The Government made a desperate attempt to secure a majority for the Treaty. On both occasions Clive voted against the Government. Lord Bute was in a great rage against those who voted against him and he dismissed no less than three Dukes from their offices for having done so. So far as Clive was concerned, Bute took revenge by openly allying himself with Mr. Sullivan, the arch-enemy of Clive at the India House and instigated him to carry on his vendetta against Clive with apparent Government support. So far as the Indian clauses in the Treaty were concerned, however, Bute had substantially accepted Clive's advice about French presence in India, and had also rejected Sullivan's suggestion that certain native Indian Princes should be expressly recognized in the Treaty.

Prior to the vote on the preliminaries Henry Fox had joined the "king's friends" and was canvassing for support for the treaty. He made an attempt to net in Clive who again declined the offers. In a letter to

Major Carnac, Clive wrote on 23 November 1762 :

"I still continue to be one of those unfashionable kind of people who think very highly of independency and to bless my stars, indulgent fortune has enabled me to act according to my conscience. Being very lately asked by authority if I had any honours to ask from my Sovereign, my answer was that I thought it dishonourable to take advantage of the times..."

He declined the honours but accepted them after sometime. But by that time the Government and the leading politicians had lost their enthusiasm for him. Their interest in him waned. In the result therefore, the honours bestowed on him were of a minor nature. He was made an Irish peer (Baron of Plassey) and decorated with the "First Red Ribbon." If he had been a little more tactful, he could easily have become an English peer of the highest order, a Duke or a Marquise. Many smaller man had received far too high a recognition for his services to the king and the country, while Clive, under some crude notion about "independency" in those corrupt times made the "authority" cool towards himself and was in consequence given short shrift.

We have a glimpse of how in 1761, his support was sought by H. R. H. The Duke of Cumberland in a letter by the Duke's election manager Lord Sandwich to him on 24 April 1761. Sandwich wrote that it was a favourable moment to secure the friendship of Colonel Clive "as he is dissatisfied with the person to whom he seemed most inclined to attach himself (Pitt)" and continued that he proposed to send his friend Jones, a

Director of the East India Company "to go from me to him to give him by word of mouth an account of Your Grace's inclination to serve him...it will be a means of preventing a relation of his who is always at his elbow (Walsh) from making impressions on him in favour of his former friend." (Pitt)

By 1763, Clive was already a sad man. We find how much he was disgusted with politics and politicians from his despairing communication to George Grenville who had become Prime Minister by this time. On 13 December 1763, Clive wrote to Grenville about the anxiety he laboured under in connection with his compromise with the East India Company "more essentially necessary for establishing my peace of mind than in an improvement of my fortune...Discountenanced and hated by the party I have abandoned as much as I was before respected and esteemed, if I should through the obstinate injustice of the Directors (notwithstanding your powerful mediation) be disappointed, I must confess to you, Sir, that I have no such sensibility inherent in my nature, that my mind will be too much affected to recover so severe a shock; but be the event what it will, I have taken my part and you may be assured that my poor services such as they are, shall be dedicated for the rest of my days to the King, and my obligations to you always acknowledged, whether in or out of office.'

It would thus appear that Clive kept himself sedulously away from power and authority and alienated the sympathies of numerous friends who were inclined to promote his interests and were in a position to do so. The effect of all this on his struggle with the East India Company about his

Jagir was grave. The malicious men at the India Office had carried on an acrimonious slanderous campaign against him for all these three years after his return in 1760. He could have silenced these detractors if he had joined the Government of Lord Bute, and held the Company to ransom under the administrative pressures which the government could bring to bear on its affairs.

As is well-known, Clive had extorted large amounts from Mirjafar while confirming him in his office of the Subhadar of Bengal. As part of the transaction but by a separate instrument he had induced the Subhadar to cede to the Company certain lands south of Calcutta. The arrangement was that the Company should collect the rents and taxes of these areas (about £ 100000) and pay to Clive £ 30000 annually for life, and retain the rest for itself. This was what was called Clive's Jagir. The East India Company were reluctant to accept Clive's claim brought into existence thus while in their service. Sullivan who was at the time the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company stopped the annual payment to Clive. He gradually built up a majority of votes against Clive in spite of Clive's purchase of substantial India stock in order to influence the vote. Clive also induced Grenville, Newcastle and Pitt to use their good Offices in his favour. Even while this tussle was going on and the vote went against Clive, alarming news from Bengal reached England, indicating that the newly planted empire in India was on the point of being uprooted completely amidst the chaos and anarchy that had developed there ever since Clive's second return in 1760. The very existence of the Company in Bengal was threatened. The Directors and the Proprietors got into a

panic. They almost compelled Clive to go back to India in order to settle the affairs there. They appointed him Governor-General as well as Commander-in-Chief with absolute powers. They passed a resolution admitting Clive's title to the Jagir, and accepted Clive's offer that the annual payment to him should be made only for ten years and not for life. Believing that the matter was finally settled, Clive left for India in 1764. He scarcely dreamt that the storm was yet to come.

It so happened that after Clive's return in 1760, Mir Jafar died and the principal officers of the Company in India had extorted large amounts from one Mir Kasim promising him the Subhadarship. There were others who traded privately and had made immense fortunes even while in the Company's service. The matter was developing into a big scandal and the Company was unable to ignore these activities of their employees in the name of the Company and also of the King.

In 1767, when Clive returned from Bengal, he found that these matters had been taken before Parliament for a general enquiry. General Burgoyne brought forward three Resolutions before the House of Commons in May 1773. In substance these stated, without naming Clive, that all acquisitions made under the influence of a Military force or by Treaty with foreign princes did of right belong to the State, and that the acquisitions by any persons entrusted with Civil or Military power contrary to this was illegal. As these charges were thought to be too vague, a Select Committee, under the chairmanship of General Burgoyne was appointed to enquire into the charges. In this enquiry, Clive was extensively examined and cross-examined

until he at last complained: "I am treated like a sheep-a stealer rather than a Member of the House of Commons."

After the enquiry was completed Burgoyne brought forward another Resolution on 17 May 1773, naming Clive and specifying the amounts he had received from the native Princes in India.

In the conventional sense, the charges were unanswerable except by quibbling. No government and no Company can encourage or recognize or connive at acts of bribery or extortion by its subordinates. It was very difficult for Clive's friends to justify his conduct. His friend Wedderburn, who was Solicitor-General stoutly defended him, while Thurlow the Attorney-General and Lord North the Prime Minister sided with the Company.

Clive raised a defence in estoppel, claiming that Company had completely varified his acts when they sent him to India in 1764. Burgoyne's resolutions referred to the State, but according to Clive the State was not separately in the picture at all. The Sovereignty of the mercantile Company on the Indian soil was absolute and that the Company had settled the matter finally in 1763. It could not be reopened again and again. "But Sir," said Clive in closing his speech in his own defence, "I must make one more observation. If the definition of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Colonel Burgoyne) and of this House, that the State, as expressed in these Resolutions is *quoad hoc* the Company, then, Sir, every farthing I enjoy is granted to me. But to be called upon after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner.....is hard indeed. It is a treatment I should not think the British

Senate capable of. I have a conscience within me that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. . . . But before I sit down, I have one request to make to this House: That when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own."

The House of Commons acted in a business-like manner about this sad episode. They accepted the resolutions with an amendment which omitted the words that inculpated Clive, by a vote of 155 against 95. They also passed a further Resolution stating "that Robert Lord Clive at the same time did render great services to his country."

It has to be noted that in those days there was no legal prohibition forbidding Englishmen from accepting gifts from native princes. Private trading by the Company's employees was also not forbidden. Further more, the Resolutions referred to misdemeanour against the State, while Clive was an employee of the Company and not of the State. So far as he was concerned, the Company and the State were identical jurisdictions. The fiction of the mercantile Sovereignty on the Indian soil was strictly maintained right upto 1858. The only Sovereignty which could question Clive's conduct was therefore the East India Company which was the same as the State and

Clive could prove by record that the Company had ratified all his acts and arrangements in 1763. The Company and State also continued to benefit by the acquisitions which Clive made.

Unfortunately however for Clive, his enemies succeeded in presenting his image and reputation to his own countrymen as that of a corrupt extortioner for over sixteen years. They constantly harped upon the repelling aspects of his career. The result was that his image as the founder of a lucrative empire became faint as days passed and his image as an unscrupulous man became very clear. The Company continued to receive high dividends because of Clive's conquests, but they would not permit him to keep a fraction of the booty.

Clive was a highly sensitive man. His Indian wealth seems to have gone to his very marrow like some deadly poison. For all these sixteen years he worried over these developments and this "injustice". He struggled for "every farthing" of this wealth as if it was a continuance of the Indian battles. The struggle and the anguish brought him to an early grave. He died at the age of 49 in 1774. In a mood of depression, he committed suicide.



(Continued from page 64)

munity, in the hope, perhaps, that they will someday repay the community for what it does for them. So that the students have some sort of an obligation to prove useful later on in life.

Lathi and Law

Most people accept the lathi charges made by the police as a lawful method of maintaining peace; though cracking open people's skulls cannot very well be a symbol of peace. Others dislike the idea, but feel that if the police are defied by unruly crowds they may with justice belabour the lawless persons with sticks. The main point however is the lawfulness of hitting some people with sticks. The police can hit out with sticks if they are attacked by people with similar or more dangerous weapons. If people merely violate Section 144 or traffic rules, the police can prosecute them and have them punished according to the law; but the law does not provide for lathi blows for those who violate laws including Section 144. It is therefore within our right to question the legality of each and every lathi charge made by the police. The police cannot hit people with lathis lawfully unless they can prove that the people attacked them in a violent manner. This does not happen in all cases when lathis are used by the police; at least so people say. If therefore the police use sticks to deter people from entering certain areas in organised formation; the legality of the use of such violent means to enforce the law can be questioned. The people who do this in defiance of police orders are known to the

police. They can be prosecuted and punished in accordance with the provisions of the law; but the police prefer the use of sticks and do not show any eagerness to prosecute the law breakers even if they know who they are.

Changing Street Names

In India street names are changed whenever the name changers feel an urge to immortalise some great person of their choice. In Europe more really great persons are born than in India; but the names of well known thoroughfares are not meddled with in order to show respect to them. We do not find any Bernard Shaw Avenue or Churchill Parade created by altering Great Parliament Street or Piccadilly. No one ever tried to change the name of Unter den Linden to Hitler Strasse or that of Boulevard St. Michele to Rue de Gaulle. In India however such great and historical landmarks as the Chowringhee can be manhandled for the glorification of Jawahirlal Nehru, whose greatness does not become any greater thereby. Other relatively less famous persons have had their names plastered over older street names to the utter confusion of postmen and road users. If new roads were constructed and named after well-known men and women, no one could object to that; but changing road names everytime there were changes of government would be a highly objectionable method of hero-worship. Calcutta was built by the British and a few British names in this city would be historically relevant. Congress leaders, by and large, had little to do with Calcutta Streets and the city need not commemorate them by changing its street names time and again.

MARX AND THE PATTERN OF MARXIST REVOLUTIONS

Prof. T. K. R. PANIKKAR

With Karl Marx, Socialism became a science and a working class movement. The earlier socialists, though adherents of utopian systems, were no doubt, critics of the capitalist system of production. But they could not explain it, and get a mastery of it. They merely rejected it as bad. These socialists were merely a disarrayed group of reformers of Social grievances. Hence socialism before Marx was "a mish-mash of less striking critical statements, economic theories, pictures of future society by the founders of different sects" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring* P. 32). Socialism became scientific with the discovery of the materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value, which owe their origin to Karl Marx. As it is remarked by R. H. S. Crossman, Socialism without Marx and Engels is Hamlet without the prince. Marx derived his theories out of a monumental and penetrating analysis of the capitalist system of production. His mind encompassed the ideologies and the doctrines of the 19th century revolutions. Marx was really the progenitor of a great revolutionary movement, and he bestowed his teachings on the working classes as the vehicle of an upward movement which had become historically necessary. *Schwartzschild* has summed up Marxian theories as "The theories of inevitability, revolution, proletarianism and science."

Marx was a revolutionary and marxism is a creed of revolution. The transformation of capitalist society into socialist society would take place only through a violent revolution, to be staged by the working classes. Marx held that revolution is necessary not only be-

cause the capitalists can not be over-thrown in any other way, but also because only in a revolution can the class which overthrows it, rid itself of the accumulated rubbish of the past and become capable of reconstructing society.

Marx accepted the Hegelian doctrine of dialectics, as the key to the understanding of social changes. But to Marx, the universal substance underlying the process is matter and he interpreted dialectics as economic determinism. Social development depends upon the evolution of the means of economic production. Marx believed that it was through the antagonism between social classes that progress takes place in society. He, out of his analyses of the various social systems of the past, has conclusively proved and wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". This class struggle "each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes." Marx attempted to show the dehumanising process in the capitalist system which "reduced labourers to an undifferentiated mass of abstract labour power." To the proletariat a social revolution is to be devoutly wished to raze the capitalist edifice to the ground and to reconstitute a classless society.

However, revolution does not erupt abruptly. Marx held that revolution does not take place in any society unless that society attains its fullest development. He writes in the *Critique of Political Economy*,: "No social order ever disappears before all the productive

forces for which there is room in it have been developed, and new high relations of production never appear before the material conditions for their existence have matured in the womb of the old society." Marx predicted that the proletarian revolution would take place first in England or Germany where capitalism had reached a very advanced stage of development, and where the industrial working classes would be prepared to fight against their capitalist exploiters. He held that the proletarian revolution would be preceded by a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution to be staged by the *bourgeoisie* in their bid to assert their claims against imperialism, monarchy and the feudalistic elements of society. In the *bourgeois* revolution the proletariat would lend them their support, and then it would make its own bid to power against the *bourgeoisie*. As Marx writes in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The *bourgeoisie* finds itself involved in a constant battle. In all these it sees itself compelled, to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus to drag it into the political arena. "Thus the *bourgeoisie* itself, train the proletariat in the technique of fighting, which would one day be directed against themselves. Marx and Engels believed in permanent revolution and there was reference of that in the *Address of the Central Council of the Communist League* in 1850. It envisaged the need of driving forward the revolutionary process until a new and definite social order is established. "The scheme answers the elementary question what should be the aim of the workers when they begin to move within a certain situation which is complicated by the co-existence of class tensions between feudalism and the *bourgeoisie* as well as between the *bourgeoisie* and the workers." (Schlesinger, in "*Marx, his time and ours*" P. 266.). The workers should see that the *bourgeois-*

democrats would not stop the revolution at the point convenient to them. The proletariat should continue the revolution until the owning classes are completely dislodged from power.

Marx hoped that the conditions for the social revolution by the proletariat existed in the countries most advanced in industrial development. The defeat of the European revolutions of 1848 had actually disillusioned Marx and made him much cynical about the immediate "revolutionary second coming in Europe."

Though France was not industrially far advanced, it was the centre of European revolutionary activities. It is believed that France really made Marx a revolutionary. The ruthless crushing of the Paris Commune in 1871, shattered the working class movement in France and did incalculable harm to the cause of international working class movement. It was in the Paris Commune that the working classes made their first appearance in power. But during the brief span of time they remained in power before they were crushed by the forces of Thiers, they could not embark on any programme of socialist reconstruction. Marx who was in France praised the Paris Commune and made an impassioned defence of it. He believed that the essence of the Paris Commune lay in its unification and centralisation of power of the majority (the proletariat) free from class control . . . "The plain truth is that the communards had no common theory, and were during the few months of the Commune's existence, much too busy to make one." (G.D.H. Cole, *Socialist Thought* Vol II p. 172). The defeat of the commune only hastened the dissolution of the First International.

England was by far the most advanced industrialised country in the early half of the

the nineteenth century. But there was little evidence to show that the English working class was preparing to have an out and out struggle with the ruling classes. On the other hand revolutionary spirit was waning among them. The Reform Acts, the Factory Acts etc., had actually helped a lot in palliating the industrial worker in England. The workers were busy in organising themselves in trade unions and were demanding Parliamentary reforms to ameliorate their conditions, without attempting to overthrow the existing social order. The workers had developed what the communists themselves believe "labour aristocracy," and ceased to be revolutionary force.

Marx had vainly hoped that the British capitalist system would be disintegrated with the coming of the Irish revolution and with the increasing demand for Indian Independence. He had come to the realization that the chances of working class uprisings in the capitalist countries of Western Europe were only remote.

This is evident from the preface Marx wrote in 1882 to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto. Marx hopefully looked towards Russia for revolutionary inspiration and wrote "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe." Russia had developed capitalism with much speed since Marx wrote his *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. the problem for Marx was to consider whether Russia would have to pass through the same process of development as Western capitalism, before the achievement of socialism. "If the Russian revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development." (*Marx. Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto* 1882).

The Revolution which Marx predicted for a liberal capitalist country, occurred in Russia in 1917. It can not be argued that an explosive revolutionary situation did not exist in Tsarist Russia on the eve of the Russian revolution. On the other hand the situation warranted a revolution by the presence of unmitigated distresses, accumulated during the Tsarist autocratic rule. Russia had been long under the tradition of absolutism. The heavy losses Russia sustained in the war, distressing economic situation, the demoralization among the soldiers, the strikes and riots and the increasing peasant discontentment—all created an inflammable situation in Russia on the eve of the revolution. A similar situation also existed in China before the floodgates of the revolution opened there in 1949.

China had also one of the most primitive, feudalistic backward economies before the revolution. The Chinese peasants who constituted about 80 percent of the total population were for ages together under serfdom and were being exploited by the privileged classes. Confucianism, for long stood as an obstacle to progress in China. The "militarist land-lord scholar combination" had profound retarding influence in China. The decades preceding the revolution even witnessed more distressing conditions. All these were alarming signals of a revolutionary situation in China. Lenin in Russia and Mao in China utilized these revolutionary conditions for the struggle for power. "The discontent, indeed the despair of the masses was the dynamite with which they blew up the existing edifice of society and state, and they took the dynamite wherever they found it...It was the dynamite they cared about not where it came from." (Klaus Mehnert *Peking & Moscow*, p 166 Mentor Book). Thus, in fact, the increasing misery and degradation which Marx predicted for the wor-

king classes in an advanced capitalist society, were largely present in Russia and China on the eve of the revolutions. The fact was that Marx was not much hopeful about the prospect of a communist revolution in the agrarian East, whose population was predominantly peasants. But curiously enough, conditions in those agrarian societies proved to be more propitious for the revolution, "The raw material for the elites can be more easily drawn from a peasantry because peasants are less likely than workers to have formed for themselves ideas that may conflict with communist doctrine. The more primitive the country, the more is the peasant a clean slate, on which the communists may write their message." (Seton-Watson in the *Pattern of Communist Revolution*.)

Lenin was the architect of the October Revolution of 1917. In Russia the revolution came in two stages. The Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks differed in the revolutionary tactics. Along with the Mensheviks, Lenin also believed that under the existing conditions there was the chance of only a *bourgeois*—democratic revolution in Russia. But Lenin was of the view that the proletariat should lead the *bourgeois* revolution and then prepare the way for a proletarian revolution. The revolution of February 1917 had resulted in the abdication of the Tsar and in the establishment of the Provisional Government. This revolution could be said to be the *Bourgeois* democratic revolution in Russia, in which the Bolsheviks played only a small part. Marx had said that the bourgeois democratic revolution would precede the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution in Russia was staged in November 1917 under the Bolshevik leadership with the assistance of the workers and peasants. Lenin appeared in Petrograd only in 1917 and he was victorious "in a few

highly dramatic months" which transformed the destiny of Russia.

Lenin's problem was to adopt the Marxist ideology to the conditions of Russia. In fact Marx never seemed to have bothered about the realization of his revolutionary objectives. He seemed to have been of the view that this was a matter for which the revolution itself would provide a solution. The *Communist Manifesto* itself states that the practical application of the principles will depend everywhere and at all times on the historical condition at the time being existing. "That Lenin faced with practical problems of administration which had never entered into Marx's orbit, should have found himself obliged to adapt the classic theory accordingly was natural enough" (Carew Hunt R. N. *The Theory and Practice of Communism*. P. 171). While applying the revolutionary doctrine of Marx to the conditions of Russia, Lenin had made some departures, which are to some extent void of the teachings of Marx. Lenin conceived of a narrow party to be the vanguard of the proletariat to guide the working classes both before and after the revolution. In fact Marx and Engels had never thought the idea of a separate Communist Party way from the working classes and insisted that the communists should join the forces which stood for a socialist society. Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat also deserves to be examined in this context. As Laski says, no phrase has been subject to so much misinterpretation as "the dictatorship of the proletariat." In the *State and Revolution* Lenin argues that the revolution will replace the *bourgeois* state by the dictatorship of the proletariat and that in doing it, it will follow the pattern of revolution laid down by Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels conceived the dictatorship of the proletariat on a broader basis. To them it was not the opposite of democracy. Marx

saw it as the instrument through which the transition from capitalism to socialism would be effected. Engels identified the dictatorship of the proletariat with the Paris Commune. It is the period when the working classes will control the state and consolidate the socialist reconstruction against all counter revolutionary activities. The dictatorship of the proletariat would finally consummate in the "withering away" of the state. Lenin had conceived of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." But with his narrow concept of the party and its chosen elite to guide the working classes, the dictatorship of the proletariat to Lenin meant, the dictatorship by a powerful elite of the communist party. "Lenin made the dictatorship of the proletariat more akin to the Jacobin idea of a committee of public safety than to any content either Marx or Engels gave to that term." (Laski : *Introduction to the Communist Manifesto* P. 92).

A proletariat in the Marxian concept had not developed in Russia at the time of the revolution. On the other hand, in the place of a class conscious proletariat, Lenin had to rely on the peasantry as the revolutionary basis. Lenin was fully conscious of this fact, and after the revolution his approach to the peasant problem in Russia was particularly note-worthy. Lenin did not want to alienate the sympathy of the middle peasant and the small peasant, and he stood for an alliance between the proletariat and the middle peasant, who was always vacillating. But Marx and Engels had always suspected the peasants of *bourgeois* mentality. Under such conditions it would have been inconceivable, that the social revolution in Russia would have been sustained without a rigid dictatorship of the most conscious section of the small elite at the top of the Communist Party. But what has been followed by Lenin out of unavoidable necessity, has

been subsequently followed nakedly by' his successor Stalin, who embarked on political adventurism in the name of proletarian dictatorship. This trend that was generated in Russia after the revolution greatly account for the trend of totalitarianism in the regimes created after the communist revolutions in other countries. It was the Russian revolution that subsequently turned to be the model for other communist revolutions in the world.

We have seen that the coming into power of the communists in China was no isolated event. The mainstay of the revolution in China was also the peasantry. Mao himself was a peasant by birth, and he could effectively utilize the fervent, massive upsurge of the peasantry in the country-side for the revolution. The Chinese Communist Party consisted of an elite of professional revolutionaries which had risen to power by basing itself on the peasant discontent. Mao stood for the necessity of establishing rural self-Government and arming the emancipated peasant. In 1940 Mao spoke of the Chinese revolution as the *bourgeois* democratic revolution. But he divided it into two stages. "The first stage of the revolution does not and cannot at all build up a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese *bourgeoisie*. Its aim is the setting up of a new democratic society of the united dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. The first stage thus accomplished the development of the Chinese revolution will be carried forward into the second stage, viz the building up of the Chinese Socialist Society." (*Mao-Tse-Tung China's New Democracy*, 1940). Mao was immensely aware of the importance of the Co-operation of the *bourgeois* parties for the smooth working of the administration at the initial stage of the seizure of power. The Communist Party of China had reached an understanding with the Kuomintang to fight the Japanese aggression.

Mao was careful not to deviate much from the orthodox principles of Marxism, while making them adaptable to Chinese conditions. If he made revision on the orthodox doctrines, those were made with a view to *Sinification* of Marxism. Though there were practically no proletariat in China, Mao spared no pains in keeping up appearances by terming the movement as proletarian. In the place of the dictatorship of the proletariat Mao took the position of the "joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes" before conditions would be created for the revolution to march towards its ultimate goal of socialism. Mao accepted Marxism as his official creed and interpreted it to suit to China. "As a communist theoretician Mao Tse Tung was no peasant deviationist. Even during the years of peasant revolution, Mao insisted that the aim was to establish a communist state based on heavy industry and the leadership of the proletariat. He was attacked by the dogmatists because of the unorthodox means by which he wanted to reach the most orthodox communist ends." (Palocz-Horvath, in *Mao-Tse-Tung, Emperor of the Blue Ants*.) To-day Mao-Tse-Tung is considered as the most orthodox of the interpreters of Marxist doctrines. As the supreme architect of the Chinese communist revolution, Mao for the first time in China's history, established a strong centralised government, and addressed himself to the task of finding solution for the age-old problems of China.

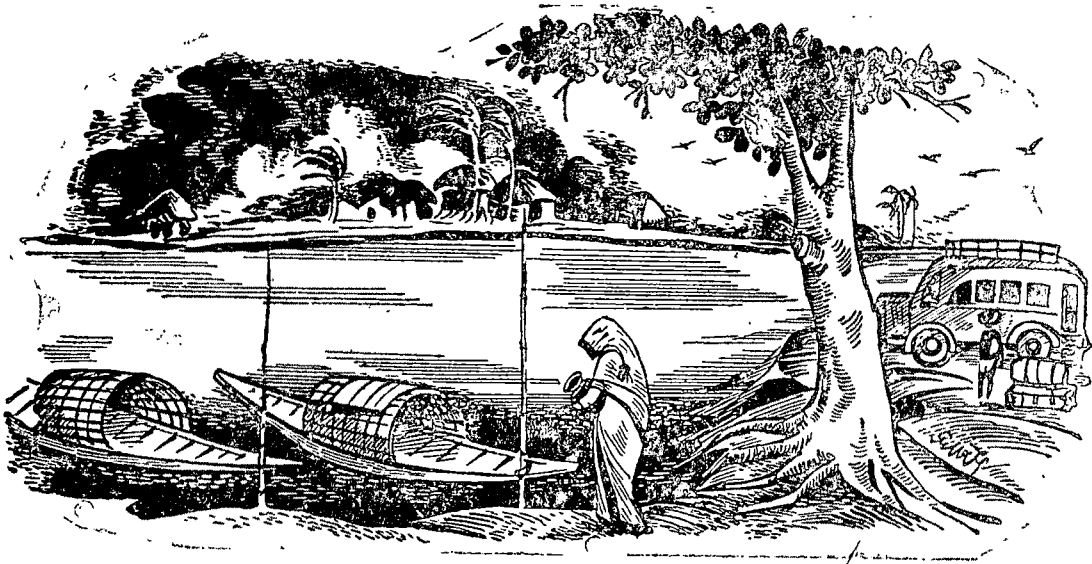
Thus it has been found that, for the revolutionary founders of both Russia and China, the spring of inspiration was the Marxist ideology, though modified in its actual application to suit particular situations. Both the Russian and the Chinese revolutions are essentially patterns of Marxist revolutions under conditions of backward economy. In attempting to compare them, one can not but

notice a striking contrast between the two. The Bolshevik Revolution was more of a conspiratory nature than the Chinese revolution. More fortuitous incidents account for the immediate victory of the Russian Revolution. It could not be said that the Russian peasants, on the eve of the revolution, were very much revolutionary in their spirit. Had the provisional government in Russia succeeded in solving the triple problems of peace, bread and land, it would have been doubtful whether the October Revolution would have taken place at all. M. N. Roy, who did not support the Russian Revolution, said that it was a mere "fluke of history." On the other hand, the Chinese revolution started on more secure ground. The Chinese peasants, who were a "vast mass of ready made rural proletariat" made the condition even more ripe for the revolution. That was the reason why Mao did not have to face any challenge to his position during the early stages. But this was not the case in Russia, where Lenin was constrained to change his policies often, and Stalin had to resort to ruthless ways to maintain himself in power. Largely both the countries had crossed the same stages of development since the revolutions, though China, today, is what Russia had been in the 1930's. The cultural revolution in China today is an open means by which Mao purges the party of the elements which are not loyal to the official creed of Mao. Stalin also made such purges in the 1930's, but through secret means, with the help of the secret police and army.

How far the revolution attained their ends? Any one would be constrained to conclude that "Classless, stateless and egalitarian society" about which Marx and Engels had the vision, is still lingering dejectedly in the far away horizons. Russia, in the course of the last fifty years has achieved many things but the

ends of communism. China, today is an example of a communist country becoming expansionist and imperialist. In both countries, state power does not show any signs of abatement on the life of the individual. The state, far from showing signs "withering away" is increasingly felt everyday. Its disappearance from the communist society has indeed become an elusive mirage today. It is a sad solace today that the revolutions, which had paid too much in terms of human life, failed to achieve

the end result even after long years. The present disarray in International Communism has jeopardised the cause of future revolutions in the world. Today, that country staging a communist revolution, will have to face not only the antagonism of the capitalist countries, but also the wrath of one or the other of the leading communist powers in the world, which does not approve of the revolution, and whose drive for power—status in the Communist world is unlimited.



RICH AND POOR—FILL UP THE GAPS

—Contributed

Human society all over the world has not been organised nor developed uniformly. The greatest and most noticeable differences have been created during the last two hundred years. Science and industry have been the potent factors in the remarkable military and economic progress of certain countries. Other countries which made little use of science and machine based production of wealth remained backward and poor. Many of the advanced countries used science and industry also as means of conquest of other countries and these conquering countries built up vast empires to which they exploited the masses of the conquered countries and became immensely rich and powerful. These were also vast sparsely populated land areas in the Americas and in Australasia which were occupied by conquering Europeans armed with lethal weapons of great killing power, and they consolidated themselves as owners of these vast territories and their natural resources by further procurements of immigrant Europeans who progressively reduced the original inhabitants of these lands to completely impoverished nonentities. Science and industry enabled these European conquerors of the new world to become immensely rich by developing the natural resources with the help of slave labour to begin with and by low paid labourers later on. The various well populated countries where the empires of the Europeans grew were developed only to the extent that suited the conquerors' military and commercial interests. As a result the imperial overlords thrived while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the imperial possessions struggled hard to live in an atmosphere of famines, natural calamities, epidemics and utter poverty. These beginnings of the great inequalities, which are now subject matter of high level international discussions, show clearly that world capitalism marched hand in hand with imperialism. The common people of the advanced countries, did not have a very good time to begin with. Even in the nineties of the last century English women were made to draw coal tubs in the mines of Wales at six pence a day. The common people of the wealthy countries were earning a pound a week even in the thirties of this century. But a consciousness of the rights of human beings slowly came on top over the years and progressively led to the raising of standards of living in Europe, America and Australasia. The growth of the U.S.S.R. and the realisation of the economic dimensions of the ethics of humanism stimulated all moves towards fuller establishment of equality and liberty. But that merely led to a better organisation of the productive machinery of the advanced countries. This helped to remove inequalities in these countries; but made their economic stature much higher and noticeable compared to the undeveloped countries. On top of all this lack of organised productivity and employment the underdeveloped countries also had a high birthrate as would be natural in poverty stricken communities. This high birthrate combined with a falling deathrate resulting from improved medicines, better sanitary conditions and arrangements for medical treatment; caused increased growth of population and intensified the poverty of the peoples concerned. With better communications many among these peoples began to see the outside world and began to resent their worldly condition actively. Organised labour in the underdeveloped countries has been more than merely articulate during recent times in spite of the fact that they have been much more affluent than the agricultural labour, the contractors' gang labour, the partly employed, the seasonal workers and the unemployed. The Governments of these countries have found the general poverty a great source of internal trouble and they have approached the advanced countries for assistance for developing their back-

ward economies as well as for general aid to feed the starving. In their discussions with the representatives of the wealthy states the leaders of the poor communities have tried to impress upon them the urgency of rendering such assistance and aid, as extreme poverty in large communities always lead to revolutions, wars and general unrest among the poorer classes everywhere. Whatever the real effect of such poverty may be, one must always take cognisance of all gross inequalities as well as of the growing needs of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries.

The difficulty that the advocates of economic equality have to face is found in the size of the gap that one has to cover. If one could obtain accurate figures of the national incomes of different countries one could compare the economic conditions prevailing in different countries. But such statistics are not easily available. What we can obtain are figures of population and revenue yields of countries. One can work out per capita revenue yields of the countries concerned from these figures which will enable one to make a fair guess regarding the per capita income of the peoples of different countries. Let us take a few examples:

Country	Population in millions	Gross Revenue in millions P. a.	Apprx. P. Capita Revenue Yield P. a.	Per Capita income (guess) P.a.
Great Britain	48	£ 10000	£ 200 or Rs 3600	Rs 14400
Canada	18	C\$ 7500	C\$ 416 " " 2912	Rs 12000
Australia	12	A£ 5000	A£ 416 " " 5824	Rs 22000
India	500	Rs 40000	Rs 80	Rs 320
Pakistan	100	Rs 6000	Rs 60	Rs 240
Ceylon	10	Rs 2000	Rs 200	Rs 800
Ghana	8	G£ 360	G£ 45 " " 400	Rs 1600
Rhodesia	4	£ 72	£ 18 " " 324	Rs 1300
U. S. A.	200	\$ 111000	\$ 555 " " 3885	Rs 15540
France	48	F 102000	F 2125 " " 2975	Rs 12000
Germany	60	DM 70000	DM 1166 " " 2040	Rs 9000
Japan	100	Y 5000000	" " 975	Rs 4000
Sweden	8	K 35000	K 4374 " " 4000	Rs 16000
Switzerland	6	F 5400	F 900 " " 1350	Rs ?

(A low tax country)

We can therefore see from the above the size of the inequality that prevails in this world between wealthy and poor countries. India, for instance, requires its incomes increased about forty times to come anywhere near France. To be equal to Australia she requires a seventy fold increase in her income. If Pakistan attempts to create similar equality with other lands her per capita income would have to be increased more than ninety times. To increase national incomes through industrialisation the capital required should be about ten times the proposed income increase. That is, if India wants to double her per capita income it will involve an increase of 15 to 20 thousand crore in the total national income i.e. a capital investment of one lac fifty thousand to two lac crores of rupees. During the last twenty years, the Indian Government have borrowed about twenty thousand crores of rupees and their finances have begun to show acute signs of dangerous distress. If some generous countries agreed to lend India one lac crore worth of capital goods, India would not know how to make use of it. Production must always be economically sound, that

is the people must be able to absorb the goods produced through purchase and the capital goods made use of through normal savings. One cannot visualise the Indian people doing this through industrialisation introduced at a fast pace. A five per cent increase in national wealth every year can perhaps be achieved provided India can obtain about 5 to 10 thousand crores yearly through savings or borrowings. This also will be hardly likely. The only way therefore to increase incomes would be through use of man power of which India has unlimited quantities. Had the Indian Government used this man power during the last twenty years we would have had by now all our required roads, water supply, irrigation arrangements, housing and food supplies without going to foreign countries for loans.

The idea that developed countries will finance

the undeveloped areas to grow into centres of industry could only work in a limited sense. To give a good income to hundreds of millions of people in the undeveloped areas is not an easy job. It cannot be carried out in a few years even if the finances were available. A fair idea of how forced industrialisation works can be obtained from what has happened in India in spite of very elaborate and expensive planning. We all know that a five per cent increase annually can perhaps be achieved without risk, but that will take some of the undeveloped countries nearer equality with the advanced countries in a hundred years or more. This kind of progress can be achieved without any appreciable begging or borrowing and should be the objective of most countries. With a proper mobilisation of the will of the people the time period can be cut down considerably.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

THE WEST ASIA CRISIS

Although the U. N. Security Council ultimately passed a British sponsored resolution calling upon Israeli forces to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and to end all belligerency in order to establish *just and lasting peace in the Middle East* which was unanimously acquiesced in by the entire World Body without any dissentient vote, the stalemate in the West Asian region remains unresolved and static during more than a month since this resolution was unanimously adopted. The resolution also requested Secretary General U. Thant to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and to achieve a peaceful and acceptable settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of the resolution.

The Security Council had also accepted the interpretation given to the resolution to the effect that "the resolution commits the Security Council to the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the whole of Sinai, the Gaza strip, the Old City of Jerusalem, the Jordanian territories West of the Jordan river and the Syrian territory." It was underlines that while border adjustments by peaceful mutual agreement among the concerned States cannot be ruled out, Israel cannot be permitted to retain any territory occupied

in the recent conflict under cover of the words "secure and recognized boundaries" incorporated in the British sponsored resolution.

The way the Anglo-American bloc in the Security Council has been endeavouring to bloc any action by the Security Council that might result in Israel being obliged to give up its gains from the June war, the suspicion, however, was always there that the unanimously adopted British sponsored resolution might not be sought to be implemented if its terms together with the interpretation given to its clauses given by India may not be acceptable to Israel. During more than the month and half since this resolution was adopted. Israel, visibly, has not been in any too great a hurry to obey its mandate so far as withdrawal from the territories specified was concerned. On the contrary, indications seem to be quite unmistakable that Israel is now busy devising ways and means to whittle down the terms of the resolution to suit her own convenience. From a recent news report it appears that Israel has been trying to sell the idea of a new State of Palestine which would comprise the Israeli occupied Jordanian regions situated on the West Bank of the Jordan river and including the Old City of Jerusalem. This last would seem to be a very clear and unambiguous indication of Israel's reluctance to accept the U. N. resolution mentioned above and the further fact

that nothing has been done by the Council during these last one and a half months to enforce obedience to its requirements would seem to point to the fact that there does not seem to be any early prospect of a satisfactory settlement of the unhappy situation.

And so long as there is no settlement it is understandable that Egypt will not, indeed, cannot agree to the reopening of the Suez shipping lane to international traffic. The closure of the Suez has severely affected not merely the shipping of the world, but has even severely affected the economies of several developing and advanced countries alike. Egypt was no doubt being cajoled by some of the world powers, notably Britain who is the most seriously affected, to reopen the Suez pending a satisfactory settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute ; but it would be foolish to expect that Nasser would be likely to succumb to blandishments. In the meanwhile world attention appears to have shifted its focus from the Middle to the South East and there is no knowing when there would be further more satisfactory developments in this vital area of the Western Asian sector.

VIETNAM AGAIN

Recent developments in the U. S. and elsewhere in the world roused some, though only very feeble hopes that there may be some move towards satisfactorily and peacefully ending the devastating tragedy in Vietnam.

For instance, a new awareness of the tragic nature of the Vietnam conflict and the U. S.'s wholly uncalled for and immoral involvement in the affair among U. S. political circles would seem to be indicated by the recent attempt that were sponsored by a group of Senators that the President should

be induced to obtain Congressional approval before he could be allowed to commit more troops and equipments to Vietnam. Such an attempt was, however, bound to prove infructuous because Congress had, long ago, given the President virtually unlimited powers of commitment in this region by its notorious Gulf of Tonkin resolution, whereby it authorized the U. S. President to do all that was necessary to ensure a speedy conclusion of the Vietnam conflict, including conducting the war in a manner to ensure such an end. By this resolution Congress had authorised war in Vietnam and so long as Congress does not adopt a fresh resolution enjoining that the U. S. must pull out of its engagements in Vietnam, there is no constitutional means to limit the prerogatives of the President in respect of the conduct of the war including the U. S.'s commitments therein.

It was hoped that the period of the recent Christmas truce would be fruitfully utilized by both the U. S. A. and Hanoi to make possible the opening of talks towards a settlement of this tragic conflict. There is no doubt that the newly elected (or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say he was junkered by U. S. sponsors) South Vietnamese President announced that he had invited President Ho to peace talks some time ago. But that really meant nothing. The U. S. has been shilly-shallying all along the line so far as proposals for the opening of talks for a peaceful settlement was concerned. India made unmistakeably known to the U. S. that in accordance with the possibilities for successful negotiations explored by her accredited representatives, the prospects for fruitful response by Hanoi was more favourable than ever before, but the one condition-precident

which alone could lead both sides to a conference table war that U. S. *unconditionally* stopped bombing of North Vietnam and other acts of war against the North and the Vietcong. Hanoi had already made this quite clear even earlier ; but apparently the U. S. Administration wanted it all its own way. Even before the ground was cleared of its current military and political debris, the U. S. seemed to expect that there would be commitments from Hanoi that the latter would accept what according to the U. S. would be reasonable terms of settlement. This was something which, on the face of it, would be more than any self-respecting people could agree to in the situation prevailing between North Vietnam and the Vietcong on the one side and the U. S. A. on the other. It is hardly necessary to add that the South Vietnam Government, stooges of the U. S. as it clearly is, has no *locus standi*, whatever, in these parleys. But, to revert to the discussion, when India made known her expectations of fruitful peace offensive, Dean Rusk was reported to have sneeringly countered by the question that if after cessation of bombing Hanoi still refused to talk, what guarantees of peace could there be ? Obviously he expects that Hanoi or India or any other neutral power on behalf of the former would give firm undertakings that whatever conditions that the U. S. would endeavour to impose for a peaceful settlement, Hanoi would be induced to accept. This is something to which no one could be expected to commit himself.

All that is necessary is that there should be the necessary preconditions for the opening of negotiations. What the terms of the negotiations should be is something which could

be decided by mutual agreement only after the decision to have negotiations has been mutually agreed upon. And to make such a decision at all possible, it is only legitimate that the U. S. must agree to stop bombing and all other acts of war as an essential condition-precedent. If U. S. demands a corresponding guarantee from Hanoi that could follow only after U. S. has stopped its continuing aggression—

But even if there might—as official suspected by the U. S.—have been some room for doubt as regards Hanoi's bona fides in the matter, it should have been finally and completely dispelled after the North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong early last September in a television interview stated : “You have to stop bombing unconditionally. If you want peace talks, they can follow.” But even this, apparently, failed to convince Washington ; for Goldberg, U. S. Ambassador to the U. N. was reported to have countered with the question “what would follow the end of the bombing ?” It was as if the Washington was determined to shrug off all reasonable approaches that might be calculated to lead to a fruitful conference table.

But if after the latest authorized pronouncements from Hanoi, Washington still persists in remaining obstinately unconvinced, the only conclusion could be that it did not want to move forward towards a conference table and would prefer to maintain the present amorphous and fluid situation in the region. For, on December 30th last, the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister was reported to have stated in the most unambiguous terms that Hanoi would go to the negotiating table if U. S. unconditionally stopped bombing and all other acts of war. This is, if anything, a

distinct improvement upon Hanoi's earlier stand as represented by the statement's of its Prime Minister on January 28, 1967 which in addition to the unconditional cessation of hostilities had also demanded the wholesale withdrawal of all U. S. armed personnel from South Vietnam. It is now for the United States to respond to North Vietnam's offers for peace.

It would, however, be fatal mistake for Washington to assume that the latest statement by the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister indicates a weakening of the North Vietnamese will to continue to fight if it is not possible to win peace with honour. Such an assumption may very well lead to a decision that the notorious military-mindedness of President Johnson's Pentagon advisers might try to force down on the former that a military conclusion of the present Conflict is both desirable and feasible in such a reading of the weakening of the North Vietnamese will to fight. What may more likely happen is that such a view of current feelers from Hanoi might very well eliminate Russia's fruitful intervention towards a constructive peace to replaced by direct Chinese intervention. The fact that inspite of these recent happenings no indication is still available of the slightest measure of de-escalation of the war would go to strengthen such apprehensions. It is needless to add that such a view of the current Vietnamese situation would be bound to prove wholly unimaginative and even disastrous; but the Pentagon leaders have never been notorious for their imaginative qualities.

FANGS OUT

Despite earlier sanctimonious assertions

to the contrary the old guard—the notorious Syndicate of the Central Congress leadership, have not been able to accept their rejection at the polls in the 1967 general elections with the grace that democratic good manners would seem to demand. The Prime Minister's obviously hypocritical assertions that the relations of her Government with the non-Congress coalition Governments in the States remain cordial and impartial notwithstanding, behind the scenes intrigues enticements and manouvers towards toppling the non-Congress coalitions in the States, have not merely been all too obotreperous, but even wholly unethical. All this has not merely been countenanced by the Mrs Gandhi's Government, but even actively encouraged and instigated.

We have, to date, three separate and distinct examples of such non-Congress coalitions being pushed out of office. The first was that in Haryana. Here, the Governor took a hand and, in the ground of constant crossings and recrossings of the floor of the legislature towards and away from the coalition party in power and the boosting of the ruling coalition by a process of almost indefinite expansion of the Council of Ministers,—a circumstance in which the prospects of a settled and stable government appeared to be remote—recommended dismissal of the Government and dissolution of of the legislature and assumption of the powers of Government by the President. Here the Governor acted, it must be conceded in accordance with correct constitutional propriety. Although there is no prescribed limit of the size of a Council of Ministers, there can be no question that

maintaining a majority by frankly increasing distribution of the loaves and fishes of office is neither democratic nor ethical and even if the Chief Minister may have been within his technical rights to do so, the Governor, it must be conceded, was fully justified in the exercise of his *discretion* to recommend the application of this appropriate Constitutional remedy to put an end to this highly questionable process. If this leads to a fresh poll after the constitutionally prescribed six month interregnum, it will be for the electorate to decide. If, however, the President may decide to extend his own rule in the State by further periods of six-months as was done in Kerala, unless special circumstances developed to justify such further suspension of the constitutional machinery in the State, then the whole process at present quite within the frame-work of Constitutional propriety, may appear to be of a different colour. But, perhaps, it is both wrong and unwise to anticipate.

The next and second case in that of the Punjab. Here there was no question of the Governor using his discretion at the initial stage. The Chief Minister at the head of the Coalition party, on account of a number of defections from his side under the lead of an erstwhile cabinet colleague, Mr. Gill, volunteered the resignation of his Government as he felt he no longer commanded a majority in the legislature. He recommended, at the same time, that the legislature be dissolved and President's rule promulgated so that a fresh mid-term poll may be held at the appropriate time. But the Governor immediately started to deviate from his strict Constitutional role. Instead of accepting the recommendation of the resigning Chief

Minister, he called upon Mr. Gill, who headed a small splinter off the former ruling coalition and which was the cause of the Chief Minister's resignation, with a view to ascertaining if he were able and prepared to form an alternative government. The former Chief Minister then made a counter request that he may be given a 24 hour opportunity to explore if he was able to reconstitute a majority government which was ignored and, assured of the support of the Congress legislature party, Mr. Gill was allowed to form his minority government. This was, clearly, a case of assuming a *prerogative* by the Governor which was, as clearly, beyond his Constitutional powers. Although the appropriate Article in the Constitution does not clearly and in physical terms define the limit of the Governor's *discretion*, the very fact that the office has been vested with immunity from the processes of the law would *ipso facto*, debar it from indulging in any executive decision *suo moto* without the advice of the Council of Ministers. But when there is no Government in existence the Governor can certainly, in his *discretion*, call upon the leader of any legislature party or group to form a Government, provided he is convinced that it can or does command a majority in the House. In the case of Mr. Gill, clearly, no such majority existed. It could, probably, get a majority with backing and support of the Congress Legislature Party. But such support, so long as it is not reinforced by a formal coalition, may either prove to be a compulsive force upon the Government with a small legislative minority which would reduce the Democratic process to a hollow mockery, or prove to be highly unstable. In either case it would

be a clear violation of basic democratic principles. The hand of the Congress-dominated Central Government is hardly less than obvious in all this sorry business.

The third and, perhaps, the most overt case of violation of Constitutional proprieties is in respect of the West Bengal Government's dismissal by the Governor and the almost simultaneous swearing in of a new Government by him which claimed to have a total strength of only 17 members in a House of 280.

The way the cards were played in this case was scandalous, to say the least. Dr. Prophullo Ghosh, a Cabinet Minister in the dismissed Government submitted his resignation to the Governor. Dr. Ghosh was guilty of an obvious impropriety when he did so, for the appropriate authority to whom alone he could properly submit his resignation, was the Chief Minister of the Government of which he was a member. But if it was improper for Ghosh to do so, it was even more highly improper for the Governor to have taken cognizance of the same; the correct thing for him to do would have been to return the resignation to Dr. Ghosh, advising him that he should send it to the appropriate authority. It is quite glaringly obvious that the whole process was collusively engineered between the Governor and Ghosh with the Humayun Kabir playing the role of the initial intermediary.

Dr. Ghosh then informed the Governor that 16 others who accepted his lead had defected from the United Front Legislature Party and that the Government had, thereby lost its majority in the legislature. The Governor then called upon the Chief Minister to resign who naturally, refused to oblige

until the matter had been tested in a session of the legislature. The Governor, then pressed upon the Chief Minister to advise him to summon the legislature to session at an early date. This, the Governor had no business to do. The Constitutional provisions in this behalf are quite clear and unambiguous. The Governor summons the legislature only when he is advised to do so by the Government; he can neither summon the legislature on his own initiative, nor can he dictate to the Government as to how and when it should advise him to do so.

Anyway the Chief Minister requested the Governor to summon the legislature on the 18th December; this was around the second week in November. The Governor was in too indecent a hurry to have an earlier session of the legislature; obviously he and his adviser in Calcutta (not excluding some leaders of the armed forces and top State executives and police officials) and his employers in New Delhi were desperately anxious that given a 5-week's respite, the United Front might succeed in repairing the breach in its ranks and thus bring to nought their deep-laid conspiracy of deposing the Government.

So, at last, Dharma Vira took courage in both hands and acted unilaterally; he dismissed the United Front Government and installed Prophulla Ghosh, with his 17 member Splinter instead in the office. It is significant that the United Front Government had, earlier, sent a memorandum to the President requesting that a reference be made to the Supreme Court as to whether it is within the discretion of a Governor to dismiss a Government from office until its lack of majority has been tested in an open session of the

legislature in conformity with the appropriate procedure laid down in this behalf. This request was summarily rejected by the Union Government without assigning any more reason for this denial of a very legitimate demand than merely to assert that it considered the opinion of its own law ministry as final and adequate.

It must be conceded that defections from their ranks obviously instigated by the Congress and made possible, in large measure, by the support of vested interests were the inevitable result of the ineptitudes of and contradictions within the United Front Governments themselves. And this, is equally true of the Governments that have yet to be toppled; there are at least three more such on the card for immediate treatment. The mistake of these left coalition United Fronts would seem to have been following from the obvious misapprehension that the rejection of Congress, generally, in the States at the last polls appears to have been assumed to have been a verdict in their favour. Most clearly and emphatically it was not so. It was up to these coalitions to convert this negative verdict of the polls into a positive verdict in their own favour by positive action; by fulfilment of a minimum common programme. Unfortunately, none of the Coalitions has proved itself imaginative enough to have realised the very delicate and almost precarious balance upon which its respective regime was established and, from the very beginning of its assumption of office, started on a course which had, for its objective, the establishment of party dominance within the multiple-party coalitions, rather than the pursuit of a common and integrated

programme. The inevitable result was the emergence, of such contrary pulls and stresses that bid fair to disintegrate the coalition.

One cannot blame the enemy to have moved in to reap the utmost benefit out of the situation. What one objects to, however, is that the situation should have been sought to be and, at least in two cases up to date, has been exploited by recourse to extra Constitutional means which are contrary to all the commonly accepted ethical and Constitutional norms of democratic behaviour. One could not legitimately object if these coalition State Governments were toppled by proper constitutional means, as in Haryana; to a dissolution of the States constitutional organ, viz, the legislature; to be followed, after the constitutionally prescribed interregnum, by a fresh poll. Except in Haryana, however, this obvious remedy has been ignored and quite obviously questionable procedures—overwhelmingly so in West Bengal—adopted to keep the legislature alive when the proper thing should have been to dissolve it. It seems very likely that in other cases to follow—Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala seem to be in line for similar treatment—a like measure would be adopted to topple the present Governments and would be replaced by new ones of distinctly Congress hue but possibly under illegitimately rigged leads as in West Bengal and the Punjab.

In spite of the Prime Minister's public pronouncements to the contrary, the true attitudes of her Party and Governments have now been made unambiguously clear by the transactions at the recent annual Congress meet of Hyderabad. The least ground for doubt that may still have been left after the

only resolution—a unique departure from precedent—had been adopted, has been most clearly removed by Nijalingappa's Presidential address which has been very aptly and not a little picturesquely described by certain sections of the daily press as an offensive. Offensive it certainly is, with all its poison fangs and teeth and claws bared for all to see and beware. The threat to a democratic order inherent in the pronouncements of the new Congress chief is all too obvious for all discerning students of current political trends to see what Nijalingappa has said means, in effect, that the Congress will no longer continue to accept its rejection at the last polls lying down. But the means that it will adopt in the pursuit of its goal, reinstatement to its former power, if not the glory, is not to set its own house in order and thus rehabilitate itself with the electorate, but to push out, by main force, the non-Congress Governments still in office and reoccupy the seats of power with the help of renegades from the opposition.

Frankly, there was only one legitimate and democratic course open to the Congress. To boldly face a fresh poll as soon as possible by dissolution of State legislatures in non-Congress areas by recourse to the President's extraordinary powers. That was the only way the deposed old guard—most of them except Messrs Morarji Desai, Chavan and Jagjivan Ram fell like nine-pins at the last elections—might have been able to re-establish themselves in the parliamentary machine. The Congress has all but a bare majority in the Lok Sabha. It is unable any longer to cavalierly bring in new proposals for Constitutional amendments as here-

tofore for the simple reason that it is no longer able to command the requisite two-thirds majority in the House.

The threat implicit in Nijalingappa's Presidential address now seems to explain the unseemly hurry with which the Unlawful Activities Act has been passed at the last session of Parliament and since put on the Statute Book after the requisite Presidential assent. From what Nijalingappa has said it becomes almost certain that the Congress Government at the centre with *induced* to take recourse to this new Statute to crush the opposition if necessary. The question as to whether this new Statute is at all *intra vires* the Constitution in conformity with the provisions of Art 19 and, especially, in view of previous judgments of the Supreme Court, does not seem to have disturbed him at all. He has also talked glibly about banning political parties with communal or revolutionary ideologies.

And, yet, he or his colleagues would not favour the obvious democratic remedy; that of dissolution of the legislatures in non-Congress States where the coalition governments have failed or are likely to fail to command majority support in the legislatures, possibly followed by a dissolution of Parliament and a mid-term general election. It is the only way the Congress could possibly rehabilitate itself in the States in accordance with correct democratic practices and reinforce its weakened sinews at the Centre. But it obviously is not prepared to face it. It is patently afraid!

Why? Because its leadership, in spite of many defaults and lapses still has enough political imagination and sagacity to realise

the dangerous potentialities of the newly awakened sense of political power that the electorate demonstrated at the last general elections. It is this new awareness of the people's own political power that has led to a rejection of Congress. In spite of that failures and lapses of the opposition this trend of rejection continues unabated. If there were a fresh poll in the immediate future, the Congress would be likely to suffer even more grievous losses. It might even mean greater consolidation of power to the extreme left. The old guard appear traumatically disinclined to face the fearful possibility.

But how long can a reckoning be withheld? 1972 is only four years away and disposing of the Left coalitions in the manner the Congress has been doing, it has only been making a martyr of certain parties of the extreme left. Short of a military *Coup* there does not seem to be anything that can put off the final reckoning further away than 1972. Atulya Ghosh, however much he may otherwise deserve to be derided, appears to be the only one among the Congress Old Guard with ample political sagacity to see the invisible writing on the wall. That was perhaps why he counselled even as late as early October last year, that the United Front Governments should be left well alone. Five years are all too infinitesimal in historical time, but may prove long enough to render the amorphous and warring U. F. to a state of complete impotency. Then will be the chance for the Congress to re-establish itself. But wise counsels are apt to fall uselessly on the deaf ears of impatient greed!

FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE

The 1967-68 harvest season has been

reported, in both official estimates and private assessments, to have been a record bumper one. In the preliminary estimates West Bengal's rice-paddy crop was initially assessed at nearer seven than six million tons in terms of rice. And, yet, portents do not seem to encourage the expectation that we shall have tided over the last two-year crisis or even that rice prices, in West Bengal, would be likely to settle down to an economic level.

With the first trickles of the new harvest in West Bengal around the beginning of November, last year, and a firm procurement programme and target announced by the then West Bengal Government, open market prices had sagged considerably in most areas, but even more significantly as in and around surplus-producing district. What was, perhaps, even more encouraging was that quantities of rice off the new harvest had begun to pour into the retail consumer markets. It should be noted and *underlined* that during the two preceding harvests there has never been any *new rice* available to the consumer-buyer. This significant aspect of the market transactions during the current season seemed to indicate that small farmers were bringing their produce directly to the market, and perhaps, also that the big operators and hoarders were, at least temporarily, not taking any active interest in the operations.

Retail prices, in consequence, had sagged to significant levels; in surplus areas even below ceiling prices fixed by Government earlier in the year. Hoarders and large operators were, perhaps, shunning the market presumably because they had not merely ample stocks in their private hoards to

enable them to do effective market rigging almost whenever they wished to do so and even this price sag, to begin with, may have served their own purpose in this regard but also because the Government's earlier determination to fulfil a procurement target of around one million tons (in terms of rice, not gross paddy weight), if necessary by reimposition of strict levies, kept them at arm's length with fall of the United Front Government, the former Food Minister, who had, in the meanwhile, transferred his weather-sensitive allegiances to the Congress and, therefore, to the vested interests, ceased to speak of procurement targets except in very lukewarm terms and of possible levies not at all. Big operators appear to have already and most effectively moved in and open market prices are already on a fairly steep ascending spiral. On the other hand, the quantum of procurement in the two months until the year end, is reported to aggregate no more than a bare 58,000 tonnes. Procurement is claimed to have been paced up with the new year averaging almost 5,000 tonnes a day. Even if this rate could be maintained, by March-end aggregate procurements could not possibly exceed 200,000 tonnes. Government stocks were earlier reported to have been reduced almost nothing before the new harvest and with only about 200,000 tonnes at its disposal by March-end when the lean season will begin, hoarders, market-riggers and profiteers will have it all their own way.

That, in short, are how the prospects of "food for the people" appear to a dispassionate analysis at the moment. Dr. P. C. Ghosh seems to be both unmoved and unconcerned. Possibly he is depending on the

Centre—to whom he has brought rich booty in the shape of gross treachery and defections leading to a *virtual reinstatement* of Congress power in the state with himself as both the quisling and the stooge—to tide him over. If this does not come off, the people of West Bengal can very well starve. They have long been used to it and should be able to face the prospect without undue apprehension!

India And The ICC

The U.S. Government has proposed that the personnel of the International Control Commission be suitably enlarged to enable the ICC to obviate the violation of Cambodian boundaries by fleeing North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops so that the U.S. may not be compelled to carry "hot pursuit" of the enemy across the Cambodian boundaries.

The U.S.S.R. and Poland have most strongly, rejected the proposal. The issue, however, is left with India; she is the Chairman of the I.C.C. together with Poland and Canada as members. If India agrees to accept the U.S. proposal with Canada inevitably backing up such a situation, Poland being in a minority would be powerless to prevent action. There is every element of temptation for India to accept such a proposal. With her notorious *peace-at-any-price* penchant, even where her own territorial integrity and sovereignty were concerned she might easily fall a victim to American blandishments in this behalf, especially since a distinct school of opinion within the Johnson Administration led by Averrell Harriman has been holding out promises of a definite de-escalation of the Vietnam War

and the maintenance of Cambodian neutrality and integrity as a first step towards it.

India's gullibility has, in the past, led her to blunder into many a diplomatic *faux-pas* but, in the present instance she appears to have grown somewhat wiser; she has not yet committed herself. India must realise in clear and unambiguous terms that she cannot afford to take sides in the Vietnam imbroglio and agreeing to the U.S. proposal to enlarge the personnel of the ICC for effective sealing of Cambodian boundaries would be doing just that.

What she should do, instead, is to point out that North Vietnam has already categorically laid down the conditions for negotiations. These conditions are neither unfair nor difficult of fulfilment. Dean Rusk's publicly announced apprehension that even if after cessation of bombing and other acts of war, the North still refuses to talk? What then?—is a piece of causuistry which should deceive no one. North Vietnam stands to gain immensely more than

she may possibly loose by peace and should be easily tractable so long as no dishonourable conditions are sought to be imposed. One cannot be equally sure of the Johnson Administration, however. Its almost traumatic aversion to the very name "Communist" especially those of Dean Rusk and his Pentagon "boddies"—might, not impossibly, see them doing all that is possible to slide out of any reasonable and honourable settlement with North Vietnam—and any probable political settlement will necessarily have to be both resonable and honourable mutually to the parties concerned—to avoid a compromise with the "Communist enemy". India should steer clear of these double talks and sanctimonious proposals if she does not wish to be logged down in diplomatic embarassments. Her answer should be both clear and categorical pronouncements, the talk of "hot pursuit" should not merely be *de trop* but even illegitimate. Any enlargement of the ICC therefore, whatever the pretext should, in the circumstances be wholly *ultra vires* its legitimate functions.



QUALITY CONTROL IN ITS SIMPLEST FORM

Prof. B. S. RATHOR

Quality control is a major problem in many Indian Industries. The reason for the poor opinion against products of several industries is because of the lack of quality control.

In many Indian Industries 'Quality Control' consists of Inspection only and does not contain the crucial points of a complete control function. Others think only in terms of SQC when they refer to Quality Control. However, this is not appropriate.

Here an attempt has been made to explain the concept and tools of 'Quality Control' in non-statistical terms. This has been deliberately done as it was felt that statistical techniques in Quality Control could only be used by those who are well versed in statistical techniques. While our purpose is to serve the industry at large who are generally not familiar with statistical techniques nor could follow them.

Quality Control is the function of entire crew of manufacturing management that is concerned with insuring that the end product conforms with predetermined standards. It involves more than a mere check of the finished products and includes the control of the quality of raw materials, materials in process and finished goods. Thus it entails :

- (i) that there must be a plan (standard),
- (ii) a record of actual performance must be maintained,
- (iii) actual performance must be continually compared to and evaluated with the plan,
- (iv) provisions must be made for correct action in manufacturing operation when the results of the evaluation indicate the needs for such action.

Industrialists commonly associate quality with the cost but the quality level is usually related to

the price; the higher the quality the more costly is to produce. Recognizing this, the manufacturer usually thinks of the quality of his product in a different sense than does the layman. He is concerned with how his product meets the customer's specifications and how it compares with his competitor's in the same price class.

To the manufacturer then, quality is not absolute but is relative to other factors such as selling price of the item, the use for which it is intended, the quantity in which it is to be produced, and the adherence to measurable quality standards.

Example—Importance of Standardization in Quality Control.

X industry in Ludhiana manufacturing Lathes sold some Lathes to Y firm of Bombay. After some time the X firm received a complaint that a particular part of the lathe was out of order, and they wanted a replacement. The firm at Ludhiana could not send a replacement as their products had neither drawings nor standards, and therefore the parts were not interchangeable. Hence they had to ask the customer to send the complete machine. Instead of spending couple of hours in replacing a particular part, the firm at Bombay had to shut down the Lathe and send it all the way to Ludhiana.

Consider the cost, time and the inconvenience caused to the customer at Bombay and the impression he must have formed for the Ludhiana firm making Lathes.

Hence it is a must for an industry to Define, Establish and Maintain standards.

Quality Control is concerned with the prevention of defects in manufacturing so that the item may be made right and not have to be rejected. An important component of quality control is the *inspection* function, which provides a means of

checking the conformance of the item with the standard.

The method to implement standards is by inspection. To inspect we require :

- (a) Measurable standards to be defined and understood ;
- (b) Standards must satisfy customer's wants—the quality standards for a product are established by the customer. His decision to buy or not to buy for a given price will be based upon his satisfaction with the product. Of course, in order to secure the customer's business the vendor must give considerations to ways of maintaining quality levels that will meet or exceed his needs. Thus, it becomes necessary for industries to decide what characteristics their products shall possess and then design and produce a product that embodies all the preselected characteristics.

Where acceptance or rejection depends to a considerable extent upon individual judgement, uniformity of quality cannot be achieved. To eliminate the necessity of depending upon individual judgement alone, definite standards must be justified.

To Ensure Quality Define your Standards

For example, hypothetically wooden stands for a table to make exactly of one inch in diameter would be a precision impossible to attain. Practical consideration require the setting of limits. If the upper limit is set at 1.005 inches, and the lower limit at .997 inches, the tolerance is the difference between the upper and the lower limits, or in this cases 0.008 inches. The instructions on the drawing should be $1 \pm .005''$ — 0003"

Standards. should be set for a required performace.

Standards are not set arbitrarily. The quality of competing products, complaints received from customers, reports from salesman, manufacturing difficulties encountered, the effect of quality requirements on manufacturing costs, all

should be taken into consideration in setting standards. Industries according to their resources should decide how much or how accurate inspection they can afford to do. Perfection is a fine thing to aim at, but it may be impractical from an industrial and commercial stand-point.

The Inspection Function in Quality Control

Inspection is the component of the Quality Control that is concerned with checking on the conformance of the item to the specifications set for it. Inspection does not create quality, but does help to control quality.

Because of the many variables that enter into manufacturing, inspection is a never-ending function. In other words inspection means :

- i) checking the quality of incoming materials,
- ii) checking on all finished goods to ensure that only acceptable products reach the customer,
- iii) it should attempt to locate flaws in manufacturing that would cause subsequent difficulties.

Inspection includes all types of activities such as testing, gauging, and so forth, that are required to determine whether the products meet the prescribed standards.

We may say that purchased materials, goods in process and finished products should be inspected.

Inspection Methods

a) 100% Inspection—When the parts must be made with a high degree of accuracy or when the operation performed affects other operations, or when some particular detail is essential, 100% inspection may be required.

When human life is involved e.g. in manufacturing of Guns or where quality is expected because of very high cost, such as engines with pumping sets, 100% inspection may be necessary.

b) Inspection Sampling—One of the important phases of any quality control programme is the determination of the frequency of inspection and the percentage of items to inspect. It is neither

practical nor economical to expect that every item should be inspected for every specification. Therefore, it is essential that the most critical specifications be determined and that maximum concentration be placed upon adherence to these standards. We should never lose sight of the fact that inspection costs money and that the amount of inspection should be reduced to the minimum required to maintain the degree of control desired.

The selection of samples taken at random from a lot of parts or from a quantity of liquid and inspection of them as representative of the lot is called "inspection sampling."

Example of Inspection Sampling

The industry making wire nails and packing them in gunny bags checking if these bags of wire nails send out for sale contain the wire nails which conform to the predetermined standards :

- i) *First Step in Sampling Inspection*—Shake the gunny bags containing wire nails. Why ? To get a homogeneous lot.
- ii) *Second Step*—A handful of wire nails should be removed from the gunny bags.
- iii) *Third Step*—Out of the lot from one bag one may see that it conforms to the predetermined standard and the wire nails are not going without head (having a proper top).

If those few wire nails out of the thousands in the gunny bag are O.K. the entire wire nails in the gunny bag will be O.K. This is inspection by sampling at its best. One thing is to be remembered, by inspection of the wire nails in one gunny bag the industrialist or whosoever inspects cannot certify for the wire nails in the other gunny bag. A representative sample, from each gunny bag must be inspected. To have effective inspection by sampling—sample should be chosen from all parts or lots in order to have the selected samples, truly representative of the entire lot.

Inspection Devices—The specification sets forth certain characteristics that are to be attained in manufacturing the product. In many cases it is

impossible to judge these characteristics by human senses, those cases we make the use of measuring device. Thus, inspection must be accomplished by means of devices capable of measuring the characteristics desired. These characteristics may involve dimensions, surface finish, hardness, colour, shrinkages efficiency, operation of characteristics and many others. Inspection procedures must include equipment that gives an answer on the acceptability of the item. Many of the inspection devices are referred to as gauges. These may be used for checking the actual dimensions against the standard. An example is a gauge on an automatic lathe which measures the completed part, accepts or rejects it, and adjusts the cutting tool to correct any deficiencies.

Tools for Inspection—caliper, micrometer, slide caliper, dial indicator, standard and special gauges etc.

Where to Inspect—

- i) by operator on or near the machine.
- ii) shop floor inspection
- iii) centralised inspection.

Quality Control is the responsibility which must be shared by all the members of an industry. It will involve the members of the management who set the quality policies, the salesman who contract to sell products of a certain quality, the design people who set the product specifications, the buyers who purchase raw materials of the right quality and the manufacturing personnel who are responsible for making the product according to prescribed specifications. It is only through the whole hearted cooperation of all these persons that a sound quality control programme can be maintained.

Some bench marks of Good Quality Control Programme—

- i) Simplicity, ii) Low Cost, iii) Adequate and timely information, iv) Flexibility, v) Permit management by exception, vi) Force prior planning.

Cost Aspect of Quality Control : Inspection is an element of costs but at the same time it is one of the most important factors in the

maintenance of Quality. Inadequate inspection Any Quality Control procedure or system resulting in below standard goods going to is a tool of management and not an end in itself. customer means high cost in replacement, the loss A tool will achieve little on its own unless it is of customer's faith in the reliability of the usel properly. Therefore every quality control company and its products. Consistency and system has its limitations. Quality Control reliability is vital not only for internal trade but procedures, for example, do not make decisions, for export trade as well. Faulty products cost they simply indicate when decisions are necessary just as much to produce as good saleable products. and possibly what decision should be made. The Inspection weeds out below standard materials least Quality Control that accomplishes the objective and parts and helps such products being made is the best Quality Control as it will give the right. optimum results.



CHANGING FACE OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

BALKRISHNA NIMKAR

The recently held 25th meeting of the Small Scale Industries Board, under the Chairmanship of Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Union Minister of Company Affairs and Industrial Development, on the 8th and 9th August, hight-lighted multi-dimensional problems of this vital sector emerging on the economic horizon—a force being generated for diversification and decentralisation of the country's industrial potentialites on the one hand and on the other as a tool for pursuance of a planned income and price-policy. This sector is expected to

(1) assist in making the industrial structure larger and diversified enough to provide the investment goods needed for enlargement of the national product on a continuing basis ; (2) to widen the industrial base and thereby to counterbalance the inflationary pressure on the price-structure ; (3) to be an effective tool in generating a self sustained industrialisation of semi-developed and backward areas, along with providing a production field for technicians, training for entrepreneurs, and better prospects for equitable distribution of the economic power within the frame work of our mixed economy.

For a realistic and meaningful approach to Small Scale Industries, a thorough analysis of their structure is essential. Contrasted with the large scale industries, here the separation among entrepreneurship, managerial ability and technical competence is non-existent. Because of the two-fold structural

weakness, viz. A weak capital base and inadequate resources, their needs are always much more than their resources can meet with the result that many units are forced to run far below their installed capacity ; secondly, their financial requirements are many times more than the security they can offer to satisfy the traditional norms of industrial finance. Thirdly, they essentially lack shock-absorbing capacity, hence the period of teething troubles and cyclical fluctuations impose a continuous need for protective measures. Upto now established norms of industrial finance centering round the capital base and profitability ratio which reflected the owner's proportionate stake in the business and his capacity to repay had to be replaced by a new dynamic concept. To put it in Morarji Desai's words "Man behind the machine" should be the major consideration for the credit institutions. In technical terminology it meant that the criteria of security should not be the existing assets of the unit but the integrity and technical competence of the borrower. Similarly the capacity to repay should not be measured by the existing profitability but by the industrial potentiality and prospects. In this dynamic concept which successfully embraces the needs of newly emerging industrial units, 'security-based' approach had to be replaced by the need based approach, according to which the quantum of financial assistance has to be decided not on the basis

of the adequacy of security but on the basis of the financial requirements of the borrowing unit. Obviously, besides the Government agencies such as the State Financial Corporation, N.S.I.C. etc, there is a large field for the operation of banking organisations which, because of their professional knowledge and specialisation, can regulate the well directed growth of this new sector.

The year 1960 is a landmark in our economic history, when the Reserve Bank of India with its 'Credit Guarantee Scheme' and the State Bank of India with its 'Liberalised Scheme' regarding provision of credit to Small Scale Industries came into the field. N.S.I.C. also started issuing guarantees so that the risk involved in this type of finance could very well be distributed. But all these schemes on the whole achieved very little success in the sense that commercial banks could not be induced to any substantial extent to invest their funds in financing Small Scale Industries. As reported by the Reserve Bank of India in its report for the year ended the 30th June 1967, the major role in financing small industries has been played by the State Bank of India only. As per the progress report of the State Bank of India for the half year ended on the 30th June 1967 along with its subsidiaries, it sanctioned limits aggregating Rs. 122.09 crores. Recently in June 1967 it made the bold announcement of its scheme to finance technicians and qualified craftsmen to tap this potential and encourage entrepreneurial talent by providing finance to those technicians and craftsmen "who have worthwhile projects to set up and operate small

industries but are unable to do so for lack of sufficient resources to provide the initial capital or, as it is technically termed,—owner's equity."

In spite of the encouraging experience in the past, there are the elements of scepticism, undue caution and alarm in the approach of various commercial banks which is also reflected by the fact that the contribution of these banks except that of the State Bank of India is not appreciable. Inadequacy of finance available to the small industries is self-evident. As on 31st March, 1967, the banks had given loans to 27000 units aggregating Rs. 140 crores while there were 1,006,000 units registered with the Director of Industries. Obviously to only 25% units bank finance could be made available. What is needed most is a planned finance programme and creative will which alone can lead to the bank's active participation in the country's rapid industrialisation and uplifting of the economy from the vicious price-spiral and poverty. A mere change and a few modifications in the traditional methods will not suffice, there must evolve a new outlook and dynamic approach. Any hesitation only indicates the bank's unconscious lingering to security base, while the bank has once fully studied the problems, prospects and production of a unit, a confident handling and understanding must be visible in its dealings. A proper and meaningful approach to small industries requires that: (1) the units incurring losses in itself should not cause alarm leading to withdrawal of the existing facilities or denial of new facilities at the time when sympathetic consideration

is the only remedy. Casual losses may result from cyclical fluctuations in trade, recession in other industries and general overall depression. Not the concept of present profit-position but prospects can bring about the industrial revival and check the general recession.

(2) The position of intangible assets capital + reserves may reflect a poor equity, may also show the owner's stake at zero level but nevertheless the fact exists that the unit has had its own investment in the business which though wiped off, can retain the

borrower's psychological interest in the business.

Because of extreme poverty and a very low level of morality, in almost all under-developed countries, this type of finance is fraught with additional risks. Since adequate security is also not available, the Guarantee Scheme of the Reserve Bank of India came as a risk balancing factor. In terms of clause 6th of the Guarantee Scheme, in case of default by the borrower, about 64p.c. to 68p.c. of the amount in default can be recovered from the Reserve Bank of India. Following figures reflect the working of the scheme :

Year ended 30th June	No. of applications for guarantee received from credit institutions	Limits Rs.	Amount covered under guarantee
1963-64	5343	23.08 crores	17.95 crores
1964-65	9015	39.29 crores	29.47 crores
1965-66	14808	60.19 crores	50.45 crores
1966-67	19137	82.31 crores	55.97 crores

Since the inception of the scheme in July 1960, till the end of June 1967 the Reserve Bank of India received 53545 applications for guarantee in respect of credit limits aggregating to Rs. 172.63 crores.

Foregoing figures are extremely suggestive in the sense that they contain full indications of the guarantee scheme. As is revealed :

(1) Reserve Bank of India, since the inception of the scheme up to June 1967 has refused guarantees on 5617 applications (about 10% of the total applications received), hence the amount of 55.34 crores remained uncovered. Guarantees were refused presumably because of the adverse financial position of the borrowing units

causing the entire risk to fall on the credit institutions.

In the present economic state of rising wages and cost of production with the price sensitive and highly competitive market especially the Small Scale Industries pass very often through great strain and stresses. While the nourishing water of finance may assist them in struggle for survival, any sceptic and cautious approach may dry up the roots of marginal industries passing through crises. The guarantee scheme can be an effective tool in inducing the commercial banks to further liberalisation in their attitude and outlook only when the Reserve Bank bears with credit institution at all times a calculated

proportionate risk right from the beginning of a loan until the liquidation thereof. Like a protecting umbrella it should stand with the credit institutions in sun-shine as well as in heavy rains. There should exist a willingness to undertake and share genuine and fair risk, of trade on the part of the commercial banks and the Guarantee Organisation.

- (2) Another constructive conclusion indicated by the figures is that since the inception of the scheme in 1960 upto June 1967, the Reserve Bank of India under the guarantees issued by it had to pay only 77 crores amounting to only 9.74 lakhs i.e. $\frac{1}{18}\%$ of the total limits guaranteed by it while $\frac{1}{4}\%$ of the total limit is the commission recovered by it from the credit institutions for issuing the guarantee. Thus the present scheme has become a profit-making rather than risk-sharing scheme. When advances are usually secured by pledge of stocks or negotiable instruments and the risk involved is so low, the existing guarantee scheme can profitably be converted into a 'credit insurance scheme': This may invite other banks who have, up-to-now, been hesitating.

All that it requires is a definite policy of the Government for the growth of small scale industries. This growth, if properly directed, production diversified, and areas well distributed, may give promising results. It can easily be perceived that the agriculture-based industries are still not appreciably increasing, hence the demand for agricultural tools and

equipments is at a very low level. This sectoral imbalance should be met with timely correction. In the economy with restricted spread of educational and other opportunities partly arising from social and economic stratification, this sectoral and functional imbalance, at a later stage may offer intractable problems. Problems and prospects of small industries should not be viewed in isolation from the economic texture. To the extent that the pressure of prices of industrial goods emanates from the prices of agriculture goods through their impact on the wage-cost or cost of raw materials from agriculture, a solution of price-policy for the industrial sector merges with that for agricultural prices.

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RAISING THE AGE OF MARRIAGE

BABURAM

India is a developing country and it has a pressing population problem in relation to available resources. The country has decided to solve it by reducing the birth rate. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar has suggested the examination of one of the non-clinical approaches to reducing birth rates. The question is what should be the age at which our girls should marry and the impact of it on the population growth.¹ It is expected that a bill will be introduced in the winter session of Parliament in connection with the raising of age of marriage of girls from 15 to 20 years. This approach may be examined from two points of view :—(i) will it be helpful in reducing the birth rate? (ii) will it not create any social problem which will disturb the normal life of the people?

Any legislation with strong and proper implementation may be fruitful. But we find that 'Child Marriage Restraint Act' of 1930 and 'Hindu Marriages Act of 1955' are not frequently implemented. NATIONAL SAMPLE SURVEY REPORT shows in Marriage cohort of 1946-51 (Women married within the year 1946-51) that 27.4 percent wives' age at marriage was below 12.² An interesting example comes from a sample study in rural Uttar-Pradesh by Mr. G. B. Saxena that 80 percent of the total wives were married before the age of 16, and average age at marriage was 14.1 years.³ Census of 1961 also reveals the fact that very large majority of women's marriages

take place below the age of 18 years. The number of women's marriages between the ages of 18-22 is small and above the age 23 is very small.⁴ These demographic facts show that legislations have not proved effective due to the slackness in implementation of the Statutes. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar also accepts this fact.⁵ The Government has not been successful in ensuring a proper vital registration system and also in appropriate implementation of the Act. The present tendency of Government in this respect shows no improvement. Only expectation of strong implementation of the Act without reasonable efforts may not bring hope that this new approach would prove fruitful.

It is true that the average age at marriage of girls in our country has been rising but slowly as Dr. Chandrasekhar has mentioned in his article that according to 1961 census of India the mean age at marriage of our girls increased to 16 from 13 years in 1911.⁶ But it is clear that this rise of 3 years in age at marriage has taken 50 years to achieve. We should consider here that this rise in the female's age of marriage is due to gradual change in circumstances. It is the increasing tendency among women to participate in political, social, and occupational fields, and the demand of educated wives has consequently been rising. There is a growing sentiment in society that

girls should be educated if only because a better marriage can be arranged. Man with education and higher status will feel ashamed of an illiterate wife. A survey in Central India denotes that age at marriage for both husband and wife is directly associated with educational attainment. The median age of marriage for illiterate wives, those with primary schooling and those with more than primary schooling comes 13.4, 15.8 and 18.4 years respectively.⁷ Many other demographic researches confirm this view, that the age at marriage consequently rises as the educational status of women rises. But we find that the level of education of women in India is lower than in other Asian Countries. Only a small percentage of girls find opportunity to take higher education in India. Girls generally Matriculate at the age of 16. If the age of consent rises from 15 to 20 there will be a time lag of 5 years. The problem will arise and as to how to provide useful employment to girls for the years of gap created by this approach. Higher education will be the most useful engagement for the girls but there may be problems for parents having no resources to give them a higher education. There is no proper and sufficient facilities of women's education given by any agency including Government. Rural areas of the country are lacking especially. In India only 24 p.c of the population is literate and women literacy is only 12.9 p.c. An interesting example of UP where only 17.6 p.c of its population is educated including even those who can merely sign their names will be enough. The percentage of educated women is 7 p.c of which 27.84p.c are educated in UP cities and 4.7 p.c in villages⁸. If we

take the mean age at marriage of various states of India we find that according to 1961 census our girls' age at marriage ranges between 19.97 in Kerala and 13.87 in Madhya Pradesh. Here when one has to consider the literacy status of these States, one finds that in Kerala 46.8 p.c of the population is literate with 38.90 p.c female literacy, while in Madhya Pradesh 17.1 p.c of the population is literate with 6.73 p.c female literacy⁹. On the other side urban areas nominally provide alternate useful engagements. But rural areas are totally unable to provide any alternate useful engagements to girls for the years of gap. Hence, this proposal may create a insuperable problem for society which may have the tendency to disturb the normal life of the people.

Though it is confirmed that women's reproduction period will be short as the age at marriage rises, the shortening of women's reproductive period is not always concerned with the number of births. The number of birth will depend upon the interval between two consecutive births which will depend upon the physiology of women with respect to their child bearing capacity. Length of lactation, amenorrhoea period (when the reproductive capacity of the female is temporarily suspended) etc. affects the interval between two consecutive births and rate of reproduction. Mr. M. M. Gandotra expressed the view in an article that it has been observed that the rate of reproduction in the Indian community is slower than that of the western communities.¹⁰ Mysore population Study also supports this view that reproductive capacity of Indian women is lesser than that of western women.¹¹ The physiology

of women with respect to child bearing may result in quicker reproduction even if the reproductive span changes. The possibility may be that those women who marry late may have more births than that of those who marry early due to their physiology with respect to child bearing and vice versa. Hence the physiology of women with respect to child bearing is more important to reduce the birth rates than the reproductive period of child bearing.

The idea that average number of children ever born generally decreases with a rise in age at marriage of females may not prove correct. Raising the age of consent may effect female fertility during the period of their marriage and this effect may be either positive or negative. One explanation of the negative effect is the fact that those who marry late are exposed for a shorter period to the risk of child bearing than those who marry early. It may be less important for reduction of birth rates as discussed above.

The comparison of fertility of women who married at one age with that of women who married at a different age does not necessarily yield a correct estimation of the effect of the raising of the marriage. Here, we can not ignore the effect of advance of socio-economic status on fertility of the same group of women married at different age. It is possible that the fertility averages may associate directly or indirectly with the age at marriages for wives in the various groups of socio-economic levels. Another important explanation is that women who marry early may have different attitudes and motivations with respect to child bearing than those who marry late. If so, postponement of marriage of the

former does not mean that they will adopt the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the latter. An increase in the age of consent without concomitant changes in attitudes and motivations relating to family-building may, therefore, have less effect on birth rates¹². We find that there is no clear and impressive indication of changes in women's attitudes and in motivations relating to family size, even though lot of money is spent and efforts have been made by Family Planning Programme. The attitudes and motivations in relation to family-building are important problems in the path of success of the Family Planning Programme.

When we come on motivation with regard to child-bearing we find an interesting note. Hindu view about marriage is what "MANU", the great law giver of the Hindus suggested. He referred to four different stages through which a member of the Hindu Society has necessarily to pass. One of which is GRAHASTHASRAM, (house holder). Thereby, it has made marriage almost obligatory for everyone. The religious motive behind universal marriage and child bearing becomes clear when one understands the meaning of the word "Putra" or son.¹³ "The Sanskrit word for "Son" "Putra" means literally one who saves from Puth or hell, the hell into which all parents without sons fell".¹⁴ This strong motive behind child bearing has resulted in high fertility rates of Hindus.

Another side of the picture is the Muslim view with respect to child bearing which reflects their belief that the primary purpose of human life is the generation of new life. The great Prophet Mohammad was

recorded as having said "Marry and generate".¹⁵ Muslims want to see that their women are rightly fruitful.¹⁶ This outlook towards child bearing results in higher fertility noticed among the Muslims of India. As stated by Kingsley Davis, the child-women ratio of all women between 15 and 39 years of age was 770 per 1000 for Muslim women whereas it was only 673 for the Hindus.¹⁷

According to Mysore Population Study reports, to a greater extent, the cultural factors are also found to be responsible for higher fertility of Muslim women. Muslim women do not follow as frequently the practice of going to their parent's house for confinement as do the Hindu women. Consequently this reduces the duration of the separation of the husband and wife after confinement. Other cultural factor affecting the pattern of sex life of Muslims is that they do not enjoin observance of a large number of religious days as do the Hindus.¹⁸ Another fact is that the use of contraceptives and other clinical methods to limit the number of births is found to be less popular among the Muslims than among the Hindus.

Hence, there is strong necessity to change these motivations of the people with respect to child-bearing.

This approach can also be examined from another point of view. It is the consideration of the statistics of women's attitudes and opinions towards the age at marriage of girls collected through various demographic surveys. These may provide useful clue to the practice of the future generations. For instances, MYSORE POPULATION STUDY produces that a popular opinion in Bangalore City still favours the marriage of women at

an age which would be considered early in many parts of the world. But it does not favour a very great assumption of the responsibilities of motherhood. The average age given by the young married women in the City in response to questions as to the age at which a woman should marry, range from 15 to 17 years. On the other hand the average of their response, concerning the age at which a woman should bear her first child, was in the range from about 19 to 20 years.¹⁹ Here we reproduce a table (next page) of the opinion of married women, 18 to 33 years old, and their husbands concerning age at marriage.

Another example is that SURVEY OF FERTILITY AND MORTALITY IN POONA DISTRICT which classifies married daughters by their age at marriages and further according to whether their father regarded this age appropriate, too early or too late. It shows that practically 50 p.c of the daughters of the city sample and 90 p.c of the daughter in the non city sample were married not later than 14. In 80 p.c of such cases in the city and 60 p.c of the cases in non city sample the age was regarded as appropriate ²⁰. The question arises if we can ignore the women's opinion regarding the age of consent which does not favour the approach of raising the age of consent to 20.

The important reasons for early marriage, highlighted by demographic surveys are the problem of availability of suitable match and adverse financial circumstances of parents²¹. These problems are still prevalent in society. If we give a practical consideration on these reasons we find that it is, however, difficult to deny the influence of social attitude in

Zone	Women's opinion on age at which a woman should marry		Husband's opinion of age at which a woman should marry	
	Number	Mean Age (in years)	Number	Mean Age (in years)
Bangalore City				
Total (Four Strata)	986	16.4	782	17.4
Stratum 1 (over 35 percent Muslim)	216	17.0	165	17.7
Stratum 2 (over 35 percent scheduled caste)	262	15.4	201	17.0
Stratum 3 (others : Hindu Male literacy over 60 percent)	267	16.8	226	17.8
Stratum 4 (others : Hindu Male literacy below 60 percent)	241	16.5	190	17.1
Zone III (Rural Plains)	359	14.0	309	16.3

[Source—MYSORE POPULATION STUDY, United Nations Page 104.]

determining the popular age at marriage. These problems may become more pressing when the age of consent for girls will rise upto 20. The social prejudice against postponement of marriage is still very strong due to criticism of *biradari* (caste circle) especially in low caste. Where dowry is still prevalent the parents have to pay heavily to secure suitable matches. In a matrimonial market the prices of grooms rise as their educational and employment status rises. It was hardly remarkable in early marriages and it will be more clear at higher age. When the age of consent will be raised ordinarily parents will lose opportunity to find suitable matches due to their poor financial circumstances. It will become more difficult to wait for suitable matches postponed. Hence, there are strongly rooted factors in the society

may create severe problems and which will disturb the normal life of people.

To sum up, the passing of legislation and its strong implementation can be effective to reduce country's birth rate only when there will be a change in women's attitudes and motivations towards the child bearing pattern. Secondly, the raising of age of consent will not create problems in normal life of people when their social status is improved by providing the facilities for higher education and other useful engagements for girls in rural and urban areas as well which will may be also helpful from financial point of view.

(1) Dr. S. Chandrasekher 'Should we raise the age of consent' Illustrated Weekly of India August 13, 1967, pages 35.

(2) Ajit Das Gupta and others, "Nati-

onal Sample Survey No 7" Couple Fertility page 25.

(3) Mr. G. B. Saxena "Age at Marriage and Fertility"-a Sample study in the rural Uttar-Pradesh, Arth Vijnana Vol 4 1962 issue No. 1 March page 52-59.

(4) Census of India 1961 Vol XV Uttar Pradesh page 29

(5) Dr. Chandrasekhar, op cit page No, 35

(6), Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, op cit page No 35

(7) Edwin D. Driver "Differential fertility in Central India".

(8) Census of India Uttar-Pradesh Vol XV part II A, page 425

(9) Census of India 1961, Uttar-Pradesh Vol XV part II A, page 423

(10.) Mr. M. M. Gandotra "Factors Affecting fertility in India in changing set up". The journal of Family Welfare, June 1961.

(11) Mysore Population Study, United Nations, Chapter 10, page 119.

(12) Mysore Population Study, United Nations, Chapter 10, page 111.

(13) T. J. Samuel "Culture and Human Fertility In India", the Journal of Family Welfare", Vol IX, No 4, Jan 1963.

(14) Quoted by T. J. Samuel op cit

(15) The Population Council, "Population : A International dilemma, 230 Park AVE, New York, 17 page 35.

(16) T. J. Samuel, op cit

(17) Mysore Population Study : United Nations, page 120.

(18) Kingsley Davis : Populations of India and Pakistan, page 188.

(19) "Mysore Population Study", United Nations, Page 131.

(20) V. M. Dandekar and Kumudini "Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District, page 134.

(21) V. M. Dandekar & K Dandekar op cit, page no 184.



THE BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

V. P. VELOO

Many attempts have made to define Romanticism. But none has been entirely successful. The theory and practice of poetry differ from age to age. What satisfies one period cannot satisfy another. Nevertheless a movement in literature can be recognised in its best exponents. The exponents of the English Romantic revival are Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and Byron.

To understand Romanticism, we have to begin with classicism. Classicism was the offspring of the Renaissance rediscovery of Greek Philosophy, literature and art. To the classicist everything Greek became a standard of civilized perfection. What was not Greek or Roman was regarded as barbarous. There was only one way of creating a work of art : the classical. And because he had not the classical tradition in his bones, the only way of doing thing correctly was to deduce from his models a set of rules. This the reduction of everything to rule is the distinctive mark of classicism. Because Homer and Virgil had written their epics in a certain way, therefore every epic must follow the same rules, down to the smallest detail.

The rules were innumerable ; each art and branch of literature had its own. The classical tenet was that the imaginative artist's business was not with the oddities which differentiate one individual from another of the same type, but with the universal characteristics which all men of a certain

type have in common. In other words their attempt was to present certain types which embody universal characteristics. They were concerned with human nature as it is, always and everywhere, not with individual inconsistencies and aberrations.

Critics are generally agreed as to the general features of classical literature. It is that kind of literature in which content is subordinated to form, in which the detail fits into the overall design, when the conscious artistry is evident, when there is charity of conception and finish in execution. It is the literature in which creative inspiration is controlled by judgement and the highest flight of imagination is curtailed by reason. It is explicitly didactic in intention and deals more with social and urban problems rather than with the problems of individual destiny. The term classicism connotes, grace, elegance, self-knowledge, self-restraint, the sense of the form and idealism of a certain sort. The heroes of classical literature are embodiments of the noble qualities on grand scale and all petty failings are omitted. And in the lesser classicists there did develop a tendency to idealize to the point of making their characters inhumanly faultless. The heroes of classical literature too perfect to be human. These features were best reflected in the writings of the neo-classical poets of the Augustan era. The principal concern of the Neo-

classical poets was to attain technical perfection in their work of art.

As rules are the mark of classicism, so rejection of rule is the mark of the Romantic movement. Rules had become a tyranny, inhibiting the free play of the imagination. As always happens in a revolutionary movement, the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme. All rules were thought to be evil and to be abandoned in favour of unrestricted liberty to follow the imagination where ever it might lead. Hence the difficulty of summing up neatly the various manifestations of romanticism. The essence of classicism was that every classicist was in agreement. According to the romantic, on the other hand, every creative artist must be a law into himself. Nevertheless, though there were no rules, there were certain broad principles romanticist was in agreement.

Of these the first and foremost was the autonomy of the imagination. And this was something new in the history of thought. Every creative artist has always known that art is born of imagination; no imagination no art. The classical Greeks and the neo-classics knew this just as well as did any romantic. The classicists believed that the imagination gives only raw material of poetry and that reason must assess that material, prune it of its irrationalities and consciously mould it into a work of art. Wittingly or unwittingly, the neo-classicists subscribed to the views of Locke to whom imagination was only a passive recorder of external impressions, something like a photographic plate. The function of imagination is only passive and secondary. This impoverishment of imagination was something abhorrent to the romanticists. They in protest,

formulated a theory of imagination of their own.

They conceived imagination as a power which is at once creative and divine. It came to be regarded as an 'inner light', the divine element in man, the only faculty by which he could penetrate through appearances and apprehend reality. They believed that by the exercise of the imagination, they could create splendid words of their own and almost all of them held with varying degrees of emphasis, that in this they were partaking in the activity of a divine reality. It thus transcended reason and owed no allegiance to it. This cult of the imagination as a sovereign and autonomous power became something like a religious faith.

In this they had the sanction of philosophic idealism which was at this time reigning supreme in the countries of Europe. According to idealism, matter is only an emanation of mind which is non-material. In other words ultimate reality is mental rather than material. We do not need to enquire here whether philosophical idealism true or not. This faith in the omnipotence of imagination gave the romanticists unfettered freedom to give expression to their vision and experience. As a matter of fact all the great romantic works of art are adventurous explorations into the world of beauty and truth. All of them delighted in the luxury of self-expression.

Romanticism was also an eloquent protest against the brazen despotism of fact as represented by 18th century science. It was Newton who gave mankind a mechanistic conception of the universe. The universe came to be regarded as a mere machine. All the

happenings in the world were sought to be explained in terms of physical laws. Even the mental phenomenon was no exception. Scientists no longer needed any supernatural agency to explain any occurrence in this universe. This kind of scientific rationalism was called mechanical materialism. Besides, Newton's reputation was so massive and awe-inspiring that none could dispute the truth of his scientific picture. In consequence the romanticists feared that the extrusion of the supernatural element from the operations of the universe would culminate in the ultimate undoing of all traditional morals. Already the foundation of the edifice of tradition was becoming shaky. So they could not but protest against this monstrous intrusion of science into the realms of morals and values. That is why A.N. Whitehead says that 'Romanticism was a protest against Science on behalf of value.

The Second major principle to which all romanticists subscribed was individualism. This was already implicit in the revolt against externally imposed rules and in the claim to individual liberty. But the implicit was made explicit and justified by a philosophical doctrine. And this doctrine in the first place was provided by Rousseau and by his disciple, Godwin. Both taught the perfectibility of man through the rule of reason. To them, every man was potentially rational; all that was needed was the removal of arbitrary external compulsion, exercised through the institutions of society. Godwin, whose 'Political Justice' was for a time the Bible of English romanticism, carried the doctrine to its logical conclusion anarchism. As against the cool and collected rationalists of the 18th century who sought to establish and maintain political

and social stability, the romantics were in favour of living dangerously. Instead of seeking safety, they went out for adventure. Comfort and security were spurned as degrading; and a pernicious way of life was held in theory at any rate, to be a nobler thing. Hence the romantic idealisation of the poor peasant. Some special virtue was attached to being close to nature. They preferred the simplicities of rural life to the extravagance of urban life. Industrialism was anathema to the romantics; because it produced much ugliness and destroyed natural beauties.

A third principle is sensibility. Wordsworth defined the "poet as a man with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness than are supposed to be common among mankind." We have only to read his poetry to discover his own capacity for passion and feeling. To the romantics emotion tended to be good in itself. They believed that a man was truly alive only in a state of heightened feeling, whether of pleasure or pain. And this with the romantics was a source of supreme strength. Their capacity for passionate feeling was in fact abnormally strong and they had enough of the classical element of restraint and rationality in their make up to direct and discipline their passion. But once 'Sensibility' became the fashion and every one had to prove his worth by showing his capacity for feeling, there came the cult of emotion for emotion's sake. With this cult came the search for the sensational, which is often morbid or extravagant. This is one of the diseases of romanticism.

Yet another feature of romanticism is its dream nature. The romantic is essentially a dreamer. Romantic literature is a dream picture of life, providing sustenance and ful-

filment for the impulses cramped by society or reality. William Blake wrote, "Dreams with me are no shadows but the very substance of my life." To the romantic poet an object of beauty or a symbol of truth is an intoxicant. This propensity to dream tended to make them lovers of loneliness and this solitariness made a divorce between life and literature inevitable. This excessive self absorption often resulted in dangerous mysticism. Aristotle observed, "the self-sufficing solitary is either a god or a beast". The romantics, though they revolted against the crippling institutions of society, sought freedom in their private world of imagination.

This disposition to imaginative introversion has been explained in terms of Freudian theory. It is an infantile tendency to love oneself. This tendency is called narcissism. This infantile tendency remains an unconscious memory. In some people this tendency regains ascendancy in adulthood and seeks manifestations. Since overt manifestations of self love are often grotesque and repellent, the romantic who is plagued by this malady makes a shameless retreat in to his own inner-self and begins to leave the outside world. The romantic poets have given expressions to such pent-up feelings. F.L. Lucas, who has ventured this explanation, describes romanticism as 'the revolt of the unconscious'.

The romantic reaction was healthy in its hey-day, but like most reactions it became extravagant and so unhealthy in its turn. The great romantics have explored realms which no classical writer would dare to enter and have infinitely extended the range of human sensi-

bility. But in its phase of decadence, romanticism displayed maladies such as sensationalism, satanism, egotism, selfpity, pride etc. That is why Goethe condemned romanticism as 'disease' and praised classicism as health. Bernard Shaw also decried romantic imagination as 'the most unoriginate'. The psychological impact of the revolt was bad indeed. With its spread it became reasonable to be irrational and conventional to flout conventions.

To set romanticism against classicism, reason against emotion in any thorough manner is misleading. As a matter of fact romanticism is as old as ancient Greek literature. The works of Homer and Aeschylus, Virgil and Tacitus, Chaucer and Shakespeare do contain elements of romanticism. It has been said that a great work of art is first romantic and then becomes classical. "on a long view," writes Lucas, "the conception of poetry seems to oscillate between three extremes". The three extremes are classicism, 'Romanticism and Realism'. But as C. M. Bowra says, many compromises are possible, "The greatest poets, Homer Dante, Shakespeare have both been informed and created, have both been teachers and magicians." The pure classic is too stiff and stifled; the pure romantic too drunken and wayward, the pure realist too drab and humdrum. Lucas writes, 'classicism, Romanticism and Realism are three extremes, three points of triangle, the magic circle lies inscribed within it.' A great work of art is strong and beautiful by virtue of a romanticism brought under control.

SOCIAL FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF SIKHISM

BISWAJIT SEN

Undivided Punjab, the valley of the five rivers, was an open ground to warlike people of Central and Western Asia and on several occasions it transformed itself into the battle ground of India. The Sulaiman range though lofty as Pirpanjal, has several gaps, through which nomads and raiders of Central and Western Asia entered Punjab. The most important route was from Hindukush, via Kabul Valley, through the Khyber Pass, which was taken by the armies of Alexander, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, Babar and Humayun.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN PUNJAB BEFORE SIKHISM STARTED

During the rule of Ashoka, Buddhism spread in Punjab. Brahminism though still in existence there, was very loose in form and was not so organised, that it could stop the spread of Buddhism. But before Buddhism could fix its root, it had to leave the province due to the devastating attack of the Mohammadan rulers from the west and had to find its new way to Western Tibet via Kashmir. Brahminism again started gaining ground in Punjab, but as the province was between the two Mohammadan rulers, one in India and the other in Afghanistan it was very difficult for Brahminism to preserve itself. Islam was spreading its tentacles and proselytism was spreading fast from the west towards India. Hindu religion and culture were about to degenerate due to the pressure of Islam. In Hindu religion, only the self made Brahmins were the privileged class to have the access to the God. They were simply exploiting the low caste people and had no worries about food and shelter, which led them to become lazy. The low caste people were depressed much by the activities of the Brahmins and some of them were declared as untouchables

by the Brahmins. Due to different food habits, religion and caste restrictions there was no proper unity and the situation was exploited by the Mohammadan invaders. They knew that the Brahmins were not in a position to resist them, that the lower caste people were demoralised and that the Rajputs were also fighting within themselves. Even in an army camp different castes had different kitchens and hearths, people were excommunicated even for slightest offences. A great section of the untouchables and other lower castes adopted Islam, only to get rid of the fanatic Brahmins and to obtain higher position as in Islam they were free from all sorts of discrimination.

Nanak a Hindu born Khatri, appeared on the scene to save the Hindus. He felt that Hindu religion in that demoralised, degenerated and superstitious state, would not be able to check Mohammadan imperialism and the fanaticism of Islam. The people of Punjab, well built and hardy, were fit for fight and struggle. Only proper guidance and unification was necessary. Nanak took the lead and founded a reformed religion with the help of which the people could be made conscious of the actual state of things and brought in unity. If, at that time Sikhism would not have been started, by this time at least, western part of northern India would have been converted to Islam, the way it was spreading.

SIKHISM AS IT PROGRESSED

Guru Nanak (1469-1538), was a widely travelled man and he studied carefully the advantages and disadvantages of the different existing religions—Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism. At first he was not much strict about the codes of behaviour, in order to give encouragement to the common people to join the new religion and he took the middle path between asceticism and

worldliness. The door was open for all sorts of people. The low caste Hindus, who had no chance to become Brahmins and enjoy other facilities, those who were forcibly converted to Islam and the untouchables all flocked in to the fold of Sikhism. Actually the agricultural *Jat* community formed the majority in the new religion.

Nanak wanted to reform the existing conditions by eradicating the evils present in Hindu religion but he was not the first man to think in that line. He took the path of the earlier reformers Jaidev, Ramdev, Ramanand and Kabir, whose references are found in the *Adi Granth*. About caste system he felt that it encouraged moral disintegration and was preventing unification. It also may be mentioned that caste system was also not present in Buddhism and Islam. He was also against the system of pilgrimage which he felt would break the homes of the pilgrims and divert their energy and mind.

He was not in favour of asceticism, as it would not much appeal to the common people and the noble cause of Sikhism in checking the threat of Islam would not be achieved. He was also not in favour of polytheism, which he considered not good for uniting people. He preached of one God, the creator and asked people to unite under His banner.

Guru Angad (1538-1552), the second Guru who succeeded Nanak, started organising the religion by introducing a different script Gurumukhi, a form of Hindi, which he felt, was essential to propagate the new ideas of Sikhism to the common mass, who had practically no access to the Hindu epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, as Sanskrit was unknown to them. He first compiled the *Adi Granth* and organised the Langar. The Langar played a significant role in developing common responsibility and evading caste or class prejudice by sharing food commonly.

Guru Amar Das (1552-1582), the third Guru was very much against the practice of *Sati*, burnings of widows along with their dead husbands, which was prevalent in India since long. The practice of female infanticide was criticised by the Guru. In the *Adi Granth* it has been men-

tioned as a heinous crime and in all Sikh rules it has been denounced.

Guru Ram Das (1573-1582), laid greater stress on the organisation side of the community. He felt that any organised movement to achieve its goal would have to be centered in a centralised place. He founded the city of Amritsar on the trade route between India, Central Asia and Afghanistan. Being an important trade centre it was a source of good revenues. Financial problem was solved and the cause of Sikhism was getting good publicity. Uptil the time of the fourth Guru the relation of the Gurus with the Moghal Emperors was cordial as the Gurus were only engaged in religious activities.

During the period of the fifth Guru, Arjan Das (1582-1607), Sikhism gained strength and the Sikhs were growing in number. Guru Arjan gave them a new occupation, the trade, which gave them financial stability. They became good traders and good horsemen. Further more he compiled the *Adi Granth* very carefully with many additions, which the Sikhs regard as their Bible. A political change started when the Guru gave his moral support to Prince Khusru, who rebelled against his father. Later, Guru Arjan had to suffer death by torture inflicted on him by Emperor Jahangir.

The period of Har Govind (1607-1644), the sixth Guru, was a turning point in the Sikh history. Har Govind realised that without physical strength it was almost impossible for the Sikhs to survive. He prepared himself as a good warrior and in order to achieve physical strength for military preparation, animal food was introduced in the diet of the followers. Afterwards the Sikhs caused threat to the Emperor as the Moghals were defeated several times by the Sikhs.

Guru Har Rai (1645-1661), the seventh Guru devoted much time for peaceful transformation of the mind of the people towards the new religion. Guru Har Kishen (1661-1664), the eighth Guru died only when he was a child so he could not do much for the religion and his followers. The Emperor's army was harrasing the Sikhs who were only giving up their lives in battle.

During the period of Tegh Bahadur (1665.

1675), the ninth Guru, the Sikh army gained the religion. Guru Govind fought many battles some strength but Tegh Bahadur was not much successfully. Twice he took full control over the in favour of war. He was also harassed by the Hill States, and defeated Emperor's army several domestic trouble mainly due to Ram Rai, the times but lastly he had to take shelter in the hills. elder brother of Guru Har Kishen. Aurangzeb, the Moghal Emperor was then trying to become popular by gaining sympathy from the Muslim fanatics to cover up his cruel incarceration to his father and cold blooded murder of his brothers. He passed the order that the whole of India would have to be converted to Islam and anything Hindu should be destroyed. At that time the Hindus from Kashmir appealed to the Guru to save them from conversion. The Guru interfered in this matter and was beheaded by the order of Aurangzeb.

Guru Govind Singh (1675-1695), the tenth Guru, was a unique character in the Sikh history and religion. He totally deviated from the path of Guru Nanak and the rest of the Gurus, by turning the Khalsa into a military race for political reasons. He was all the time preparing himself and his army to fight with the Moghal army and to take revenge of his father's death. He recruited all castes of people and gave promotion to the low caste soldiers to the highest ranks. He declared that from that time onwards all his followers would be called 'Singhs', and not Sikhs. He was the first man to establish a political administration by instituting *Guru Mata* or federal council of chiefs. He realised that certain external forms and symbols were essential to create some atmosphere which would inspire the followers. A form of baptism was essential for mental preparation and psychological strength. Therefore, he introduced *pahul* ceremony where along with other rituals few oaths are taken for codes of behaviour. To have common uniform to maintain military discipline, a new system was introduced; viz. that all Sikhs would have to wear turbans and must have *five kaks*; *kangha*, *kesh*, *Kirpan*, *kara* and *kachha*. His war cry, asking people to worship sword and slogans like, 'One sparrow will bring down several hawks' and 'One Sikh is equal to 1½ lakh Moghal soliders', produced tremendous effect on his followers who then were prepared for sacrificing themselves at the cause of the Guru and

THE PRESENT POSITION OF SIKHISM

The *Adi Granth* is respected as the sacred book and enjoys the highest position in the Sikh religion, since it contains the writings of all the Sikh Gurus. It is saluted with proud reverence and called as *Shri Adi Granth Sahib*—Sikh religion was against idol worship. The Granth does not represent an idol of God, yet the term *Granth Sahib* and the way it is saluted and worshiped is rather confusing. Guru Nanak was against worship with burning of incense, lighting ghee-lamps, ringing bells, etc. but those things are not uncommon to see in the Gurdwaras.

The founder of the Sikh religion thought of creating a religion which is sect proof so that a permanent unity is formed. Any one who wanted to deviate from the path of the Gurus was supposed to be a non-Sikh. But after the death of Nanak, Shri Chand, the eldest son of the Guru, being deprived of the Guruship formed a new sect called Udasi. The followers of the Sect observe a sort of ascetic life and they are not baptised according to the Sikh rules. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, another new Sect was formed by Bhai Ram Singh, one of Ranjit Singh's followers. It was founded to reform the Sikh religion and the followers of this Sect are called *Kukas*, are purely vegetarians and are purely religious minded. The *Kukas* are also in good number.

The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee has recently declared that they are not Hindus. In this respect it may be mentioned that except Guru Govind Singh, all the nine Gurus followed the Hindu rites and customs. Guru Nanak, Angad, Amar Das and Guru Ram Das all belonged to the Khatri caste. Guru Tegh Bahadur died for the cause of the Hindus. Guru Govind himself was very much influenced by the Hindu Mythology and this could be seen from his writings in the *Basam Granth*, where he refers to *Shakti* and

Shiva. He only introduced some outward symbols to distinguish his followers from the ordinary Hindus. At least upto 1922, before the new Sikh reform movement started by the Akali leaders, there was little difference between the Sikhs and the Hindus and matrimonial relations were very common. Inside the sacred Golden Temple at Amritsar, there were idols of several Hindu gods and goddesses, worshipped both by the Brahmins and the Sikhs.

In Sikhism there is no provision for caste restriction. But the present trend of using only the surname instead of using only 'Singh' is interesting to note. Again according to the Punjab Land Alienation Act, the Sikh community has been divided into Jats and non-Jats. The Sikh Jats who are in majority and have large land holdings look upon the non-Jat Sikhs as inferior tenants

and are called as Kamins, degraded persons. The Sikhs of Depressed Classes who are sweepers and chamars, belong to untouchable castes. Sikh Harijans have no special privilege from the Government as they are not proper Harijans, therefore, some of them claim themselves as Hindu Harijans, even though they are Sikhs.

Regarding the symbols of the Sikhs, among the educated people, specially those who are in the towns and cities, very few of them observe all the Sikh codes, introduced by Guru Govind Singh.

It is only about 300 years, since the last Guru has left the world, during which time Sikhism had undergone so many reforms and changes. The time has come for the Sikh leaders (political, social and religious) to decide whether such changes and reforms would serve the interest of the Sikhs if they like to survive as a different community.

To Colonise The Himalayas

In the course of a journey through the Himalayas, one is struck again and again, as so often in crossing the great spaces of middle India, by the paucity of population and the immensity of the tracts that lie unpeopled and untilled. There is no doubt that of all unfounded statements, there was never one so unfounded as that India is over-populated. SHE IS SHOCKINGLY, SHAMEFULLY UNDER-POPULATED, AND, IF I AM NOT GROSSLY MISTAKEN, HER ACTUAL POPULATION IS SHRINKING EVERY YEAR. However, to go back to the Himalayas, this is not a statement made and measured against some ideal standard of the food-producing powers of the earth, if properly worked. It is true that according to the men who ought to know best, THE POWER OF THE EARTH TO PRODUCE FOOD MUST BE MANY THOUSANDS OF TIMES WHAT WE NOW SUPPOSE. That is to say if this is true, thousands of people could actually be maintained for each one that is now supported. But for the moment no such dream is in my mind. I am accepting the standards of cultivation as we know them commonly today, and judged by these poor standards, fathomed with so short a line, it is still true that the Himalayas scarcely begin to be populated at all. The tides cannot always have been at such ebb as now. The present centres of popula-

tion, such as they are, must have been started with more sense of overflow. The present routes of trade are manifest survivals from some era of greater wealth and plenty. And the works of art that still remain tell of an energy that demanded more than a mere remnant of population for its display.

Yet there is an aspect of hope even in a situation so fraught with regrets as this. The careers that other nations seek outside their own frontiers, India may find within hers! To COLONISE INDIA becomes one of the goals of the national effort, and first and foremost, to colonise these vast unworked spaces in the most beautiful mountains in the world. Doubtless we shall be told that the lands now idle are only those which are unfit for cultivation. And doubtless it is true that the most fit are for the most part under the plough. One does not accuse the Himalayan peasant of devoting himself to the hardest and least promising soil while leaving the very best untouched. This would be contrary to all the facts of human nature. But the fact remains clear, obvious, incontestable, of resources that might be used lying absolutely waste, of opportunities that might be created, lying non-existent, of a great problem unconsidered, and potential wealth unrealised. Amongst other things, the climate is such that there is not one of the English fruits that could not be raised here. In many cases Indian fruits, oranges, lemons, walnuts, mangoes, and pomegranates, could be grown on one part, and the English apple, pear, cherry, plum, peach, currant, gooseberry, and raspberry, on another part of the same estate. That this is no vain suggestion is seen when one finds hillsides over and over again where the BO (*Ficus religiosa*) and pine grow within a few yards of each other. Besides the two classes of fruits named, it is obvious that there is a whole third class of such things as grapes, figs, tomatos, and strawberries that might also be cultivated.

A very interesting question that arises here, is that of the use of these fruits when produced. We have to rid ourselves at this point of the modern confusion between money and wealth. The farmers of New England grow amidst hay and corn large quantities of apples. Now labour is so dear in the eastern states of America, that when the apples are ripe it does not pay the owner to pack them and convey them to the railway. The farmers and their friends speak of these facts with tears in their voice, as 'poverty.' Clearly, however, this is only poverty in a special and limited sense. It is a poverty of money combined with free food in abundance for the farmer, his family his live stock, (pigs for instance eat apples), his labourers themselves, and for wayfarers crossing his farm. Some of us may feel that this kind of poverty would be quite bearable! Similarly, in considering the fruit-growing capacities of the Himalayas, we must remember that the first function of a good harvest is to be eaten, and only a secondary and minor function that of being sold. Members of the English country—aristocracy constantly throw away money buying land in the United States or Canada or New Zealand, ostensibly for the purpose of returning to nature, and leading an idyllic life in farming in a beautiful climate. But after a few years these spendthrifts turn up again in their haunts, visibly poorer and sadder, explaining that though their enterprise yielded good

returns from an agricultural point of view, yet as there was no market near enough of access, it had been a failure after all! What our friends had really wanted then was not after all to return to nature but to make money! Not the simple life, but the lucrative speculation, had been their real dream. For this is the whole meaning of the talk about the accessibility of markets. Now it must be clearly understood that no country was ever yet developed up to its best as a commercial speculation. There is an organic, ineradicable difference between a king and a shopkeeper, aye though the king rule only a rood, and the shopkeeper speculate in square miles of territory. And difference is that the king loves his land, and desires its good for its own sake, while the shopkeeper looks only to turn its produce into money, pounds, shillings, and pence.

The true ideal for the farmer. Whatever be his crops, and whatever the latitude and longitude of his country, is to produce on the farm everything that is necessary for the farm, and to sell only such few superfluities as may be required for the buying in of a few foreign luxuries, such as books, medicines, or tobacco. This is the ideal of every country that has an old-established agricultural civilisation. It is the ideal of Ireland and of France. It is also the ideal of the Indian dharmma. The East Bengal farmer will tell us that it is ADHARMMIC to take to the bazaar the rice that is needed for household food or stores.

Similarly, to farm with an eye in the first place, not to the home but to the market is adharmmic. Yet the necessities of the modern world have to be faced. It is a world in which one of us only exists on sufferance of money. First we have to pay our way afterwards and afterwards only as things stand, we may talk of pursuing our ideal. How then is the fruit farm in the Himalayas to pay its way? It so happens that there is already such a longing awakened in India at large for many of the English fruits in question, and also that railway transport is so largely available, that the Himalayas might be turned into one vast orchard, and still find abundance of market of the fruit produced. This would apply primarily, not to the softer fruits of course but to apples, pears, plums, and peaches. Perhaps also to figs and grapes. Also to all the more temperate India fruits. Twenty times the oranges, pomegranates and walnuts now produced could be consumed in India.

When once the farm pays its way, however, we must remember that the real problem is that of intensifying civilization, of raising the standard of comfort, of, in fact, deepening education amongst the people themselves. Only by teaching the hill people themselves to enjoy and to cultivate these new and delicious fruits can we do any permanent good to our country. It is evident that the initiative must be taken by members of the more advanced and more educated races such as the Bengali. But the betterment of those whose actual home, present and future, is amongst the gardens and orchards, must be the real end and aim. For this, it is not difficult to see that the first class to be interested must be that of the pujari Brahmins. What they are willing to offer in bhog in the temples, will sooner or later be eaten and appreciated by their parishioners. Thus in this and other directions might we look for the gradual reinstatement of the hill-populations in

the march of human culture. It is by attaching ourselves to the natural leaders of a people that we may work for the good of nations, without producing ruin and moral disintegration. That these particular races have conserved as much as they have, of the fruits of one wave after another of the civilisation that has gone to them from the plains, is largely due to the resistance they oppose to commercialism. They will sell nothing. The result is that the fields that lie along the pilgrim-roads are subject to a certain amount of depredation. But the spirit is magnificent. One of my own party was hungry for fish, after weeks spent far from any possible supply. Suddenly a man appeared on the road with a fine fish in his hand, and the servants fell upon him demanding its price. But the young peasant was too haughty to name any. He smiled as he surrendered his prize, but he was careless as to whether any return present was made or not. Again we wanted dahi. A man came along with a pailful. My host eagerly asked him his price. "No ; No ; you may drink as much as you like, but I wont sell," was his reply, as he goodhumouredly set down his pail. This may seem provoking, or inexplicable to our commercialised age. But it is the voice of a self-contained civilisation. It is the condition that alone has made possible the conservation that the hill races have admirably achieved.

Of one thing we may be sure. A very early and a very notable influx of civilisation must have come to the whole region of Kumaon and Garhwal with the Buddhist missionaries sent to the Himavants by Asoka. And their mode of work must have been just to settle down and found a monastery, wherein to live the monastic life. Their education and their message percolated silently. We may be sure of that. They made themselves part of the life around them. And the result has been the establishment of centres of thought and scholarship that remain to-day, modified in form but still in the old places, still integral, still vital to the life about them. Fortunately religion is always present to provide a missionary impulse, to numbers of people who could not be induced to upset their lives for the vague advancement of civilisation or the spread of education. [The Sadharan Brahma Somaj have already, I understand, established a mission in the Khasya Hills. Is it impertinent to bring to their notice the old-time methods of the Buddhist Missions in Garhwal, and the present day needs of all the mountain races ?]

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NOTES

REDUCING THE BANK RATE

A country which borrows money as part of its normal Public finance and economic policy should not suddenly reduce its Bank Rate. For, such reduction would have an adverse effect on the flow of capital to its banks and therefore create a shortage of funds. Mr. Morarji Desai thinks that a one percent reduction in the bank rate will greatly stimulate trade and industry. But if this reduction reacts on the flow of capital to banks, as it is sure to do, and the banks receive 10% less in deposits, the resulting stringency will damage trade and industry much more than any gains that the businessmen may enjoy as a result of 1% saving in interest in their borrowings. As a matter of fact what little money is left in the banks after Mr. Morarji has his dip will not be enough

for the financial needs of the traders and industrialists and they will have to roam the Country in search of funds which they will borrow at any rate of interest. There are signs already that some great business houses are already borrowing money in the market at exorbitant rates. Mr. Morarji's promises of cheap finance to trades people and industrialists are therefore, like his various other promises, mainly based on loose thinking. Whether such loose thinking has been indulged in with a purpose can be judged when one analyses the country's financial structure and transactions this year. Mr. Desai will require to close a gap of 300 crores by borrowings at the Central Governmental level. What the States will require as loans or overdraft can be guessed. The Central Government has immense borrowings on which interest is paid at various rates. If all

these loans can be converted to loans at a lower rate of interest over a number of years, the Centre will save much money and such savings can then be spent on other accounts. It is not impossible to make saving in this way which will be measured in tens of crores. The Government is the biggest borrower in the Indian money market. The reduction in bank rate, therefore, is likely to benefit Government much more than any other borrowers. Mr. Morarji's propaganda therefore that the lowering of the bank rate has been done with a view to assist trade and industry is not based on the whole truth or nothing but the truth. The maximum benefit will perhaps come to the government. But, it is one thing to make an announcement and quite another to give the intentions a material shape. For all we know the banks will have to raise their borrowing and discounting rates long before Mr. Morarji can cash in on his clever plans. The general atmosphere in the money market is not such as would help to maintain a low bank rate.

VICTIMISATION OF TELEPHONE USERS

Since India began to suffer from a Foreign Exchange shortage, all maintenance of all mechanical installations have shown a remarkable deterioration. The reason is dearth of spare-parts and difficulty in producing essential replacements. The telephones in Calcutta, and maybe, in other cities of India too, have suffered very badly on account of lack of proper maintenance. Nobody can get any connections either by dialing or through the trunk, toll or assistance arrangements without undergoing heart

breaking annoyance and delay. On top of this, wrong connections occur all the time and these are added to the telephone users total number of calls. This has become obvious from the recent unusual rise in the number calls billed for. People who made 500 calls in a quarter are now receiving bills for about double that number of calls. The only explanation can be that the numerous wrong connections that all Telephone users are now getting are being put in their bills. This matter must be enquired into and Telephone users saved from victimisation. For, firstly they are now getting very bad telephone service and secondly, they are having to pay heavier bills for this bad service.

KUTCH ARBITRATION

India's love for foreign powers which have no love for India has now become proverbial. Whenever there are violations of India's frontiers or even occupation of Indian territory on a larger scale, all foreign powers which specialise in minding other peoples' business, come rushing in to save India from any inadvertent deviations from her declared moral principle of non-violence. When Pakistan invaded Kashmir and tried to occupy the whole of that State Indian soldiers were called in by the Maharaja of Kashmir who acceded to the Indian Union in order to save his subjects from plunder and rapine. Indian soldiers drove out the Pakistanis who were fighting in the dress of tribal marauders and were disowned by the Pakistan government for long months until those lies could no longer be accepted by anybody anywhere. But when these marauding Pakistanis were beaten

and routed by our soldiers, half-a-dozen foreign countries assembled to render moral assistance to India. The result of this assistance was putting the Pakistanis in a firm position in a large part of Kashmir which they immediately named Azad Kashmir or Free Kashmir. Why the Indian Government as well as the foreign friends of India tolerated this sort of nomenclature which is a clear insinuation that the rest of Kashmir was Non-Free, was nobody's business. Pakistan being an undemocratic dictatorship, of course, was in the best position to supply freedom to the non-Pakistani peoples of the world. But such relevant considerations do not disturb the minds of the Euro-Americans who back the Pakistanis in all their illicit adventures.

When the Pakistanis invaded Kutch and were running the risk of being forcibly pushed out of their unlawfully occupied territories, the foreign countries referred to immediately stepped in to force an arbitration upon India. Actually these little interferences in India's private affairs have only one purpose. It is to establish Pakistan's right to invade Indian territory as and when it feels like doing so. That Pakistan was created by the British by slicing up certain parts of India and that, once that was done, no further questions could ever arise of any other territorial rights in favour of Pakistan was a political fact which could not be altered or modified at any time after that was done, could never be challenged at Law. But if India went out of her way to agree to arbitrations whenever her frontiers were violated, who could save her from the lawless encroachments that Pakistan would always indulge in from now till doomsday? Her willingness

to be a cosignatory with Pakistan in what is known as the Tashkent Declaration is another example of her careless handling of her foreign affairs. By agreeing to let the Pakistanis stay on in what they call Azad Kashmir, India has lifted Pakistan's lawless aggressions to the level of recognised political disputes. The Kutch agreement by which India agreed to recognise Pakistan's acts of aggression as territorial disputes, further laid India bare to charges of volunteering to sanctify the sins of a declared enemy. The so-called arbitration has proved to be another partition of India to add to Pakistan's territory. For this one can only blame India.

The party system of democratic government has not been responsible in any other country for reduction of territory or modification of the fundamental right of the nation. In India, however, everything happens in the name of democratic Government. It is high time the nation knew what they could consider to be their unalterable rights and possessions. The Political Parties are composed of persons who are not famous for their stability of outlook or faith. We can not be thrown from pillar to post all the time in matters of basic importance just because some easy ideologies change colour or shape for the convenience of loose principled persons.

MID-TERM ELECTIONS

Those who are interested in a gamble for political power with a view to acquire a position of importance far in excess of what they deserve, are very happy about the Government's decision to hold the elections in West Bengal towards the end of

the year. The public are not so happy, for the reason that they cannot hope to see any improvement in the character and nature of the representatives who will contest the seats. The same types of persons with the same acquisitive urges cannot produce any great improvement in the field of politics or economics just by assuming some party names and declaring fresh aims and objects for those parties. If the nation cannot manage to keep men and women of inferior merit out of the legislatures; also all those who have proved to be persons of unstable and unreliable character there will never be any progress in any sphere connected with the nation's material and moral affairs. The people of West Bengal have not shown any great talent so far in selecting their representatives and leaders. All that they have suffered by allowing numerous self-seekers to form little cliques of exploiters of various description for managing the State should now teach them to keep such persons out of their legislatures. There should be very great scrutiny of the background of all who stand as candidates for election. If this is not done West Bengal will surely get what it deserves.

PROPAGANDA AND FACTS OF HISTORY

That facts can be changed by spreading false rumours and interpretation of incidents to the advantage of particular dynasties, cliques or individuals, was not unknown to the Statesmen of bygone ages. There are references to planned concoction of news in ancient Treatises like the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and its counterparts in Latin and Persian. Keeping these possi-

bilities of exchange of identities between lies and realities, one has to assess the purity of historical facts with great caution and intensive scrutiny. Now, after many centuries, we are no longer in a position to do our work of fact finding with ease; but historical evidence cannot be removed or modified to suit a given purpose quite so easily and one can always follow Truth up its various partially obliterated trails and rediscover the exact nature of what happened long ago. These sojourns into the dim past are of advantage to living men of to-day, for the reason that lies, half-truths, suppression of facts, falsification of evidence, glorification of the inglorious and cooking up of facts are much more dangerously rampant to-day than they had ever been before. Propaganda has assumed great force and intensity since the introduction of Printing, the Postal and Telegraphic methods of spreading News, cinematography and radio broadcasting. A single lie has now a million facets created by endless duplication by the above described mechanical means. The study of Propaganda, lies and distortion of facts strengthens the defences of those who fall victims to marauding users of lies as their main weapon.

Whoever wanted to forcibly occupy a foreign country usually made a good case justifying the criminal action. This must have happened in the early ages as it is being done now. One is either civilising the benighted, removing some oppressors or liberating the downtrodden masses whenever one wants to occupy the cities and villages of some other nation. Thereafter one carries on propaganda to prove that such

great deeds for bringing freedom to the enslaved had never been done before. Old empires had been abolished and new ones established in their place time and again in the name of liberation of exploited humanity ; but humanity had remained basically in the same position of distress as before.

We do not know if Atilla the Hun and Alaric the Goth liberated the Romans, nor do we have much detailed knowledge of the kind of propaganda Chengiz Khan or Tamerlane let loose on the peoples of the earth when they went pillaging the homelands of the various races which suffered at their hands. The usual stuff about establishing a true god in place of false ones, or of bringing civilisation to those who lived in the darkness of ignorance etc. must have been doled out when the invading armies murdered and looted lustily. In later times there had been uprisings to set up the people's own governments ; but those who managed to be at the helm of affairs soon assumed the role of tyrants in their own lands, or, if that did not happen they went out building empires over other peoples whom they wanted to give the benefits of their imperial benevolence. We have witnessed many such military and political developments in the history of mankind and freedom and liberty for the masses have never been really achieved. The actions of those who built the Moghul empire and of those who destroyed it can be studied to see what benefits really occurred to the peoples concerned. The history of the many revolutions and wars of independence can also be studied carefully together with the stories of their ultimate *denouements*. One will dis-

cover new tyrannies occupying the place of older ones and the great curses of imperialism, colonialism, despotism and organised exploitation remaining fully rampant inspite of all talks of freedom, liberty and human rights.

Coming to modern times we find certain outstanding achievements of freedom and liberty for the peoples of many countries. Some of these did some good to the toiling and suffering masses ; but not to the extent that the propagandists claimed. The great revolution led by Sun Yat Sen removed opium, pigtailed and bandaged feet of women from China ; but did not clean Chinese politics of its numerous tyrannical currents. The Chinese War Lords remained active and one cannot yet say with confidence that the present leaders of China are any better than the old War Lords. China has tried to dominate other nations by using her newly acquired military might and has certainly given a new lease of life to imperialism and colonialism through her conquests and forced retention of her outer provinces which are peopled by non-Chinese races. This sort of criticism is also applicable to the Asiatic possessions of Russia. The Russians had used military forces to establish "freedom" in many places which are called soviets, but are in reality parts of the old Tsarist empire inhabited by peoples who have not been fully willing partners of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Many of the Communist countries within the Iron Curtain have been forced to remain within the great hegemony of communist States by the armies of Russia. The numerous countries which were given independent Status by the British since the 1940s

upto date were made to toe the line set by the new Anglo-American economic and political control, which did not lead to any real freedom for the peoples concerned. The game that was played in Arabia in the twenties was replayed in India, Pakistan, Burma, Malay, Ceylon and the various African States. Great propaganda by daubing false colours on everything done and agreed upon has been the customary policy in all this granting of freedom and liberation of the masses. How far democracy has become a farce in these lands can be judged by competent scholars.

KINDNESS AND SELFISHNESS

In high international finance or in matters of long period economic significance, it is difficult to point out with precision where self-interest ends and human considerations begin, or where moral urges cease to influence interstate exchanges. When an under-developed country seeks foreign aid, one might think that such aid can come only by rousing humanitarian feelings in the heart of the people who will grant the aid. But in fact most people, particularly those who are at the helm of financial affairs of wealthy States, are not guided by charitable thoughts when they settle matters of loans, gifts or exchanges with other countries. Unless it is pointed out and proved to them clearly and forcefully that such international assistance as are proposed will ultimately benefit the givers as much as the receivers, the transactions may never materialise.

Developments always expand markets. Those countries which have highly specialised export production always make advance preparations for keeping their markets for

exports ready for increased purchases. Some markets always cease to buy. These have to be replaced and as production increase, new markets have to be discovered for the increased quanta of goods which have to be exported. Underdeveloped countries progressively buy more and more of foreign goods as they expand their own industrial structure and step up the average income of their peoples, which naturally lead to improvements in their standard of living. In other words, those exporting nations which come to the assistance of less developed countries take good care to see that their own economic plans are boosted by their aid programs. The inability to render assistance, whenever found in a highly industrialised country, has always at its root, institutional or organisational imbalance created by economic or political developments of an unexpected type. Once a donor nation finds it has not the resources to give the required assistance and that it has other more important and urgent demands on its economy; no amount of moral persuasion can override the economic urgencies that come uppermost. Indian governmental borrowers therefore would do well to study the economic conditions prevailing in other lands very carefully, before proceeding to approach this nation or that for economic aid. As things are now, the world of highly developed nations is supercharged with wars or thoughts and fears of war. In the circumstances the nations concerned would not divert their extra resources very easily to India's needs. India should therefore develop the virtue of economic independence and practise self support as an alternative to going round the world for assistance.

HANGING OF AFRICANS IN RHODESIA

World opinion has been strongly against the hanging of several Africans who are under sentence of death since three years ago. The Rhodesian Prime Minister thinks otherwise. He does not see that keeping men under sentence of death for a longtime is a type of cruelty which humanity cannot but condemn. If a person really deserves to be executed, he should be put to death without much delay. For the lingering fear that the executioner may come any day to put the noose round the victim's neck, terrorises the condemned person in a manner which is worse than any death pangs that he may feel at the time of hanging. That is why everyone will vote against delayed executions. Then there is the question of justice. The condemned Africans may not have received a death sentence had they been judged in any other country than Rhodesia. Some of us object to capital punishment on principle; for we do not think it is a deterrent against the crimes for which it is meted out. People commit murder in spite of the provisions of the Law. Mr. Ian Smith the Prime Minister of Rhodesia is steeped in high treason but hopes to get away with it. Which shows even a man of his calibre cares little for the law. The poor Africans have suffered much and should be reprieved.

ELECTIONS IN WEST BENGAL

Professional Politicians have been agitating for early elections so that democracy can function in a proper manner as early as possible. Those politicians who belong to small cliques resembling close-door trade unions always make a lot of noise

about the political rights of the people of India. What they actually shout for is their own right to return to political power and regain the facilities for handling the people's affairs in a manner suited to their own ideas and convenience. These ideas and conveniences are given the generic name of ideology. As a matter of fact facts and fancies cannot be granted the dignity of ideals of a philosophical nature. We have been experiencing the peculiar plans of political action of our professional political men and we have found nothing in them which roused in our minds the images of Socrates, Plato, Hegel, Marx, Lenin, Sun Yet Sen, Gandhi or Subhashchandra. We rather felt that these men were utterly sterile and created no lasting good for anybody. The people wasted their votes on these men and they, in their turn, reduced representative government to a farce. In the circumstances if the people again got the same sort of persons back into the elected Assemblies and Councils the votes would be wasted and the purpose of the democratic system of government would remain unfulfilled. The urgency which the political parties have felt for early elections, is born of their desire to return to power and not of any intention to build up a strong, self sufficient and prosperous nation. We who want to see India rise to greater heights in civilisation, intellectual development, realisation of the ideals of equality and freedom and growth in strength and prosperity, do not feel happy at the prospect of seeing the same or similar men acting in the same or similar manner in our governments after the prospective elections. We hope the people will try to keep all such men out of our Assemblies and Councils. Political

aspirants behave and talk as if they had a special place in the intricate pattern of rights that the Constitution gives to the people of India. The rights belong to the people of India and not to the politicians whose importance depends on the degree of faith that the people have in them. Our politicians have destroyed that faith by their unwise, unintelligent and wayward behaviour. It will be now necessary for us to select new and more reliable men to represent us in the legislatures. If we fail to discover new talent for operating democracy in a proper manner, we shall merely waste our time and money and reenact the same disgraceful display of inefficiency, unreliability and fickleness that brought us President's rule in West Bengal.

PRIDE OF CRAFT

A carpenter whose joining shows wide gaps, a mason who builds walls which lean this way or that and a cook whose dishes frighten the eaters are all bad craftsmen. In the higher level of professions there are unwise lawyers, bad doctors, inexpert engineers and incapable teachers. All persons who cannot do their work creditably should either learn to do things well or retire from the field of work. In the field of politics people undertake to run the great machine of the State and many fail to do the work properly. Such persons should resign and leave their jobs to better men. But politicians have very little pride of craft. They like to hang on and mis-handle the nation's affairs rather than retire gracefully and in an honourable manner.

ORIENTALISTS MEET AGAIN

SANTOSH KUMAR NANDY

The 27th International Congress of Orientalists met at Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., from August 13-19, 1967. In the ninety-four years that have passed since the Congress first met in Paris in 1873, most of its sessions have been held in European countries. European scholars were, in fact, the pioneers in the study of a subject which eventually came to be known as Orientalology. In 1905, however, the Congress held its 14th session in Algiers. The Congress for the first time met in an Oriental country in 1964, when it held its 26th meeting in New Delhi. And, this year, for the first time in the history of the Congress, the organization met in the United States. It was announced tentatively at Ann Arbor that over 2400 participants from over 50 countries attended the 27th Congress, and some 500 papers were presented on diverse aspects of Orientalology.

It is noteworthy that the 27th Congress held at Ann Arbor in the United States was conspicuous by the absence of delegates from the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China. "The reason given by the Soviet Union when it announced on August 4, 1967 that it was withdrawing its delegation of 60 scholars was that the international situation----the war in Vietnam and the tensions in the Middle East----made the time inopportune for cultured and scholarly exchange."¹ At the inaugural session of the Congress on Sunday, August 13, 1967, President Harlan Hatcher of the University of Michigan expressed regret at the absence of the delegates from the Soviet Union.²

It was originally expected that a high-ranking official from Washington, D. C. would open the Congress, and that Secretary-General U. Thant of the United Nations and Minister of External Affairs Paul Martin of Canada would be present.³ None of these persons was present. Secretary-General U. Thant, however, sent a message stating :

The Congress of Orientalists, a smaller replica of the United Nations as it were, was devoted specifically to the pursuit of many facets of cultures prevailing in the greater part of the world.⁴

The more we know about a foreign culture, the more we are able to evaluate our own problems. The more analytically we look at our community, the better we can understand others and understanding is the master key to friendship and to peace, twin aims of which constitute an affinity between the Congress of Orientalists and the United Nations.⁵

President Johnson sent a message of greetings. On Friday, August 18, 1967, Governor Romney of Michigan welcomed the delegates with a predominantly political speech.

Among the striking features of the purely academic aspects of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists were : (1) the ten "Sectional Meetings" on Ancient Near East ; Near East and Islamic World ; South Asia in Ancient and Classical Times ; Modern South Asia ; Southeast Asia ; Early China ; Modern China ; Japan ; Korea ; and Central Asia and Altaic Studies ; and (2) the fifteen "Structured Panels" on Implications of Population Trends in Asia and Research Needs ; Art Criticism and Theory in India, China, and Japan ; Comparative Studies in Traditional Bureaucracy ; Comparative Studies on Entrepreneurship in Traditional Societies and its Role in Modernization ; Music in the Oriental Theatre ; Changing Perceptions of Law in Asia ; East Asian Language and Linguistics ; Ancient Oriental and Ancient American Culture ; Library Resources in Asian Studies ; Comparative Studies in the History of the Modernization of Agriculture ; Traditional Patterns of Revolutionary Movements in Fiction ; Institutes of Asian and Middle

Eastern Studies ; Traditionalism and Innovation in Art ; Problems of the Peasantry in Asia ; and Modern Linguistics and the Oriental Languages.⁶

The program and proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists show that the quest of orientalists has moved far ahead of its beginnings in 1873. The composition of the Congress in its early years, and for quite a long time this century, was largely European with a few members from the East and from the New World. Also, the interest of the orientalists even until World War II was confined to subjects like ancient and medieval history, philosophy, religion, language, literature, archeology, and the like. In fact much of the orientology of the past was what has come to be known as "Western Orientology" or "Occidental Orientology." The conception of an Orientology of the occidentals assumed increasing validity as orientals themselves took up studies of the culture of the Orient and developed a pattern of Orientology which, in contrast, has come to be known as "Eastern Orientology" or "Oriental Orientology."

However, in the process of increasing study of Orientology by both orientals and occidentals, the distinction between Occidental Orientology and Oriental Orientology is likely to become less meaningful in the course of time. The increasing participation by orientals and occidentals in the pursuit of knowledge about the Orient is likely to be the significant factor towards that end. It may not be unwise to consider the gradual merging of occidental and oriental orientology as a desirable end, for knowledge on the subject has to be one and integrated. However, that is a development to be sought for in the years to come. The meeting of the Congress of Orientalists since the Second World War in countries outside northern and central Europe, as it was in Moscow in 1960, in New Delhi in 1964, and at Ann Arbor in 1967, the increasing membership in the organization from more and more countries, increase in the number of subjects for discussion in the Congress, and such other factors, are some of the indicators towards that end. At the Congress at Ann Arbor, one could hear about the desire of some to hold

the next Congress in such far-off places as Australia, Argentina, and Japan.

A striking feature of the discipline of Orientology today is the broadening of its subject matter. Orientology is becoming associated with the social sciences and the humanities in our times. The sessions of the Congress at Moscow in 1960 and in New Delhi in 1964 attached importance to social science topics. The importance of the social sciences along with the humanities in the study of Orientology was revealed in the program and proceedings of the 27th Congress held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

In the matter of general collaboration of what can be called the "Traditional Orientology" of the pre-Second World War days and the contemporary social sciences and humanities, the role of the United States should be of particular interest at the moment, especially when the Congress has met for the first time this year in the United States. In the period following the Second World War, numerous American universities have introduced courses and programs for the study of diverse aspects of Orientology and have also set up a number of research centres for the purpose. The development of "area studies" in these programs and centres in the United States is a significant step towards furthering of American studies in Orientology. Of course, in general, American interest has predominantly been more in the contemporaneous than in the traditional aspects of the cultures of the Orient, and the approach to the study of Orientology by Americans is guided naturally by the methods and perspectives that are distinctive of contemporary American social sciences and humanities. Often the interest of American research centres on area studies is said to be determined by the agencies, governmental and private, which finance these researches. It is also interesting to note that quite a few of the orientalists in the United States today are of European background or have been influenced by European Orientology. On the whole, the United States will be capable of playing an increasing role in the development of oriental studies in the times to come. One could often hear at the Ann Arbor Congress about dissensions

within the Congress and outside on vital procedural and substantive issues relating to the Congress, but those aspects are beyond the scope of this paper.

A great task before Orientalists,—now from all over the world—is to bring together into a worthwhile synthesis the knowledge that has been acquired in this field since the quest began about a century ago. Towards that end, Occidental Orientology and Oriental Orientology have to find a meeting place. Furthermore, the ancient and the modern have also to be brought together into an integrated framework. As Jawaharlal Nehru observed in his speech at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi on Saturday, January 4, 1964 :

In the modern world, with all its virtues, I find a certain superficiality, lack of depth ; a little of the old world would perhaps help us to keep the balance. The ancient way of life concentrated on probing one's self ; today the emphasis has shifted to the external world, of knowing more about what was happening outside one's own sphere of activity. These two approaches, the external and the internal, have to be combined.⁸

Orientalists have indeed a great rôle to play in promoting understanding and co-operation in a world torn with strife and bitterness. Most appropriately, on January 4, 1964, at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists New Delhi, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan described the scholars assembled as "the explorers of the art, literature, and thought of the world's varied cultures" and said that they had a more decisive voice in shaping the minds and hearts of men than even politicians.⁹ Towards that end may the quest of Orientalists be directed more and more.

* This paper is based on the 27th International Congress of Orientalists, held at

Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., August 13-19, 1967.

** Dr. Santosh Kumar Nandy, M. A. (Calcutta), M. A. (Minnesota), Ph. D. (Minnesota), is now Associate Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201, U. S. A. He was formerly on the faculty of State University of New York at Buffalo, U. S. A., and University of Manitoba, Winnipeg19, Manitoba, Canada.

1. *New York Times*, Monday, August 14, 1967, p. 9.

2. *The Ann Arbor News*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., Monday, August 14, 1967, p. 13.

3. *The Asian Student*, San Francisco, California, U. S. A., January 7, 1967, p.1; and *Ibid.*, March 18, 1967, p.1.

4. *The Ann Arbor News*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., Monday, August 14, 1967, p. 13.

5. *Ibid*, p. 13.

6. *Vide*, Program of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U. S. A., August 13-19, 1967.

7. *Vide*, *American Institutions and Organizations Interested in Asia, A Reference Directory*, second edition, compiled by the Asia Society, Inc. published by Taplinger Publishing Co., New York, 1961.

Also, for Indological studies in the United States, see : W. Norman Brown, "South Asian Studies in the United States," in : Indian Council for Cultural Relations, *Indian Studies Abroad* (New York : Asia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 104-117.

8. *The Sunday Statesman*, Delhi, January 5, 1964, p.1.

9. *The Sunday Statesman*, Delhi, January 5, 1964, p. 1.

RECESSION IN INDIA

RAMESH KUMAR DIXIT.

Indian economy is passing through a phase, which is marked by spiralling of inflationary pressure co-existent with the slowing down in industrial production. Recession, like other economic terms, demands, a precise definition and is not merely a question of words but of facts. If production continues to expand but at a slower rate, we can call it to be a 'slackening' of the rate. If it stops expanding, it should be termed as 'stagnation'. For neither of these two situations would it be correct to use the term recession. Correctly speaking, recession means an absolute fall in the level of production induced by lack of sufficient demand. But every fall in the level of production cannot be termed as recession, particularly, if the fall in production is due to the supply factor i.e. inadequacy of required input.

The Situation

As regards sectors presently effected in India let us take agricultural sector first. Agriculture accounts for about 50% of the national income in India. During the post-independence period agricultural products has shown a declining tendency for many years i.e. 1957-58, 1962-63 and 1965-67, but nobody had ventured to use the term recession then. Further, there is an important fact to note that the index of agricultural production has risen from 131.7 in 1965-66 to 135.7 in 1966-67. If it is so, it is certainly incorrect to use the term recession in connection with this major sector of Indian Economy.

Industries account for merely 13% to 20% of the national income generated in the economy. Index of industrial production showed a decline from 194.4 in March 1966 to 193.7 in June, 1966, which may again be termed as 'stagnation' and not 'recession'. This fall was due to non-availability of imported raw materials, spare parts

etc. However, from April 1967 the seasonally adjusted index was down by 7% as compared to the December 1966 level, which definitely points out to the trend towards recession.

Six major industries of the country namely Cotton Textile, Sugar, Tea, Silk and synthetic fibre textile, cigarettes and paper and paper products, showed a decline during January-May 1967 as compared with the corresponding period last year. Out of these industries, in the case of cotton textile, tea and sugar which accounted for 44% of the total weightage in the general index, the decline was not due to lack of demand, but to lack of raw materials, particularly due to the set back in agriculture.

The Engineering group industries (i. e. Railway wagon building, Iron and steel, transport equipment, electrical machinery and non-electrical machinery), which account for nearly 16% of the total weightage of the index of industrial production, form the core of recession-effected industries in India. These industries depend largely on Government orders and it is but natural that they are bound to feel the pinch when the largest single customer cuts his purchases by 20% or so. A survey conducted by Research Bureau, Economic Times, reveals that in 14 Engineering units utilisation of capacity was 90% or above, in eleven units it was between 70% to 90%, in case of 10 units between 50% to 70% and in 18 units it was below 50%. The impact of recession in Engineering industries is also reflected in price-reduction ranging from 10% to 50% and most of the units are not in a position to absorb even the overheads.

Again, in the power and distribution transformers industry, there is slackness in demand and to a large scale orders have been postponed. In the drugs and the Pharmaceutical industry under-utilised capacity has been visible in some products.

Under-utilisation of capacity was to the extent of 70% in construction equipment industry, wherein inspite of the idle capacity, import licences are being issued generously. In the copper and wire products industry, capacity-utilisation has been effected due to non-supply of raw materials.

Causes of Recession

The causes of recession are enormous and differ from industry to industry. For example, shortage of raw materials in cotton textile, Jute, sugar and oil seeds, lack of demand in case of engineering industries and over-capacity brought into existence due to faulty licensing policy in other industries are the major factors of current recession. The current recession is not an outcome of the overheated economy, i. e. a phase following the over-production, even though there is an excess installed capacity in some of the industries. It is mainly due to lack of demand. The Government had slashed expenditure in the shape of cutting down of orders by Railway Ministry for wagons, heavy structurals and other engineering equipments to the extent of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 crores. The cut in plan-expenditure in railways has been to the tune of 33% or even more. An idea of the fall in Government purchases can be had from the fact that total purchases came to only 343 crores during 1966-67 as against Rs. 500 crores in 1964-65.

Secondly, the acute shortage of raw materials is also responsible for the present crisis. There is a scarcity of almost all raw materials like phosphorous, insulating paper, synthetic cryolite, aluminium chloride, coaltar etc. The non-availability of raw materials has rendered all investments in plants and projects as ineffective.

Devaluation has raised the cost of imported raw materials and components as also that of the end-products. On the other hand, import liberalisation has provided an incentive to import more with a view to have a greater utilisation of the install capacity and to produce more. The increased supply of finished goods faced a reduced demand and as a sequel the stocks piled up with the producers.

Stringent credit policy has also reduced the production. The tight money market has adversely effected industries like commercial vehicles, engineering goods, textiles etc. The recent liberalised credit policy may have a better impact on these sectors in future.

Further, there has not been a systematic control over the creation of fresh capacity in the small scale sector. Even in the large scale sector where the creation of new capacity is regulated, the installed capacity in some industries has become in excess as compared with the current demand.

The unproductive Government expenditure, long gestation period, creation of excess capacity in several sectors, duplication of capacity in the public and private sectors, non-finalisation of the Fourth Plan etc. have contributed to the present crisis. The unprecedented droughts in many states have led to the shrinkage of money supply with the masses to buy goods. Rise in the prices of goods of common use has resulted in the erosion of public savings and reduction in investment equities and in general lack of demand.

Suggestions

Various suggestions can be given to combat recession.

Revision of Government's purchasing policy and the placing of more orders with the industries will go a long way in overcoming the current recession. Government must adopt adequate measures to stabilise the prices of agricultural goods. The unproductive Government expenditures like subsidies, community development schemes and other projects with long gestation period should be discouraged. Government should spend more and more on such projects which are half way of completion and which will strengthen the infra-structure of the economy.

Further, government should reshape its economic and fiscal policies to provide for immediate relief in taxation, liberal credit facilities for modernisation of plants and increased production.

There should be greater investment on such schemes which are likely to yield results in a

short period. Further, provision of more and more fiscal incentives should be made to encourage demand and production. The fall in internal demand for engineering goods should be taken advantage of for exporting on a larger scale and for this purpose the Government should provide some special export incentives.

More important, however, is the need to organise the industry on rational lines, to reduce production cost and to improve the quality of the product. More attention should be paid to research and development of the market. In this process of rationalisation, if some units are weeded out, one should not mind the resultant loss of production and the retrenchment of labour as the resulting benefit would more than compensate the resultant loss. But it is the duty of the government to see that in this process of weeding out, properly planned and soundly managed units do not suffer from lack of resources. It is equally imperative for the government to see that licences for the establishment of new units should be given only when there is a fair chance for them to face the world competition within a reasonable period of time. At the same time it will be necessary to check the import of those commodities that are produced indigenously and are adequately available.

Lastly, for the success of exports it may be

stressed that the industry must submit itself to greater quality control and scrupulously carry out the shipment inspection.

Conclusion

By and large it may be accepted that the situation is very critical. The decision of the Government to supply steel on international prices, the liberalisation of credit and the provision of subsidies immensely help in boosting our exports in foreign countries, especially to those of Western Asia, where imports from several foreign countries are now discouraged or banned.

The decision of the Railway Board to place advance orders immediately for engineering goods worth Rs. 125 crores (excluding Rs. 53 crores for wagons) will be very helpful in overcoming recession in engineering units. These orders will be placed in both public and private sectors for goods required by the railways for 1967-68. The Board is also expected to assist the units for purchasing of raw materials.

The Soviet Union has also agreed to take 2,00,000 tonnes of Bhilai rails and structurals to ease the current recession. A team of experts from U.S.S.R. will shortly visit Bhilai to change the product-mix to suit the pattern of demand in India and elsewhere.



RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY—A PIONEER IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REGENERATION OF INDIA

DR. S.R. BAKSHI

Raja Ram Mohun Roy has been called the 'Pole Star' of Indian awakening ; 'the Prometheus of 19th century India,' 'the Erasmus of the Indian Reformation' and 'the inaugurator of the New Age.' Mahatma Gandhi regarded him as one of the greatest reformers of his time and father of advanced liberal thought in Hinduism. He may fitly be called a 'barrier-breaker' who laid the foundation of a grand national edifice, broad-based on freedom and equality. His activities embraced various spheres of life and everywhere he paved a new way for the future generation of Indians to follow. All the principal movements of the 19th century—social, religious, political and educational, originated with him. None of these movements, in fact, can be studied and understood without a reference to the part played by him.

Early Career

The Raja was born in a well-to-do and respectable Brahman family on May 22, 1772 in Radhanagar, in Arambag sub-division of Hooghly district. His ancestors had enjoyed positions of trust and responsibility under the Nawabs of Murshidabad. He learnt Persian in a Pathshala under a Maulvi. Later on, he studied the Koran in Patna, where he was very much influenced by the Sufi philosophy. While in his teens, he joined the service of the East Indian Company as a Revenue Officer in the Department of Revenue. As he was very much fond of studies, he snatched some hours from his official duties for a thorough study of modern Tantric work. Soon he became well-conversant with the doctrines of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam which greatly helped him to develop and mature his own religious views and principles.

Missionary zeal

After his retirement from the service of the East India Company in 1815, Raja Ram Mohun Roy settled in Calcutta. His arrival in Calcutta marks the actual beginning of his public life. He was forty-two years of age, mature and well-prepared for the great work that lay before him—the task of arousing India from her state of lethargy and making her conscious of her dormant powers. He founded the Atmiya Sabha or Friendly Association for discussing subjects concerning theology and the prevailing social evils. Ram Mohun Roy's outright condemnation of these evils caused a stir in Hindu society which began to level trenchant criticism against him. Besides, his enemies spared no pains to lower him in public estimate. But the Raja remained quite firm and steadfast in his mission. He said to the people of India, 'If you remain separate one from the other, if you are divided in your own home, if you are like a boat whose planks are all riven as under, how shall you give potency to the message of India to the world? If there are those whom you look down upon, how shall they become your own? If there are those whom you will not touch, how will you hold them in your embrace? If you are afraid, how can you conquer your enemy? If you are untrue yourself, how shall you be the evangelist of truth?' This is the message he gave to India.

Higher Targets

Though born and bred in the British period, Raja Ram Mohun Roy was a man of different mould. A firm believer in the Divine unity of mankind, he had, at heart, a deeply religious nature which was permeated with the Divine

Spirit. He used to tell the people that at least for the sake of freedom for India, they should cultivate the spirit of true brotherhood and do away with cast prejudices which divide the orthodox Hindus into so many water-tight compartments. His publications, viz., 'The Precepts of Jesus' and the 'Guide to Peace and Happiness' involved him into a severe religious controversy with the Christian missionaries of Serampore who took serious offence at his interpretation of Christianity, vehemently criticized him in their periodical 'Friend of India' and called him a heathen. In the course of this heated controversy, the stalwart missionary like Dr. Marshman often lost his temper and attacked him and Hinduism intemperately. This, of course, created an atmosphere seething with suspicion and hate. But Raja Ram Mohun Roy remained calm and cool, replied to these criticisms very convincingly in a number of tracts and burst asunder the meshes of sophistry.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy realized that his message was very necessary to raise Indians from the quagmire of superstitions. In the interest of the solidarity of religions from the social point of view, he founded the Brahmo Samaj as a society of the worshippers of one God of all religions and all humanity. The worshippers might belong each to his own religious fold—Saivaite or Vaishnavite, Vedantist—in theory, he might be Christian or Muslim, Jew or Jaina, anybody could join in the prayers and no one was expected to depart from his own religious tradition. The meetings of the Sabha were held every Saturday evening and Vedas were recited by Brahmans and Upanishadic texts were read and later examined in Bengali. This was followed by a sermon and singing of hymns. Soon the Brahmo Samaj attracted a large number of influential and educated persons under whose guidance and patronage the work of social reform was undertaken.

Pioneering Work

Deeply interested in social and religious reforms, Raja Ram Mohun Roy initiated a number

of social reform movements. He conclusively demonstrated that social and religious reforms were the very foundation of political advancement and opined that enemies of liberty and friends of despotism had never been and never would be, ultimately successful. The cause of women found in him a great champion. The women of Bengal at the time were living under the most abject form of social slavery. As many as 309 widows were burnt alive in 1828, the year in which the Brahmo Samaj was established. Ram Mohun's own hatred for the custom had an emotional as well as an intellectual basis, his own sister-in-law having been a victim of Suttee. It was but natural that the misery and degradation of womanhood should have strongly appealed to the sympathetic heart of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He was so oppressed with sense of pain at the inhuman practice of the burning of widows that he used to visit the cremation grounds to argue with the parties and to prevent such deeds, if possible. He proved from the authoritative standards of Hinduism that Suttee was not a religious duty. He did more than this. He showed that not religious devotion, but the avaricious desire of relatives to avoid the cost of supporting the widow, had a great deal to do with the perpetuation of Suttee. Its suppression would, therefore, do no wrong to the faith which British honour had pledged itself to tolerate and respect. The principles of humanity and of religious liberty no longer clashed. The atrocity could consistently be put down.

Lord William Bentinck cut the Gordian knot and on the 4th of December 1829, the Regulation was passed which declared the practice illegal and punishable as a criminal offence. All persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindu widow, whether she were a willing victim or not, were pronounced guilty of culpable homicide, and where violence or other means of overpowering the victims' will were employed, the death sentence might, at the discretion of the Court, be inflicted. Suttee was abolished, and the reputation of the British Govt. and the fair name of religion itself were redeemed from one of

the foulest stains. He thus largely succeeded in eliminating this evil from the Hindu society. Besides, polygamy, early marriage, killing of female children, throwing of the first child into the holy river etc. were some of the most dreadful and inhuman practices performed in the different parts of the country in varying degrees. These social evils pricked his noble heart and made him wage an incessant war against them all through his life. He fought fearlessly against ignorance, superstition, decadence, degeneration, narrowness and sectarianism and ended stagnation in different spheres of life. He stirred the country to thought and action and thus proved himself instrumental in laying the foundation of the 'true League of Nations in a League of National Cultures.'

Votary of English

Raja Ram Mohun Ray felt that such a degraded situation in which ignorance produced polytheism, Suttee and other customs repugnant to an intelligent man with enlightened religious conceptions, could be corrected only by education. The spread of education in India, therefore, became a passion with Ram Mohun Roy. He was always eager to discuss the topic with friends and acquaintances. He is known to have cooperated enthusiastically with the Calcutta Book Society (est. 1817) in the latter body's efforts to help the cause of education by publishing suitable text-books. The third report of the society's proceedings mention that Ram Mohun wrote a text-book on Geography in Bengali and English and submitted it to the society for publication. Ram Mohun's first venture in education centered about the Hindu College which he and David Hare had conceived of about 1816. (This institution when fully developed was formally named the 'Anglo-Indian College', though it continued to be popularly known as the 'Hindu College'). But in order that it might receive the support of orthodox Hindus, Ram Mohun Roy had been forced to sever his connection with it. As early as 1816, therefore, he founded an English school of his own at Suripara. Here boys were instructed free in the elementary

subjects, and later a class for advanced students was added. Finally, a plot of ground was purchased at Simla, and the 'Anglo-Hindu-School' came into its own premises in 1822. He was the pioneer of English education in India. In 1823, when, on the recommendations of a Committee appointed by Lord Amherst, a college was established in Calcutta for the teaching of Sanskrit, he protested against its establishment and demanded instead that it might be utilised for imparting a liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences through the medium of English. His aim was to propagate the New Learning of the West and the social, political and scientific culture embodied in it. Later on, his views culminated into the famous controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists on the question of the educational policy to be pursued by the Government. He, himself, was a great scholar and for his thorough knowledge of Persian and Islamic philosophy, he was called a 'Zabardast Maulvi'. He also knew Greek and Hebrew languages. He was a careful student of Law, Jurisprudence, Upanishadas, Puranas and Tantras. He and his great friend, David Hare, took the initiative in the foundation of the Hindu College at Calcutta for imparting education in science and literature of Europe.

Integrated Programmes

Raja Ram Mohun Roy exhibited remarkable capacity as a writer. He wielded a powerful pen and always used it for noble causes. His pen was not confined to one language : Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian, Arabic and last, but though not the least English, all came within its range. Moreover, his efforts for promoting Indian journalism were very notable. Among the papers which he used as the expression of his thoughts was the Bengali weekly 'Sambad Kaumudi' or The Moon of Intelligence.

The remarkable career of Raja Ram Mohun Roy's superhuman activities came to a close with his visit to Europe. The immediate object of his

visit was to plead before the authorities of the East India Company—the case of the ex-Emperor of Delhi who had entrusted the mission to him as his ambassador. His other objects were, first, to defeat the attempts for a repeal of the anti-Suttee decree and secondly, to be present in England during the debates on the East India Company's Charter. He gave his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the revenue and judicial systems of India and presented petitions to the said House in the matter of the abolition of the Sati rites. He said to the people abroad, 'Come to India'. She is still the hostess, broken though she be, plundered though she be by every kind of foreign exploitation, including your own exploitation, you people of the West, you are nonetheless welcome within the borders of my home.'

Impressive Figure

In September 1833, Raja Ram Mohun Roy visited Bristol at the urgent invitation of his Unitarian friends with a view to giving his fatigued constitution a much-needed rest prior to his return home. But within a few days of his arrival there, he was attacked with a fatal malady which terminated his noble career on 27th of September, 1833. Miss Hare, the niece of his friend Mr. David Hare, who attended on him during his last moments, has recorded that he finally closed his lips with the word, 'Om' the well-known Vedic syllable, meaning the Supreme Being. His mortal remains now rest in Arno's Vale at Bristol over which Dwarkanath Tagore built a

beautiful mausoleum with most befitting tributes which are as follows: 'Beneath this stone rests the remains of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the God-head, he consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of Divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents, he united a thorough mastery of many languages and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day. His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and Sati-rite and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and welfare of man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants.'

Lord William Bentinck remained to the last; a great admirer of Ram Mohun. He donated a sum of rupees five hundred to the Ram Mohun Memorial Fund when the death news of the Indian reformer came to Calcutta. During his life time, he was probably more esteemed by the Occidental than by the Oriental World. To-day, however, the situation has been reversed. Now, practically he is being acclaimed as 'the Father of Modern India', and his life-long labours to promote the glory of the God-head and the welfare of man will ever remain an immortal chapter in the annals of the modern India. The standard of revolt he thus raised against the medieval tyranny of dogma unleashed forces which created what may be called Modern India, and makes him worthy to rank by the side of Bacon and Luther.



PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

ARJUNRAO DARSHANKAR

Control over public expenditure has become one of the important factors in controlling the executive of the country. Owing to the many-fold activities in the public life, it has become necessary to scrutinize the expenditure, see their legality and assure the people of the country that money of the tax-payer is utilized properly. Many countries like U.K., Canada, Australia, have constituted this body so as to act as a "Watch dog" of the Parliament. This committee has helped, in exercising effective control over public expenditure along with the Estimates Committee. The committees, as it has been stated, are "two-eyes" of the legislature to exercise control over taxation ; to vote supplies for expenditure and to ensure that the executive applied the funds voted for the purposes for which they are granted.¹

Like the Estimates Committee, the PAC had its origin in U. K. English Parliament insisted that King and Government must account for the funds granted to them. With the passing of time, this opinion gathered more and more momentum. The first recorded instance occurred as early as in 1353, when a subsidy on wool was granted to be applied only to the purposes of war and not to be spent by the King on "wine, women and song". A similar condition was laid to a grant by Parliament in 1426.²

Though this type of control was exercised by the Parliament, but in reality it was negligible, inefficient and fragmentary, it was only in 1861 that the select committee on public accounts was appointed for the first time and in the next year its permanence was assured by a standing order of the House No. 73 (now No.90.). Now we find that PAC of U.K. has a very good record of 100 years.

In India no action was taken for constituting the PAC till 1919 "with the partial autonomy under the Govt. of India Act 1919, PACs were

constituted in 1921, both at centre and in provinces. Sir Malcolm Hailey in his speech on the motion for election of the first Public Accounts Committee on February 22, 1921 said :

"The committee will call the attention of the Assembly to any case in which there is proved to be either an offence against rules or waste of public money, and it will be for the Assembly, either by resolution or by the other constitutional means within their power, to put pressure on government to take proper action in the matter."³

Composition of the Committee

Members of PAC are elected from the Lok-Sabha by the principle of proportional representation by means of single transferable vote. The number being fifteen. But since 1954-55, seven members of Rajya-Sabha were also associated with the committee's work. They also enjoy the same rights, privileges, and position which the members from Lok-Sabha enjoy. Critics have criticised the association of the members of Rajya-Sabha, on the ground that Upper House of the Parliament has no say when the financial matters are discussed by the Parliament, because that House is not directly elected by the people. In U.K. members of the House of Lords are not included in the PAC. Only fifteen members of House of Commons are elected in proportion to voting strength in the House. The chairman of Estimates Committee is invariably a member of PAC.⁴

In India, the chairman of Estimates Committee is not a member of PAC. In Australia three Senate members are associated with seven members of the House of Representative⁵.

No minister is included in the committee. If a members of the committee or chairman is appointed a minister, he ceases to be the member of the committee. The term of office of the mem-

mers of committee in India is one year, but by a convention they continue in the office for two years. In Australia, members are appointed for the life of the Parliament.⁶ In U.K. the committee is appointed annually at the beginning of the parliamentary session. Members are usually re-elected, if available and the records of same are truly remarkable. Sir Ashton Pannall sat for twenty three years and was chairman in his last three years. Since 1900 about 57 per cent of the members have served for more than two years.⁷

In India the Chairman of PAC is appointed by Speaker of the Lok-Sabha who generally belongs to the ruling party. For the first time in India, after IV general election Speaker, Shri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy, appointed Shri. M. R. Masani, a opposition leader, as the chairman of PAC. However it is stated that if Deputy Speaker happens to be a member of the committee, he becomes ex-officio chairman of the committee.

In U. K. the chairman, by convention, is a senior member of the opposition. In Australia the chairman is elected by the committee from the government members while the vice-chairman is elected from the opposition.

The Secretariat of the PAC is provided in the Parliament itself for making the committee more independent from the various ministries of departments.

Functions

According to the Rules of procedure of the Lok-Sabha, the functions of Indian Committee are: (a) that the money shown in the accounts as having been disbursed were legally available for and applicable to the service, or purpose to which they have been applied for charged; (b) that the expenditure conforms to the authority which governs it and (c) that every re-appropriation has been made in accordance with the provisions made, under rules framed by the competent authority. In addition to the above functions the PAC is responsible for examining the accounts and expenditure of state corporations,⁸ semi-autonomous bodies, and to consider reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General under the

direction of the President of India. In addition the committee examines other accounts which the speaker may direct it to do so and report to the Parliament.

The exact functions and aims of the PAC, in U.K. are nowhere defined by the House. Standing order no 90 (ninety says that there shall be a committee,) ; for the examination of the accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by Parliament, to meet the public expenditure and of such other accounts laid before Parliament as the committee may think fit." But the hundred years' experience has given members fairly clear idea of what are the possibilities and limitations of the committee. The sum of this experience was epitomized by a former chairman of the committee, the Rt. Hon. Osbert Peake, when he defined its functions as, first to ensure that money is spent as Parliament intended; second, to ensure the exercise of due economy; and third, to maintain high standards of public morality in all financial matters.⁹ The exercise of due economy, though nowhere officially stated or defined has come to be a well-established aim, and the committee has tended gradually to increase its scope in the field.¹⁰ The duties of the Australia PAC are defined in section 8 of the Act as follows:

(a) To examine the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the commonwealth and each statement and report transmitted to the Houses of Parliament by the Auditor General.

(b) To report to both Houses of the Parliament with such comment as it thinks fit or that to which the committee is of the opinion that the attention of the Parliament should be directed.

(c) To enquire into any question in connection with public accounts of the Parliament, and to report to that House upon that question and include such other duties as are assigned to the committee by joint standing orders, approved by both Houses of Parliament.¹¹

Procedure of the examination

Immediately after submission of the appropriation accounts by the audit, the ministries

are required to furnish notes explaining the various excesses or savings mentioned under each head to the committee within a period of two months. These "notes" as they are called give a preliminary idea to the committee of the reasons for the various financial irregularities that have been committed.¹² On the other hand by this time a new committee is constituted, which soon after the election meets and decides the work of the year. As it is not possible to examine the accounts of all the ministries, the committee selects a few of them for examination. The programme thus settled is circulated to all the ministries and to the members of the committee. Before the meeting actually takes place, the members of the committee are given a list of the important points arising out of the accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

The meeting of the committee then takes place around a shoe shaped table where on one end sit the representatives of the ministries, who have come to give evidence, and on the other end sits the chairman. To his right sits the C.A. and G. and to his left the secretary of the committee.¹³ The committee is assisted by C.A. and G, who is the key-man. He is in truth "acting hand" of the committee. He helps the members by turning up papers and furnishing information quickly. In U. K. on the morning of the committee's meeting he confers with the chairman for an hour or two and they run through the business of the afternoon. The Auditor General advises the chairman and suggests lines of enquiry and possible questions. It is also said that he indicates the answers, the chairman might reasonably expect to receive. Thus an amateur chairman can ask not only the questions which the experienced committee man might put but he can also act as an expert interrogator.¹⁴

The permanent civil servants come with their huge records to justify their actions before this committee. The approach of the committee to obtain clear facts and not to irritate anybody is very difficult.

As ex-Speaker Aiyangar observed : "the official witness would not sometime allow you to

proceed further. In your enthusiasm to get information you may sometimes find a witness in a tight corner. In that situation he is likely to provoke you by apparent indifference." He therefore suggested that a reasonable approach should be developed.¹⁵ In reality it should be like a bee which sucks honey from a flower without destroying it.

Meetings of the committee are private. When the examination of witness is completed, committee sits to discuss the various aspects of the problem. The report contains the recommendations and findings of the committee based on evidence tendered before them. The report is prepared by the parliamentary secretariat under the guidance of the chairman and then it is sent to the Comptroller and Auditor General for factual verification. After such verification the report is submitted to the Parliament. The report of PAC is not discussed in the Parliament. There are instances, when the reports were debated in English Parliament. This was seen in India for the first time, when Parliament debated the 55th report of the PAC of Steel Ministry.

There have been instances, when report of the PAC was sent back to it again for consideration in the light of new information. On one occasion the Speaker said that in the normal course when a minister said that he had not been given a chance of putting forward his view-point before the PAC, it would be better if the committee look at it again.¹⁶

The administrative ministries take enough care to implement the recommendation of the committee. Though the majority of the recommendations are accepted by the Govt. yet in case where the Govt. has not agreed and has given adequate reasons, the committee reconsiders its opinion in the light of the reasons given by the Govt.

This committee also like the Estimates Committee does not work on party lines. Party affiliations are kept aside at the time of examination of the accounts.

Privileges of the PAC

As a parliamentary committee the PAC has certain privileges which under Articles 105 of the Constitution are similar to those of PAC of the British House of Commons. To cast reflections on the work of the committee or to attribute to it uncharitable motives constitutes a breach of privilege. Scandalous charges or imputations directed against members of a select committee are directed against the House itself.¹⁷

There have been some instances when PAC has committed some of the ministers for breach of privilege. In recent years also the privilege issue came before the Parliament.

An opposition member created a sensation by reporting to the Lok-Sabha that the Home-Minister, had told the Chairman of PAC in the lobby of the House and in the presence of many members that the committee was prejudiced against the Congress. This is a breach of privilege and therefore action should be taken against the minister. The minister wrote a letter to the Speaker in the following manner: "He had a purely private conversation with the chairman of PAC. He was sorry if a contrary impression had been created." The law-minister also gave his opinion and said that a private conversation could become the subject matter of a privilege motion only when there was intimidation, and a design to prevent a member from performing his duty. However afterwards accepting the letter as apology from the minister the Speaker disallowed two privilege motions against the Home-Minister.¹⁸

The committee has submitted the reports of far reaching importance. Many loop-holes of the Govt, their irregularity and negligence of work has also been pointed out in the various reports. Important findings of purchase of jeep in U. K., and import and sale of Japanese cloth in India, has brought many things to light. There are certain findings in recent years, which will not be out of place, if given here.

The PAC has sharply criticised the erstwhile Ministry of Commerce and Industry for creating 19 posts in 1961-62, when there was no budgetary

provision for the same. It also adversely commented on the fact that the actual expenditure on minister's tour in that year exceeded the final budget grant (Rs. 9.09 Lakhs) against Rs. 8 lakhs.¹⁹

In another report the Committee has pointed out a member of "Service delays" in the completion of important projects and non-utilisation of imported machinery as a result of defective planning, lack of co-ordination and slow progress.

According to the report (1968) numbers of 3-tons lorries with 234 spare engines were purchased at a cost of Rs. 4.65 crores. Crankshafts of three lorries were found to be defective. Though the suppliers have agreed to replace the defective crankshafts, no demands were made on them for 4 to 5 years due to negligence. Further, the report found that a steel foundry was sanctioned for naval dock-yard, Bombay in 1950, but the authorities took 12 years to place an indent for the annealing furnace on which depended the commissioning of the foundry.²⁰

The Customs department suffered recently a loss of more than Rs. 10 lakhs because of the defective system of presentation of bills of entry for the payment of duty. The report referred to a case where fraudulent alterations have been made by applying some chemicals on the bills of entry to change the particulars regarding the value, description and rate of duty. The amount of customs duty defrauded in respect of goods which had been cleared worked upto Rs. 10 to 40 lakhs. The alteration, according to my report, were made after the bills of entry have been appraised, but before they were presented to the cash departments for payment of the customs duty. The PAC regretted that the fraud has taken place in this case owing to the defective procedure of presentation of bill of entry for payment of duty. Once the bills had been appraised, they were given to the clearing agents and the customs authorities did not have any means to check or detect any alteration or fraud. The clearing agents were free to manipulate the documents if and when they liked. Although a similar case of fraud was noticed by the Customs department as early as in 1937 and another in 1954, no effective

system had been devised to eliminate its recurrence.²¹

With the reports so far submitted by PAC, one comes to the conclusion, what Shri, Mavlankar told in 1950, that the consciousness that there is some one who will scrutinise what has been done is a great check on the slackness, negligence or absolutism of the executive. The examination, if it is properly carried out, leads to general efficiency of the administration. The examination by the Committee may also be useful as a guide for both future estimates and future policies.²² The description of the procedure and technique of PAC makes clear the nature of the control by this committee on public expenditure. It is first expert control, it is second financial control, it is third judicial control. It is fourth a control the main effect of which is deterrent. It is finally a control, which though Ex-Post-Facto, is no a mere post-mortem.²³

1. Premchand A-Control of Public Expenditure P. 399

2. Wattal, P. K.-Parliamentary Financial Control in India P. 253.

3. Ibid P-255

4. Ibid P-257

5. Richard Cleaver—The Australian PAC Public Administration Australia Vol xxiv No.4 P.347.

6. Ibid P-344.

7. Basil Chubb-Parliamentary Control of Public Accounts, Parliamentary Affairs, London 1949-50, P. 452.

8. Since May 1st 1964 the responsibility of the committee in regard to all govt. undertakings have been transferred to the newly set up Parliamentary Committee, on public undertaking.

9. Basil Chubb—P-450

10. Ibid P-451

11. Richard Cleaver P-345

12. Premchand A P-417

13. Ibid P-418

14. Basil Chubb P-454

15. Premchand, A. PP-419-420

16. The Hindu, 19 May 1966.

17. Wattal P.K. P-281

18. Indian Express, 20th, 22nd April 1965.

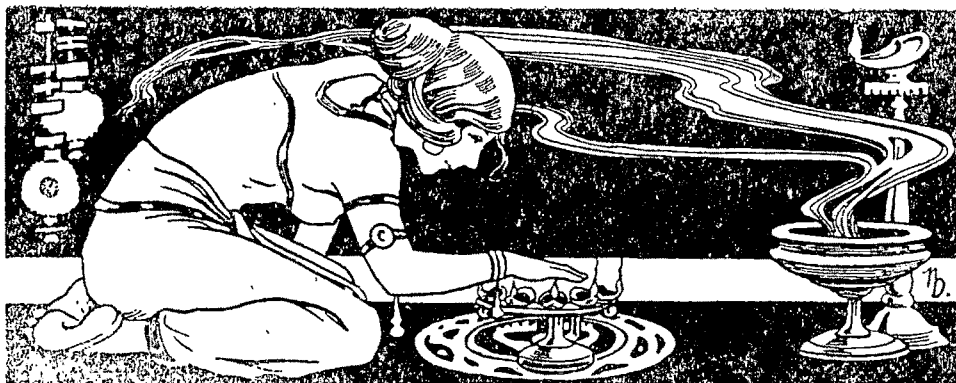
19. Ibid 7th Dec. 1963.

20. Ibid 19 Dec. 1963.

21. Times of India, 6 March 1966.

22. Wattal, P.K. P-301

23. Basil Chubb. P-455.



THE FUNCTION OF THE JOAD CLAN IN THE GRAPES OF WRATH

TETSUMARO HAYASHI

If we include Jim Casy, the Joad clan which leaves for the "Promised Land" numbers thirteen, nine men and four women who represent three generations. Despite the painful awareness that an old way of life is falling apart about them, despite the unnatural control of the machine, the bank, and the dust over men, despite the inevitable loss of almost everything familiar and precious, the clan attempts desperately to retain its solidarity until it is forced to dissolve into the new and greater clan of all mankind. Utterly desperate at present, and completely helpless in the "Waste Land," the Joads center their hope on what will be in California. Thus their "exodus" begins after they dissociate themselves with the old agrarian way of life in Oklahoma.

When Tom Joad suggests to Ma that California may not be such a great promise if there are no jobs to find, Ma answers him with one of those blind and fearless faiths:

'Oh, that ain't so,' said she. 'Your father got a han'bill on yella paper, tellin' how they need folks to work. They wouldn't go to that trouble if they wasn't plenty work. Cost 'em good money to get them han' bills out. What'd they want ta lie for, an 'costin' 'em money to lie?

(p. 124)

Grampa Joad endorses her faith even more optimistically:

Know what I'm a-gonna do? I'm gonna pick me a wash tub full a grapes, an' I'm gonna set in 'em, an' scrooge aroun', an' let the juice run down my pants.

(p. 126)

Ruthie, one of their younger children, fancies:

'And goin' to California,' she said again. And she knew this was the great time in her life so far.

(p. 141)

To her it appears nothing but a romantic journey into a dream land. Pa and Noah, both anxious to get started, butcher the hogs in celebration for the departure. Although Steinbeck is not blind to the defects of the Joads who are portrayed as a group of impetuous and ignorant people as Professor Warren French pointed out, they still represent not only blind faith and romantic naivete, but also undeniable optimism at the beginning of the novel.

Furthermore there is a strong suggestion of virility about the Joad clan. All nine of its male members including even Grampa are capable of working in California. The return of Tom Joad, the addition of Jim Casy, and the prospect of Rose of Sharon's forthcoming baby create an impression of potentiality as well as a sense of fertility. Although there are both material losses and psychological upset, the human factor in the family remains stable. Therefore both unity and solidarity of the clan seem to radiate hope; thus the optimistic tone dominates the scene.

Steinbeck employs the traditional family structure in *The Grapes of Wrath*. For instance, Grampa is official leader because he is the oldest male member. The author puts it:

Grampa was still the titular head, but he no longer ruled. His position was honorary and a matter of custom. But he did have the right of first comment, no matter how silly his old mind might be. And the squatting men and the standing women waited for him.

(p. 137)

Pa Joad and Uncle John are ranked next in the hierarchy. The latter does not want to rule, "But there were things he could not escape. Being one of the heads of the family, he had to govern; and now he had to sit on the honor seat beside the driver." (p.131) Then follow the younger men. Among them Tom is the first because he is the

most aggressive man of action. Noah, the oldest, is behind Tom on account of both his retarded intelligence and subsequent lack of self-confidence. Al Joad, a sixteen year old boy, is next. Yet his mechanical ingenuity gives him a special status in the clan; but he knows his place. As a young son he is cautious enough not to give any impression of dogmatism and impertinency. Steinbeck comments on his attitude:

The last was his submission to the family. He stopped speaking and waited for their opinions. (p. 137)

Connie Rivers and Jim Casy, newly adopted members of the Joad clan, remain virtually silent unless asked to speak. They, too, know their places.

The women and children do not speak until the men have spoken out. It is then the privilege of the older women to speak for the rest of the clan.

Granma always says a few words merely because it is expected of her as the titular female head of the family. It is Ma Joad, however, who functions as the real spokesman for the whole family.

They waited for her to come back across the darkening yard, for Ma was powerful in the group. (p. 140)

If Ma makes the decision to allow Casy to join the clan in its westward journey, she carefully avoids any impression that she has usurped authority which belongs to the older male heads of the clan. She will not directly disobey Pa Joad, nor will she permit Casy to help with the meat.

She stopped her work then and inspected him oddly, as though he suggested a curious thing 'It's a woman's work,' she finally said.

(p. 146)

The great westward journey begins. And with it also begin overpowering tests for human suffering and perseverance, and as a result the disintegration of the Joad clan. Tragedy strikes them almost simultaneously. The death of the family dog does not mean to the adult Joads more than as the loss of things. However, the children sense more clearly the omen. If pigs are impersonal, dogs are not. The loss of a dog is a personal

tragedy to both Rose and Ruthie, but it is Winfield who sums up their inner feelings most eloquently.

He said boldly, 'His guts was just strowed all over... all over' ... he was silent for for a moment... 'strowed... all... over,' he said, and then he rolled over quickly and vomited down the side of the truck. When he sat up again his eyes were watery and his nose running. 'It ain't like killin' pigs,' he said in explanation.

(p. 179)

In no time Grampa passes out. But the clan remains firm. Granma then does what is expected of her.

Granma moved with dignity and held her high. She walked for the family and held her head straight for the family. (p. 188)

Pa is now nominal head of the clan. As such he receives homage at the burial of his father. The shovel is passed around to each of the adult males.

When all had taken their duty and their right, Pa attacked the mound of loose dirt and hurriedly filled in the hole. The women moved back to the fire to see to supper. Ruthie and Winfield watched, absorbed.. (p. 197)

watched, absorbed. (p. 197)

The revolt of Ma Joad is of great significance in the novel. As she takes over the indecisive husband, she assumes active leadership of the clan; thus she devotes her entire energy to one goal: the survival of the Joad clan. Her policy is clearly understood when she answers her own rhetorical question:

What we got lef' in the world? Nothin' but us. Nothin' but the folks. (p. 230)

Now there is no one to challenge Ma's leadership.

The Grapes of Wrath is Ma's story in many ways. She is the universal symbol of all those who stand against the impersonal forces which threaten to destroy those things they love. The real tragedy is, however, that she cannot succeed. This is not only her tragedy, but the universal

tragedy of 1930's. Although Ma Joad is such a noble individual with courage, patience, love, and faith, she is unable to overcome the social and economic ordeal. John Steinbeck seems to imply here that the day of the rugged individualist is over.

As Noah wanders away, there are eleven left in the clan. Ma watches Granma die without muttering a sound so that the clan might move on and cross the California desert at all costs. Tom, utterly shocked, says,

'Jesus Christ. You layn' there with her all night long. (p. 312)

Ma answers him miserably, "The family hada get acrost." Thus she stood the indescribable pain and sorrow all alone. Soon after that Connie Rivers deserts his expectant wife, and Casy is later jailed in an effort to rescue Tom. There are only eight left. Pa feels it best to admit the truth about Connie to the clan.

'No, it ain't,' Ma interrupted. 'Make out like he's dead. You wouldn't say no bad things about Connie if he's dead.'

(p. 373)

She no longer wants to face the truth which has become too ugly and too shocking.

Now any addition to the clan is impossible. Although Rose of Sharon's baby has been the symbol of transient hope, its death reveals the conclusive evidence of sterility. Besides the clan cannot adopt any more outsiders. Even the Wilsons must be separated from the Joads when Sairy Wilson dies. Sapped of its root, denied even the dubious comfort of parasites, the clan must eventually die out.

Tom seems doomed as he determines to follow Jim Casy. Wanted for two murders, preparing to step into more violence, Tom seems to have little opportunity in life. In addition, Uncle John, beset with his guilt complex, may run away at any moment, as he had continually

threatened; Al Joad with his newly found love Agnes Wainwright, will in all probability carry out his threat to desert the clan forever.

Even Ma must admit that Winfield is a very sick child. "Look at 'em... He's a-jerkin' an' a-twistin' in his sleep. Lookut his color." (p.478) And then there is Pa's state of mind to be questioned. Although he will probably remain to the end, frustration and sorrow may kill him or even worse, make him one of the walking dead.

'Git so I hate to think. Go diggin' back to a ol' time to keep from thinkin.' Seems like our life's over an' done.' (p. 577)

Ma's reply to Pa is interesting because in addition to its faith and optimism, it is an admission that change may alter the destiny of the old clan. Ma now thinks as Casy and Tom have come to think. The Joads as a clan are no longer important nor self-sufficient. Some of them will join the great clan of the whole world, and become an indispensable part of the "United Humanity", for this new clan will never die.

If men are defeated, women are not. Ma Joad states proudly about women who function in the novel as a symbol of continuity:

'Women,' it's all one flow, like a stream, little eddies, little water falls, but the river, it goes right on. Woman looks at it like that. We ain't gonna die out. People is goin' on... changin' a little, maybe, but goin' right on. (p. 577)

Just as individuals are yielding to the mass, so are individual clans yielding to the greater clan of all mankind. Steinbeck's women who instinctively see and accept this significant change are the likely survivors of the future.

[Warren French, *John Steinbeck*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1961, pp. 98-99.]

All direct quotations are taken from the Compass edition: John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1966)']

STUDY OF INDIAN ART*

O. C. GANGOLY.

As a lifelong student of Indian art and as the author of 26 books and monographs on various branches of Indian art—it is my privilege to make a special appeal to you for extensive study of this department of knowledge.

It has not been yet fully realised that Indian art is the most valuable repository of the highest spiritual thoughts and constitute the richest spiritual products of the human mind. The masterpieces of Indian art in its various branches have not been adequately studied in any University of India. This great department of knowledge for the last few years has been monopolised by foreign scholars who have published large number of books and monographs whereas the contributions of Indian Scholars have been very inadequate. It is the birth right of Indians to study and to interpret in details the secrets of their own national spiritual culture which no foreigners can adequately realise.

Indian art cannot be adequately studied—interpreted through printed books. Its appeal can only be properly explained through visual illustrations at every steps. I had the privilege of delivering thousands of illustrated lectures at all Universities of India, Rangoon, Ceylon and China. I have realised that in an hour's illustrated lecture, one can convey a deep understanding of Indian art and its spiritual values which could not be conveyed in a month's class-room lectures. There is another point that we should wise to emphasize the Indian art and its study should not be confined to a handful of students specialising in the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of our University. Its appeal is universal and students of all departments of knowledge such as Literature, Philosophy, History and all the Sciences could be highly benefited, if they are invited to attend the Extension lectures illustrated with Lantern Slides.

The Late Dr. Ananda Comaraswamy the greatest high priest of Indian art has left a chain of numerous books and monographs and articles which Indians are beginning to neglect and by such neglects Indians are losing touch with their great national heritage. At the request of the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi—I had the privilege of preparing a complete survey of the whole works of the great scholar recorded in 40 full page pages. This has helped me to realise at the fast end of life of 87 years study that no time should be lost to make adequate provisions in our Universities for a detailed study of all branches of Indian art. As I have pointed out Indian art cannot be studied through printed books but only through deep visual studies of the masterpieces collected in the museums and by the continuous demonstrations through the Lantern Slides.

I am, therefore, humbly suggesting that two Demonstrators should be immediately appointed by you charged with the duty of demonstrating the meaning and message of Indian art through Lantern Slides. If one illustrated lecture is delivered every week, we shall have 52 lectures to cover the whole extent of Indian art in the course of a year. These lectures will attract listeners not only from all the departments of the Calcutta University but also listeners members of the public who scarcely get an opportunity to enjoy the beauty and meaning of Indian art.

Only one lecture of Indian art is delivered at the Indian Museum in the course of a year—which is quite inadequate to rouse interest in our great spiritual heritage.

I beg to suggest that a beginning should be made immediately from January next, if you are pleased to sanction the remuneration of two qualified Demonstrators. The Indian museum pays a sum of Rs. 150]—as honorarium to lecturers

for one lecture with Lantern slides. I am suggesting the two Demonstrators (one in English and one in Bengali) may be engaged on a salary of Rs. 300—each per month. If necessary I shall be happy to train such demonstrators and also co-operate by hiring out Lantern Slides for each lecture from my extensive Library of Lantern Slides.

On hearing from you, I shall be happy to furnish particulars. I am sure you will be pleased to extend your auspicious blessing on my humble proposal to popularise Indian art.

[P.S. You were aware, sir, that most of the students of your University are suffering from the virus of "Communism" leading to wide spread indiscipline. It is the duty of every Vice-Chancellor to eradicate this malady. I can assure you—if you arrange for the illustrated lectures on Indian art, "Communism" will disappear immediately as suggested above.]

[A letter addressed To The Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.]

THE VALLEY OF ASHES

CHIRANTAN KULSHRESTHA.

When Hardy declared in his preface to the first edition of *Jude the Obscure* that his novel was intended to "point the tragedy of unfulfilled aims,"¹ he probably had the journalistic connotation of the word in mind, employing it to suggest a representation of his protagonists at cross-purposes with the scheme of things. This I say because the critical reaction to the tragical possibilities of this and other novels of Hardy has been one of distrust. D. H. Lawrence refused to place the Wessex novels in the rank of pure tragedy because of their waverings between life and public opinion and the lack of sternness in them.² E.M. Forster also complained that "there is some vital problem that has not been answered in the misfortunes of Jude the

Obscure."³ More recently, Arthur Mizener, in his detailed though complicated study of the novel,⁴ has confirmed Forster's statement. This paper proposes to examine *Jude the Obscure* in order to enquire if it does, or does not, stand the test of tragedy, to find out where it fails, and to reason out the cause of its failure.

Formalistic criticism forbids the use of anything extraneous to the work of art itself, and although we can, to a great measure of success, study the novels of Hardy as structures isolated from their background, it would be better, for the sake of "honest criticism and sensitive appreciation," to look at them from that perspective of time which was so much a part of the sensibility of Hardy and his contemporaries.

Formalistic analysis has nothing to lose in this kind of approach which there is every possibility that our enquiry may gain something from it.

It was a time of transition in which Hardy lived, the twilight hour of philosophy when opinions melt, flow, and finally settle in different patterns. The disintegration of the age-old social and economic structure had led to a disintegration of ideas. Darwinism and other scientific explorations had struck a hard blow at all Christian and religious interpretations of the universe by exposing them to serious doubt. Scientific enquiry, based upon the logistics of reason, proved them ridiculous, and in a silent, unconscious manner the idea of the absurd and the meaningless impressed itself on the minds of the intelligentsia. True, there were people, many of them artists and thinkers, who chose to retire to imaginary islands of the soul on the basis of some personal spiritual or mystical experience, but there were many more who, like Hardy, found it difficult to be satisfied by such consolations and whose hesitancy found expression in their work. Hardy's heroes are harried by these doubts; they have, to use Dylan Thomas's phrase, "lived with it a long time, and know it horridly well, but can't explain it." Here is Jude in a moment of inner reflection, echoing out what Hardy himself might have written in his diary:

I am perhaps after all, a paltry victim to the spirit of mental and social restlessness, that makes so many unhappy these days.⁵

Mental confusion, inability to arrive at a fixity of belief, and sense of spiritual purposelessness characterised the Victorian mind in the days of Hardy. Life appeared to take an absurd and chaotic drift, the universe seemed to move with a blind and terrific impulsion and between these stood the individual with his value-judgments thrown into a disarray, with no sense of direction whatsoever, and with no precedents to guide him in his blunderings towards an unpredictable unknown. Uprooted from his native bearings, Jude, the most sensitive of Hardy's heroes, splutters out:

I am in a chaos of principles--groping in the dark--acting by instincts and not after examples. Eight or nine years ago when I came here first, I had a neat stock of fixed opinions, but then dropped away one by one; and the further I get the less sure I am. . . .⁶

Placed and rooted in times such as these, it was quite natural for current pessimism to enter his work and design itself in the form of some philosophy of the universe involving the notion of a conscious or unconscious, personal or impersonal mechanism, and this happened so obviously, and at times with such Aeschylean ferocity that doubts about his novels being or not being tragic came to be raised. But because the awareness of the tragic involves issues greatly crucial to the question of existence and being, and implies something very different from what is generally understood of it, it is worthwhile to look at the theme of *Jude the Obscure* before stating the criterion on which its tragical possibilities are to be estimated.

The novel opens on a familiar naturalistic note, projecting the distance between dream and actuality in Jude's longing for a studentship at Christminster, the university-town to which Phillotson, his school-teacher, has proceeded. Hardy vividly describes Jude standing on the uppermost rung of the ladder, looking at the northern horizon through the dissolved mist, and beholding points of light gleaming like the topaz. As the transparency of the air increases with the lapse of minutes, the topaz points turn into vanes, windows, wet roof slates, and other shining spots upon the spires, faintly revealing the varied outlines of the domes of Christminster.

Jude feels—as do we at the moment—that his commitment to the world of learning is thus affirmed by his vision of the distant city of light. Self-education follows the first flush of excitement; Jude is shown grinding up his Latin and Greek on his baker's rounds and hymning the rising moon, at the age of sixteen, with the 'Carmen Saeculare.' He dreams of becoming a Doctor of Divinity or a Bishop and has plans

ready for study at Christminster when Arabella impinges herself on his life, exposing him, for the first time, to the desires of the flesh. He is initiated into world of sex by Arabella, and by the time his adventure reaches its only too obvious finale, we discover that his passion for knowledge had quite slipped out of his mind.

After the conflict between Jude's station and his ambitions is complicated by the entry of Arabella into his life and her inevitable break-up with him, the geography of the novel shifts to Christminster where Jude goes to seek the intellectual fulfilment he had overlooked during his lusty holiday with Arabella. Letters written to the heads of Colleges do not evoke favourable response; Sue, his cousin, who now engages his attention, seems unattainable because of her 'relationship' with Phillotson; and Jude returns to Marygreen, disappointed, feeling miserable and chained.

Fate and ambition, however, drive him again, and, proposing to study theology, he takes lodgings in Melchester where Sue, too, is at a training-college. Learning that she intends to marry Phillotson, he takes solace in drinking, the wine leading him again, after a number of incidents, to Arabella, now bar-maid in a public-house. After he has spent a night with his former wife, Sue meets him and discloses that her marriage has proved painful. They come nearer still more when Sue runs away from Phillotson and comes to be with Jude. His ambitions gone to the winds by now, Jude has Sue uppermost in his mind. "Let them go", he tells her, "let me help you, even if I do love you, and even if you. . . ."

From now onwards events move with a terrific pace and new complexities are introduced. Sue, as yet untouched by Jude, now submits herself to him in a fit of jealousy to prevent him from going to Arabella. Father Time's entry and suicide with other children and Sue's return in despair from paganism to orthodox Christianity merely add to the waste of Jude's life. Completely indifferent to his predicament, he too goes back to Arabella, his primal-error, and dies

in her bedroom, uttering the curse of Job on the day he was born, with the sounds of the festivities of the Remembrance Day reaching his ears.

In order to define and state the criterion for measuring the tragical quality of *Jude the Obscure*, it would be best to proceed from the fundamentals that determine the balance of the tragic equation. Briefly put, the balance may be said to be supplied by the tragic situation (the event), the character's reaction to it (the experience), and the resulting transcendence (the idea)⁸. Confronted with the event that reveals the terrifying aspects of existence, the character responds to it, and finally liberates himself from it. "The tragic character," as William G. McCollom puts it, "must be seen as a dynamic force a being whose self is always more than the sumtotal of what has happened to it."⁹ Break-down and failure, in the process of this confrontation, are a means of perceiving the nature of reality. "In failure" says Karl Jaspers, life's reality is not lost; on the contrary here it makes itself wholly and decisively felt. There is no tragedy without transcendence. Even defiance unto death in a hopeless battle against gods and fate is an act of transcending; it is a movement toward man's proper essence, which he comes to know as his own in the presence of his doom."¹⁰

Examined on this criterion, which would hold for tragedies of every sort, neither Sue's nor Jude's appear struggles that may offer a liberation from the crisis that threatens to engulf them. There is hardly any defiance worth the name—there couldn't have been any because the love that could have bound them together in the face of peril is founded on Sue's neurotic caprices and is constantly on the verge of collapse. Sue has never really been Jude's. She tells him:

At first I did not love you, Jude; that I own. I did not exactly flirt with you; but that in born craving which undermines some women's morals almost more than unbridled passion—the craving to attract and captivate, regardless of the injury it may do the man—was in me; and when I found I had caught, you, I was

frightened. And then--I don't know how it was--I couldn't bear to let you go--possibly to Arabella again--and so I got to love you, Jude. But you see, however fondly it ended, it began in the selfish and cruel wish to make your heart ache for me without letting mine ache for you."¹¹

The disruption of love weakens the tragic defiance and dissipates the concentrated quality that would have otherwise lent it the kind of intensity that Abbie's and Eben's love has in O' Neill's *Desire Under the Elms*. Sue breaks down at a stage which would mark only the beginning of suffering in most of our great tragedies.

We must conform : . . . All the ancient wrath of the Power above us has been vented upon us, His poor creatures, and we must submit. There is no choice. We must. It is no use fighting against God!¹²

As against this meek and virtually struggleless, conflictless attitude of Sue, we have the truly tragic and much more suffering personality of Prometheus who, in Aeschylus' play, hurls defiance in the face of Zeus at the very moment of his damnation.

To me Zeus matters not at all Let him play out his little act of power.

..... Whatever the peril, the doom, the pain Self existent I still remain.¹³

This invincible obduracy of will, this desire of fighting unto doom, so characteristic of tragedy, somehow escapes Hardy. There is hardly any idea of the *non serviam*, the wish and the courage to continue even in the face of apparent defeat—Orestes face to fave with Zeus in Sartre's *The Flies* :

Let the rocks revile me, and the flowers wilt at my coming. Your whole universe as not enough to prove me wrong. You are the king of gods, king of stones and stars, king of the wayes of the sea. But you are not the king of man.¹⁴

Instead we have an atmosphere of savage despair and utter futility, the sense of the world ending with a whimper rather than with a bang,

and the anticipation of the coming universal death-wish indicated in Father Time's misspelt note.

Done because we are too monny.¹⁵

It is this negation of the essence proper, the denial as it were of the possibilities of human existence, that precludes the awareness of the tragic in *Jude the Obscure*. The suffering to which the characters are subjected does not lead to a perception of the beyond, to that transcendence which Karl Jaspers considers so essential for tragedy. The tragic action and catastrophe do not affirm the invariants of life: the sorrows of Jude and Sue remain their sorrows only, without their possible extension in time and realization in the timeless realms of the spirit. The solutions at which Jude and Sue finally arrive are escapist and submissive: the picture of Sue at the altar of the Church and of Jude, drunk, in the arms of Arabella does not provide equivalence to Job standing on the ash-heap or Captain Ahab on the quarter-deck or Hester on the scaffold. Jude's description of the later developments in Sue's person amply illustrate that tragedy is not in the stock of those who can never be more than what has happened to them.

--she was once a woman whose intellect was to mine like a star to a benzoline lamp: who saw all my superstitions as cobwebs that she could brush aside with a word. Then bitter affliction came to us, and her intellect broke, and she veered round to darkness.¹⁶

In contrast to this we have the figure of Lavinia in O' Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra*, responsible for inflicting so much misery upon herself and her family, who rejects the relatively easy escape in suicide and retires to the innermost sanctuaries of her soul to seek redemption. The shore is distant, the vision is blurred, the boats are burnt--but she has to go it alone, in utmost solitude and suffering, till she has expiated her sin and found meaning.

I am not going the way mother and Orin went, That's escaping punishment--

I've got to punish myself! Living alone here with the dead is a worst act of justice than death or prison.¹⁷

Placed outside the scope of tragedy, *Jude the Obscure*, in my view, fits the category that Una Ellis-Fermor designates for works that she considers the outcome of "pessimistic materialism."¹⁸ Such works, she writes, "show the imprisonment of the human soul in circumstance. We watch the vicious circle contract...; the surroundings limit the experience, the experience limits the power of reason and imagination, and the maimed imagination then in turn avoids such experience as change of circumstance might allow."¹⁹ In effect and appeal, *Jude the Obscure* compares excellently with Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*. Both possess the power of moving readers tremendously and yet both fail as tragedies because their authors overlook the fact that the meaning of tragedy operates in a world which has more in it "than a temporary political and social climate if the hero is to have more than a transitory significance."²⁰ In *Jude the Obscure* as in *Death of a Salesman* the themes do not gain the tragic essence because the crisis is shown as an outcome of the prevailing social and political order rather than of that which puts the question of human existence and destiny at stake. *Jude the Obscure* has no 'boundary-situation' in which a character, as say in *King Lear*, may ask the existential question: 'What it means to be? Is Man no more than this?' The question is not asked and, therefore, not answered; the potentialities of characters keep on diminishing to such an extent that one starts wondering if one is not reading a melodrama, and as a result the larger avenues of tragic awareness remain unexplored. The novel does not afford any tragic pleasure as the conflict between two forms of the sublime—between the awe-inspiring strength of necessity and the *grandeur d'ame* which inspires admiration—is left unbalanced, with the sublimity of human heroism failing to triumph and exalt over the sublimity of the overwhelming power.²¹

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THE LANGUAGE & LITERATURE OF RAJASTHÂN

R. N. VYAS

The spoken word is sometimes equally as powerful as the written one. The significance lies in the usage rather than the idle leisure of the scholar and the literateur. Both, however, have been drawing upon the live and deep flowing current of this literature. A whole tradition of Indian Culture and history rests on this powerful language edifice. The language took its birth as a '*Desaj*' or indigenous one, covering the wide span of north India from Gujarat to the frontiers of Bengal, as early as the fourteenth century. It is in this language that a literary tradition of the saint poets, Meera, Kabir and Dadu etc., came to life.

Glorious History of Patriotism

The language grew with the demands of the land and people. Sometimes sung by the classic bards and charans, which enchanted the great annalist of Rajput history, Col. James Tod, who wrote :

"The annals of these States possess commanding interest. There is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had the Thermopylae and scarcely a City that has not produced its Leonidas".

Suffice it to say that Rajput gallantry has been an emotional monument in the history of this country and without going into the detailed great work done in researches during the early part of this century by Shri Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, Shri Surya Karan Pareek, Pt. Ramkaran Asopa and Pt. Harinarayan Purohit, we would take stock of the present day developments.

The strength of a literature lies not only in its poetic expressionism but also in the style and diction of its prose. The rich treasures of Rajasthani prose and poetry are swelling with

different aspects of narration, history and folk literature. The period covered by this literature extends from a little before the tenth century A.D. to the present day. Scattered and now under compilation are millions of poetic works, historical chronicles, literature full of social and cultural value and legends. Few of the most favoured religions are Jainism, Vaishnavism and other *Panthas*. The rich *Dingal Doha Chhanda* is quite a powerful poetic value to fulfil the aesthetic, heroic and psychological gaps in the life of the people of those times. The *Khyat* and *Bat* style of prose is full of descriptive verve bearing the fruits of a great historical war and peace chronicle. As a neo-Indian vernacular, *Rajasthani* has much in common with *Gujarati* on the one hand and *Punjabi* and *Sindhi* on the other. The characteristics of this literature are its fulness, vastness and richness covering a wide field of subjects ranging from the simplest human emotions to the most stirring pathos; from the purest elements combining beauties of poetic imagination to the implications of the agonised heart. In force of style and diction the prose is as unbeatable as its poetry.

Among the many epic *Kavyas* may be termed the early *Velies* and *Barahmasas*, the thousands of *Khyats* and *Bats*, the style-galore of this vast codified literature knows no bounds.

Present Trends

Besides the many research and literary organisations engaged in the work of *Puratatva* and compilation of old classics, the present day efforts are led by more than a hundred journals and periodicals. The pioneering work done in this connection by the Journal '*Maruvani*' stands out as a leader of style-making and unifying forces synthesising the different dialects in one common prose medium.

Few Quotes

The significance of the Language has been recognised by scholars and Pundits of linguistics, right from the beginning of this century. This is how Sir George A. Grierson wrote in his introduction of *Marwari Vyakaran* : "There is an enormous mass of literature in various forms of Rajasthani, of considerable historical importance, about which hardly anything is known. I allude to the corpus of bardic histories described in Tod's Rajasthan--- A small fraction of the most celebrated history, the Prithi Raj Raso of Chand Bardai, has, it is true, been edited and translated. The task of producing the whole is, however, too gigantic for any single hand, and unless it is taken up by some body of scholars acting on a uniform plan, I fear that the only students of Rajputana History for many years to come will be fish-insects and white-ants. Besides these Bardic Chronicles, Rajasthani also possesses a large religious literature".

Sir Asutosh has said, speaking of *Khyat* and *Lat* : "They are real and actual chronicles written with no other aim in view than a faithful record

of facts and their revelation is destined to destroy for ever the unjust blame that India never possessed a historical genius".

As Dr. Tessitory said, "this vast literature flourished all over Rajputana and Gujarat, wherever Rajput was lavish of his blood to the soil of his conquest".

Lastly quoting the great linguist of today Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, "This ever-young or ever-new star-lit, night-like beautiful and serious language has to be made the queen of her home and this is the duty of every Rajasthani".

Wishes for Hindi

The Rajasthani people have adopted Hindi as the *lingua franca* and the Government had fully recognised the need for a regional language, after first adopting Hindi as a national language. It is in this context that the people of Rajasthan have given expression to their feelings when the cause of recognition of Rajasthani by the Central Government is due to receive its assent.



MASK—ONE OF THE ANCIENT-MOST CRAFTS

REBA BHOWANI

With progress of time various kinds of novel craft productions have come into being and many old ones have died out or decayed. But the popularity of mask-making is still very high. With the same zeal masks are being produced in large number and great variety all over the world and draw the appreciation of the art connoisseur as well as the common man. It is still a thriving art in W. America, W. Africa, Ceylon, Melanesia & Tibet. In India also it is followed up enthusiastically.

Mask forms an item of folk-art and therefore is a co-operative art. About folk art it is said that "folk art is the collective aspiration and expression of the common people, especially of a rural community." It is deeply rooted with the popular customs and beliefs of the people in general. Again it is cemented in solid foundation on the socio-economic condition and socio-religious life of the community. So the art forms are amazingly simple and naive with an unerring emphasis on the essentials with a minimum of means. Nevertheless such art forms are highly effective as evoking aesthetic sensibilities. It is this effective forms which survive from generation to generation and the delineative skill remains traditional. The tradition is conservative; it does not go beyond accepted formulae; but at the same time remains surprisingly naive, spontaneous and vital. And it is against this perspective that the art of mask-making is to be studied,

Although it is very difficult to trace the origin and development or growth of the folk-art tradition as folk art or rural art is ageless or timeless. It can, however, be said about the art of mask-making in the light of the archaeological research that it is very old. In the pre-historic period even people were acquainted with this craft. Mr. Fuchs says "it is as old as mankind." The cave-paintings in this respect form the most valuable and authentic source of our knowledge. The subject matter of the most of the cave paintings is hunting. Sometime in the hunting scene a group of people is shown to wear animal-faces while in chase of a game. Mr. Fuchs has observed that, in the later prehistoric cave-paintings there are pictures of masked dancers sometimes in animal disguises. There are pictures of men wearing stag's head. These cave paintings while studied in reference to the current practice of putting animal faces at the time of hunting by wild tribes, certainly points to the existence of mask in the remote antiquity.

The masks are made of different kinds of materials. Besides the paper, clay, piece of cloth, different kinds of metal and rubber are used. The use of wood, stone, gold, silver etc. is also not unknown. The masks found out in the royal tombs of Mesopotamia are of particular interest from this point. They give us some idea about the expenditure and care undertaken for making a single piece of mask.

Masks are made in different shapes.

Probably Japan surpasses the other countries in this matter. The best-known and largest numbers are used in the "No"; a form of drama. But from the artistic point of view the masks of Africa commands the first position. "In the expression the African carved-wood masks have an artistic distinction above those of any living people". For decorating the masks a large number of articles like twig, feather, horn, branch of tree etc. are employed. About colour the artists have fascination for a deep and bright one. The light colours are usually omitted. Sometimes the artists display great intelligence and ingenuity in making the masks. The composite masks of the Pacific coast with double faces, i. e., the muzzle or beak of the animal fitting over and concealing the face of a man being so constructed as to swing open and symbolising the transformation at a certain place in the ceremony, supply the examples.

Uses of masks are many and different. Nowadays, although, these are treated mainly as play-objects and festal objects, in ancient time these were looked upon from an altogether different point of view. With our ancient folks it was a sacred object; a religious sanctity was ascribed to these masks. And it was for this reason every caution was adopted to make it. Even to-day, in America, among a group of people this practice seems to be observed strictly. Every precautionary measure is taken while it is in the process of making. "It is manufactured by men in secret places which may not be entered by the uninvited. The newly admitted youths are warned under severe tortures never to divulge any detail of the cult. Traitors and women who by accident stumble into a secret

meeting or gain knowledge of the secrets are often killed in a most painful manner."

The masks were believed to be endowed with some magical charm. "Certain masks possess sacral functions which may increase fertility, prosperity etc. and etc. Indeed it is this belief which led the primitive hunters to wear the masks while setting out at hunting. Even to-day the wild tribes are found to practise the same sympathetic magic while out for hunting. Mr. Fuchs notices that certain North American tribes do the same thing when hunting deer and the Bushman of S. Africa when hunting ostriches. Of course there may be another reason behind this practice. In order to attract the animal and lure it into his power, the dancer fell back on the device of making himself one with the desired animal. The Indians of N. W. coast of America imitate in one of their dances the leaping salmon (which constitutes their main food) when fishing it."

The discovery of the masks in large number in the tombs of Greece and Mesopotamia explains that the masks were used to propitiate the appearance of the living after death. The gold masks over the faces of the dead found in the tombs of Mycenae were believed to serve the same purpose, holds Mr. Schliemann: "The head being regarded as the most vital part of the body obtaining the soul substance and organs of sight, hearing, taste and smell as well as showing likeness of the individual its presentation was essential for the attainment of immortality." Indeed with the growth of the funerary cult (cult of dead) masks acquired a new value; a certain ritualistic value was ascribed to it.

In the act of propitiation of

the evil spirits and malignant divinities also the masks are used in large number. It is said that the terracotta masks occasionally discovered in the Greek tombs, which represent a female face were intended for the appeasement of Persophone, the goddess of the lower world. In Ceylon, the masks are used in devil dance to exorcise the demonic spirits who are believed to cause them different kinds of diseases. In Tibet also we come across the same practice. In a fixed season of the year, a play known as the "Dance of the Red Tiger Devil," is performed by the Lamas and the priests wearing awe-inspiring masks to drive away the malignant demons.

Again, the gods and heroes of ancient time are also represented through the masks. "Many races believe in culture-heroes who they suppose to have brought fire, water or other indispensable blessings to men. Frequently these culture-heroes are treated as gods, i.e., worshipped through rituals. They usually play the principal part in a whole cycle of myths and legends. And they are represented under the disguise of the masks."

The masks are used as protective screen also. "A defensive mask of wrought iron was attached to the helmet. This served not only as a defence like the visor on the European helmet, but was made fierce in aspect in order to terrify the enemy. Such use of masks, as for example, the Gorgon or Medusa's head occurs in classical antiquity... In the the shields also the masks are used. In

China the basket shields are decorated with the head of a red faced monster with long gleaming teeth.

In Libya, masks are found to exercise police and judicial functions. And it is for this reason for such tasks the authority of the mask which is worn by the men carrying out their duties, is naturally held with great importance.

In some places the masks of the spirit of the dead, after the sacral part is over, begins to narrate and to enact profane folktales and legends in a falsetto voice.

But the use of mask surpasses in America. In the ancient civilisation of Mexico it not only distinguished the personalities of the gods but supplied the foundation of the system of picture-writing in which the individual characters consist for the most part of grotesque masks of different divinities.

The diverse use of masks shows that the masks play a very significant role in the ancient civilisation of mankind. Therefore the study of mask is not only important from the artistic point of view ; but from the historical and religious view point also it deserves special interest.

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF REFRACTORY INDUSTRY IN INDIA

DR. G. S. RAJHANS

It is rightly said that the production of refractories is an index of the industrial development of the country. There is hardly any industry in the world which does not use refractory in one form or the other. Whether a railway engine or an aeroplane, an electric heater or a table fan—all have been manufactured through a definite contribution of refractory material at some stage.

With the rapid industrialisation of India during the three Plans, refractories have assumed great significance. Till the beginning of refractory works by Burn & Co. at Raniganj and Bird & Co. at Kumardhubi in the beginning of this country, all the refractory requirements of the country were met by imports from abroad, mostly U. K. Although a few more factories were started in later years, the growth of the industry remained rather slow. By the end of the Second World War the total capacity of the manufacturing units was barely 2,30,000 tonnes. The industry took a great leap forward during the Plans and its capacity has now reached to nearly 13 lakh tonnes.

Refractory materials cover a wide range of products like bricks, special shapes, firecements and mortars etc. and are broadly classified into three groups—silica, basic and fireclay bricks.

A recent survey by the Indian Refractory Manufacturers' Association reveals that Iron & Steel industry is the major consumer of refractories in India, claiming 66% of the total consumption. Remaining 33% caters for the need of other industries. The fate of the industry is thus inevitably linked with steel industry.

While the production target of the refractory has been achieved, the targets of consumer industries particularly steel industry, have remained far behind the schedule. The delay in the expansion programme of Durgapur and Bhilai Plants and also in the setting up of Bokaro Plant gave

the industry a grievous blow. Against a target of 10.2 million tonnes of ingot steel and 6.8 million tonnes of saleable steel, the levels achieved were 6.53 and 4.5 million tonnes respectively in 1965-66. Thus, to the industry which was geared to meet the requirement of refractories of a steel production of 18 million tonnes, the gap between the expected and the actual demand has proved extremely strenuous. The effect of the slump in demand is noticeable from the fact that against the installed capacity of nearly 13 lakh tonnes at the end of 1966, the actual production was only 7,33,828 tonnes and the anticipated production in 1967 is not going to exceed 7,50,000 tonnes.

Because of tremendous technological changes in the steel industry, silica bricks are being rapidly replaced by basic bricks in open hearth furnaces where hitherto the former was extensively used.

As the trend in the world today is towards a rapid switchover to L.D. or other oxygen processes of steel making in preference to open hearth furnaces, the experts are of the opinion that this will further reduce the consumption of refractories and by 1970-71, the demand will be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 10 million tonnes only, leaving a substantial idle capacity in all major sectors of production—basic, silica and firebricks.

In this context the two decisions of the Government—first the ban on imports and the second, the decision to shelve the proposal for setting up of a large refractory works in the public sector at Bhilai—have been most wise. A large refractory plant in the public sector at this juncture when the industry is already suffering from idle capacity, would have only meant a gross mismanagement of meagre national resources.

Till recently, most of the constructional requirements and in some cases also the operational requirements of the Government steel

plants were met by importing refractories from abroad. Government used to put forward three reasons for this policy—non-availability of certain refractories from indigenous sources, inferior quality of Indian refractory and high prices.

While it is a fact that certain types of refractories cannot be manufactured in India because of non-availability of balancing equipments, the Government Steel Plants, particularly Rourkela and Bhilai, stress for their own specifications viz. German and Russian which is difficult for the industry to meet.

That the quality of Indian refractories is not inferior as compared to foreign products is evident from the statements of the Directorate General of Technical Development who have indicated that "the bulk of refractories produced in India at present is of such high standard as to qualify for export and to compete with overseas products."

Refractory is one of the rare industries in the country where inspite of increase in the cost of raw materials, labour, fuel, transport etc., there has been no general price increase since 1960 and where, because of surplus production,, the trend is towards decreasing prices.

It is gratifying to note that recently the Government has assured the industry that 95 per cent of the requirement of Bokaro Steel will be made available from within the country.

Raw Materials

Industrialised countries of the West like U.S.A., U.K. and West Germany import raw materials for refractory products in a sizeable quantity. Compared to these countries, India is fortunate in having adequate resources of almost all the refractory raw materials like fireclay, bauxite, quartzite, kyanite, sillimanite, magnesite, dolomite, chromite etc., some of which are admittedly of high quality.

At present fireclay quarries are in the hands of those people who do not manufacture refractories and who, in order to earn large and quick profits, have a tendency to abandon the quarries

after raising the fireclay only from the outcrop. This has resulted in waste and faster depletion of properties. It is, therefore, necessary in the national interest to enforce systematic working of fireclay deposits in order to avoid waste.

Bauxite, which is one of the principal raw materials, was till recently drawn from the quarries of Katni (M.P.) and Lohardagga (Ranchi). But because of high iron content they are not suitable for sophisticated products and the only good resources left in India are in Jamnagar area in Saurashtra. Owing to high railway freight it has become difficult for most of the refractory works in India which are situated in the eastern part of the country, to use Jamnagar bauxite. Bauxite losses weight to the extent of 25% to 30% in calcination and it is used in the refractories manufacture only in the calcined form. Unfortunately the present rail freight on calcined bauxite being higher than raw bauxite, there is no incentive for calcining the bauxite prior to despatch from the quarries. If the freight per tonne mile of calcined bauxite be on par with that of raw bauxite, the industry will be able to present cheaper and better refractory products.

Exports

In order to utilise the idle capacity, the Government has asked the industry to export refractory materials to the tune of at least 5% of its production. In this connection very few appreciate the difficulties in the way. Refractory products are non-traditional items and it is not easy to gain a foot hold in the export markets in competition with developed countries whose refractory products are becoming increasingly sophisticated. Strict quality control is to be observed and products should be manufactured exact to specifications and samples of the foreign buyers if we really mean business in export markets. Besides, it is very necessary that an atmosphere be created in the overseas markets in favour of the Indian engineering goods.

Finally, the Government should extend their help in the form of freight subsidy. The bulk of

refractory materials like bricks and calcined pyrite make the freight too high for its price. Definitely the freight subsidy will be a great incentive to the industry and will bring some unexpected foreign exchange to the country.

Need for Research

In most of the Western countries adequate facilities exist for carrying out developmental as well as fundamental research and what is more important, the industry is research-conscious. The available data indicates that 1 to 2.5% of the total

turn-over of the industry is spent on research.

Unfortunately enough attention has not been paid to research in India. It is necessary that the industry should keep pace with the technical developments and be in the position to jump ahead of its consumers in providing suitable products.

In developing new products, it is necessary that the industry should keep in mind the practical limits of what a consumer can pay. The need of the hour is that the industry should develop such refractory materials which may stand most rigid specifications and still suit every body's pocket.

A JOURNEY TO KATHMANDU

SAMIR DATTA

At the Nepalese checkpoint they merely eyed my baggage and let me off. If you are an Indian national you do not need a permit to enter Nepal.

Birgunj does not dovetail into the popular image of Nepal. The town struggles on the north-eastern tip of the vast plains which stretch southwards to UP and Bihar in India. It unfailingly called to my mind towns in North India. Together with the same wandering mules, scrawny pariah-dogs, whirling funnels of dust and open-air fruit-stalls much of the town presents a cheerless aspect of glittering stationery-shops, noisy restaurants blaring "Bibidh Bharati" programmes of the A.I.R and two theatres screening Hindi films. Since there are virtually no import restrictions throughout the land shops at Birgunj sell imported cloths and a wide range of foreign gew-gaws at prices that must be rated fantastically low by Indian standards. Chinese products which are immensely popular have swamped the local market. Consequently, Birgunj has become the haub of battenning smugglers who operate across the Indo-Nepalese border. The smart turn-outs

we saw bespoke, in most cases visitors who had succumbed to the lure of cheap foreign wear like deccorn, nylon and terelyne. The town looks like a shoddy imitation of our Dharamtolla.

The Marwari businessman hosting me showed me round his recently-constructed aluminium plant, a moderate affair catering to the local market where aluminium utensils are much in demand. Many of the local businessmen, he claimed were Indians. According to him the Nepalese Government has exempted under a law foreign entrepreneurs from payment of income-tax for a period of ten years. Evidently, this has been to encourage foreign capital participation in the economy of Nepal.

In order to boost its image the Chinese Government was building something like a huge auto-service-station at Birgunj. And Soviets, too, have already moved in a few miles from the town with a mammoth cane-sugar factory which has proved quite a showpiece. All this is a clear index that both Russia and China are trying to win the friendship of this strategic country.

When I was comfortably seated on the bus belonging to "Himalaya Janata Transport & Engineering (Pvt.) Ltd." I tried to form my impression of Birgunj. It very much breathes, I told myself, the spirit of India and exhales Indian ways. Most of the local Nepalis are fluent in Hindi, and they look to India with admiration and warmth. Many of them, I had found out had deep emotional affiliations with the massive sub-continent.

Directly the mountains rose like an exquisite dream. Mile upon mile of 'terai' forest mantled the foothills. The faint ribbon of the jungles, and abode of game ranging from the one-horned rhino to the prancing chital stretched endlessly. As our machine groaned onto the crest of the first mountain we had a breath-taking vista of fold upon fold billowing away to the horizon.

Tribhuban Raj Path built by Indian engineers under an Indian aid-programme to Nepal began from Bhainse. Hats off to this marvel of road construction. This highway which winds its way over some of the most treacherous terrains in the world links Raxaul, the Indian border town with Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal. Everyone on board the bus was vociferous in his praise of the highway. We were duly supplemented by every tourist brochure which I chanced upon at Kathmandu. I believe the highway to be a successful gesture of our friendship that appeals to the Nepalis. India will also help Nepal build a road connecting Pokhara, the famous Nepalese hill resort with its vista of majestic Annapurna with Kathmandu. The Chinese, too, have constructed a mountain highway known as Kodari Highway which was inaugurated by King Mahendra.

We registered a maximum altitude of 8,200 ft. during our journey. The delicious cool made me forget that high summer was raging with a vengeance in the vast plains away below. The highway wove its glister-

ing ribbon in and out of sight downhill. Betel-like trucks, oil-tankers and cars were crawling uphill. We crossed a narrow to behold one of the deepest gorges in my life descending to Hades. A wispy river was meandering sinuously through the nether-world. My head began to swim when I tried to look down the canyon yawning like grim death. Vehicles have been known to perish down its precipice like chaff. Down the entire length of the highway I saw men engaged in repair of hazardous road-erosion. Ruddy-faced gangs were doing massive spadework to broaden hair-pin bends. The spectacle of man and Nature looked in a grim struggle would surely have moved Joseph Conrad. Landslips occur, I was told more often than not, and the annual onset of the monsoon in the hills very nearly sets off a chain-reaction of massive landslides that block the highway to traffic for days on end.

At dusk we did the ritual of inscribing the inevitable register at the checkpoint of Thankote a few miles from Kathmandu. We made the 120 odd miles between Birgung and Kathmandu in about ten hours. Enroute we had passed through Amlekhgunj, Chure, Bhainse, Simbhanjyang, Daman, Palung, Tistung and Thankote. On our journey we had seen a thriving colony of American experts connected with American aid to Nepal. What really impressed me during my bus-ride was the sincere effort on the part of the Nepalese Government to develop the Nepalese countryside by receiving help from any willing quarter.

The city of Kathmandu with a population of nearly two lakhs is set in an emerald valley of surpassing beauty. Glistening houses dot

the mountains brooding over the city. The enchanting skyline formed by temple and pagodas proves an unforgettable experience for the visitor. This fact explains the constant inflow of tourists into the city. I was amazed to see visitors to this city from many corners of the globe. Tourists from the Occident figured prominently. I chanced to meet at the Tourist Information Centre, Kathmandu, a young German who had tracked into Nepal along the great caravan route through Turkey, Iraq, West Pakistan and India. He complemented the Nepalese Tourist authorities and deplored tourist restrictions at Indian border hill resorts after the Chinese invasion of 1962. Later on I encountered several foreign tourists out to "do the Orient" visiting Nepal but entirely ignoring India in their itineraries because of grave misconceptions about the country and existent tourist restrictions. Tourism, in Nepal, I believe is going to be a major foreign-exchange earner in the near future. Kathmandu has several expensive hotels which offer both the local and Western cuisines. Hoteliers at Kathmandu have a busy time in summer when the tourist season is at its peak.

It is time we tackled tourism on a war footing in India. The existent tourist restrictions should be lifted as soon as possible in order to allow globe-trotters from distant lands to visit border resorts. A massive tourist campaign to combat possible misconceptions about India surrounding foreigners must be undertaken by our tourist authorities. Besides, a chain of posh hotels should be built throughout the Indian sub-continent to provide the best type of accommodation for visitors to our country.

I was pleasantly surprised to see a number of foreign embassies at Kathmandu. The Chinese is a massive affair with its imposing palatial building. The American and the British are also quite impressive.

The day after my arrival at Kathmandu I went to the Indian Aid Mission at Sundarjal which has constructed the Sundarjal Power Plant with its reservoir. I talked with some officers-in-charge who declared that their mission was functioning well and that they were quite impressed by Nepal's efforts to develop herself. The Chinese was fiercely trying to build up an attractive images of themselves by way of aid to Nepal and a mass of communist literature which is a propaganda offensive against India. But, of course, India, of all the foreign aid-givers to Nepal has the greatest quantum of aid to her credit.

It was really exciting to see long queues of people braving the sun before theatres showing Hindi movies, which are immensely popular. Ranjana, Jai Nepal Chitra Ghar and Biswa Joti Cinema all screen Hindi films. The Nepalis of Kathmandu I found out are enamoured of Hindi which is spoken and understood by many. This is explained by the fact that Nepali is a member of the family of Indic languages and a cognate of Hindi and the city has a thriving community of Indians mostly engaged in business with whom they have daily intercourse. This situation should be fully exploited by the Indian Embassy at Kathmandu by way of free propagation of Hindi at various free instruction centres in the city. If New Delhi succeeds in persuading the Nepalis that it is with India of all the foreign nations trying to win their hearts that the share most in

respect of language, culture (their mythology is predominantly Hindu) and customs that would be the greatest cementing bond between the two countries, and much more successful than stereotyped official propaganda. With Nepal fast becoming a developing country of tremendous strategic importance it is imperative to have the goodwill of this buffer-state between us and Tibet. The popular Indian image of Nepal still paints her merely as the homeland of the Gorkhas and the Sherpas. This image must be thoroughly overhauled now. Nepal ceases to be enwrapped in mystery and obscurity as she is more and more being opened up by a network of road and airways. The Royal Nepal Airlines Corpo-

ration operates flights linking India and East Pakistan with Kathmandu. The younger educated generation of Nepalis are fully conscious of Nepal's sovereignty and wish to lead their motherland towards the twin goals of prosperity and well-being. Nepal has begun to force ahead under the Panchyati Raj of local self-government inaugurated by His Majesty King Mahendra. A wind of change is blowing through Nepal, and it is most perceived in the valley of Kathmandu. The roadway with its rolling buckets of load which passes along Tribhuban Raj Path over stupendous mountains is a tribute to the fact that Nepal is determined to develop her resources against overwhelming odds.

PUTTING MAURITIUS ON THE MAP

B. BISSOONDOYAL

An unprecedented Mauritian delegation had reached London in June 1961. Both Reuter and the A. F. P. showed keen interest in it.

At first it was difficult to have an exact idea of the country that had sent the delegation. As one fine morning the A. F. P. made it known that, seizing the opportunity, one of the Mauritian delegates had presented a copy of the Hindi translation of French novel PAUL AND VIRGINIA, amongst other

works, to the French Ambassador to U. K. the outside world learned that the scene of this world famous novel is Mauritius and its author is Bernardin de Saint-Pierre who spent three years in French Mauritius. Now the country is known as British Mauritius. The British captured, in 1810, the little pear-shaped island having an area of 720 square miles.

One reason why a civilised country like Mauritius is in bad need of constitutional

reforms is that it is the meeting-place of cultures.

By now it has begun to attract tourists who wish to know why the capital, Port Louis, has a French name; why the island is among the very few countries of the world where nobody travels by rail and no railway department exists.

EACH BUS IS MAURITIUS IN LITTLE

The country has had a network of railways for one century. Buses have now replaced passenger trains and lorries goods trains. It is precisely in the bus that the stranger had his first contact with the different sections of the Mauritian population.

Each bus is Mauritius in miniature. The stranger is pleased to find that Chinese busy talking in their mother-tongue are seated by the side of an Indo-Mauritian who is addressing a fellow-traveller in Hindi or some other Indian tongue. But the language that is spoken and understood by one and all is the French *patois* known here, as in the neighbouring French island *Reunion*, as *Creole*.

A MOSAIC OF RACES

The truth comes home that Mauritius is a mosaic of races. Each has contributed to make the common fatherland a beautiful spot. One cannot but be struck by the beauty, architectural and other, of the Catholic churches that have no reason to envy those that are found in many cities in France. By the side of churches are mosques from which the melodious voice of the *muezzin* serves to remind one and all that Christians and Moslems are good neighbours.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Nor are Hindus behindhand in enlisting the sympathy of those countrymen of theirs

who are not their brothers in faith. At a huge meeting held recently they very gladly allowed their Christian and Moslem countrymen to say their prayers that were followed by Hindu prayers.

The Hindus celebrate *Shiva Ratri* (the Night of the God Shiva) and *Cavadee* with pomp. From the four corners of the country, tens of thousands of Hindus converge on the mountain lake, Grand Bassin, situated in South Mauritius, where they collect holy water, form processions and descend to Port Louis that they reach in the early hours of the morning. They stay for a while at the Bell Village Tamil Temple. Then they march through the overcrowded streets of the capital, chanting Sanskrit hymns. All work comes to a halt, and thousands of Hindu and non-Hindu spectators line the streets. On that particular occasion, the Indian style of dress that suits the pilgrims well, is adopted.

Travellers whose visits the island has received from time to time, are agreed that different styles of dress are a common sight in Port Louis. Among the pagodas and busy shops that are a distinguishing feature of the Chinese quarter, Chinese women in their national costume, Indians from the country villages in their loincloths and Moslems wearing the traditional cap form a colourful picture.

Even the different languages that are spoken in this fortunate land, do not keep the different elements apart. An Indo-Mauritian may speak French as correctly as a non-Indian, but does not neglect the study of the Indian language inherited from his forefathers who, in the early decades of the

last century, came all the way from India to save the sugar industry, the main Mauritian industry, from ruin.

It is in the schools that children learn for the first time that there are more than two seasons. Mauritius has only two. The heat, from November to April, is unbearable while the winter, lasting from May to October, is comparatively mild. Mauritians never see trees stripped of their leaves, except after a cyclone has struck the island.

The people of Mauritius are slowly recovering from the shock they had in early 1960 when they had to face two cyclones. Few are those who remember the tragic spectacle of 1892, when countless houses were wrecked and trees uprooted, when, in short, "the island had lost its beauty, the cane its promise and the gardens their charms." The 1960 cyclones have thrown that of 1892 into the shade and have justified the remark made a century ago that this tiny island is a "country of canes and hurricanes."

A BEAUTY SPOT

Like Grand Bassin, Chamarel is a beauty spot that is found in South Mauritius. As soon as one sets one's eyes on the coloured earths of that particular spot it becomes apparent that Mauritius is of volcanic origin. Those who christened the place had the primary colours in mind. They supposed the earths are of seven colours. The truth is that there are not seven but some forty hues.

AN EMERALD ISLE

Mauritius has been named the sugar island. Anxiety is growing as it is not known

if the Mauritius sugar will have a market in the future.

Britain is bent of joining the Common Market and some Mauritians are not sure that the future of the country will be as bright as its past. Monoculture is a bane. Sugar is the main source of livelihood; and for some time past Mauritius has been producing 600,000 tons of sugar a year.

The island is an emerald isle. The green sugar plants are seen together with tiny hills covered with green trees. The highest point is 2,700 feet above the sea level. The smiling plains complete the picture. It is repeated even now that many are the plants and trees that have come from India.

AN INTERESTING LEGEND

Mauritius is an Eden minus the serpent. Its rivers and lakes house no monster. Exception must, however, be made for the one that once existed in the imagination of some.

Situated as it is in an out-of-the-way place, Grand Bassin has always been the talk of the people. Up till 1830, the common belief was that it was the abode of a monster.

One upon a time, says the legend, some slaveowners were in hot pursuit of a number of runaway slaves. The latter reached the lake and, without hesitating, threw themselves into the water. The slaveowners were not to be daunted. But as they were about to follow suit, a water serpent opened its frightful mouth, and the pursuers turned back. In gratitude to a French Governor, the slaves had named it Labourdonnais.

The monster's circumference, the tale went, was comparable to that of a wine cask and it was said to be forty feet long. Who could

express doubts about the existence of a creature described so minutely?

Prospecting the Grand Bassin in 1830, an engineer discovered that it was no more than 60 feet deep. No serpent was found, despite all the witnesses who swore they had seen it. It is thus that an extinguisher was put upon the enthusiasm of the story-tellers who sympathized with the slaves.

INOFFENSIVE STAGS

Mauritian forests are not infested with wild beasts, real or imaginary. It is only inoffensive stags that are hunted by hunters that have no risk to take. When honoured guests are received during the hunting season they are invited by the aristocracy to enjoy hunting in the forests.

The little island has now a population 780,000 strong, the Hindus numbering 397,000, the Coloureds 220,000, the Muslims 125,000, the Chinese 25,000 and the Franco-Mauritians 13,000. 150,000 Mauritians live in Port Louis alone. On week days it becomes a bee-hive of activity and more than 200,000 Mauritians are seen within its limits. From early morning vegetable grow-

ers start coming with their fresh produce to the Central Market, more popularly known as the BAZAR, an Indian name that has come to stay. Then clerks reach the Government or commercial offices. By five o'clock the day's work is over and Port Louis is emptied of its surplus population. Relative calm descends on the Mauritian capital which is of the size of East London.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Though a mere speck in the south of the Indian Ocean, known to Indians who came as far as East Africa, and other Asians, and, subjected successively to Portuguese, Dutch, French and finally British rule, Mauritius is proud of its achievement in peaceful co-existence. What is practised by a limited number of human beings who live on this tiny island may well serve as a lesson to the inhabitants of much vaster lands. Disturbances are few and far between. The recent communal riot was not serious enough to convince Commonwealth Secretary George Thomson that he should reconsider March 12 as the date of independence.



PROF. P. R. SEN—AN ESTIMATE

BIJAN SENGUPTA

As one of his former students and one enjoying his unstinted affection well over three decades thereafter and maintaining all through intimate contact with him, I consider it my sacred duty not only to pay my humble tribute of love and respect to the hollowed memory of Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen but also to make a probe into his striking personality. As I ponder, the thought that rises paramount in me is that his is a type that is fast dying out these days. A life that proliferated in so many channels—scholar, linguist, writer, teacher, social worker, political worker all rolled into one and leaving a mark in every sphere—is not that something of a phenomenon in the modern age of “sick hurry and divided aims”? Yet, he was all these and more. Such an integrated personality was hard to build up at any time and it was really a wonder verging wellnigh on a miracle. Idealism, of course, he had in plentitude. But what is more, he had from his early life the needed SADHANA to give that a shape and wings. Till the decline of his health a little over a couple of years back, he acted like a living dynamo. The surprising part of the story is, so many activities so varied in nature, never overlapped and generated a tumult in his being. The poise that was all the back of it was simply astounding.

BASIC INTEGRITY

The fact is Prof. Sen was possessed of solid integrity of character—integrity

both of purpose as well as performance. All through life he appears to have followed with his whole soul the noble precept of Swami Vivekananda that “no great work can be done through mere trickery.” Yes, trickery is the vice that he deeply abhorred and studiously kept furlongs away. Yet this trickery seems to have been raised to the pedestal of a god by the common run of people in our land today. Here is a lesson from the life of Prof. Sen for the youths of the day which they should hold fast to their hearts with hoofs of steel. Let hectic excitement for the most trivial reason be shunned like an abomination if anything worthwhile is meant to be achieved in life. Let them not be tossed and tossed and be constantly off the moorings. That way is perdition. The nation demands of them steadfastness of purpose and utmost devotion in the fulfilment thereof. Let that purpose be evolved according to the best of their lights and then stuck to through all stresses and strains.

IN TUNE WITH HIS VOCATION

I hope none will demur to the enunciation of certain lessons that are deducible from the noble life that has just closed for threefold considerations. First, that is quite in tune with his chosen vocation of a teacher. A true teacher is not meant to inculcate lessons merely through words. The profession has indeed far wider dimensions—his life also should be worthy of emula-

tion by all. In a striking way Prof. Sen fulfilled this hard and exacting test of a genuine teacher. Secondly, the youths of today, as it would appear to any sane person, path need of the lessons that can easily be drawn from his life. And last but not least, reference to the relevant aspects of his character is essential for its unravelling and understanding by all.

BROAD HUMANITY

Whenever I have gone to Prof. Sen's house—and I have been there quite often till he was hale and hearty sometime back—I have seen sorts of people, known and unknown, flocking round and expecting this or that kind of assistance from him—monetary assistance only seldom because he was himself understandingly not a rich man but that in diverse other shapes. Students in quest of some means to pursue their studies, helpless women in search of shelter and livelihood; destitute unemployed youths and middleagers ransacking all avenues for the sake of some sort of a footing. And the noble soul did his best to render as much help as lay within him, by giving letters of request, telephoning or in the last resort, accompanying some to some place or other. I can testify from my personal knowledge what service he rendered to the Harijans as the Secretary of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bengal branch. For them he had a kind word always and much more. In his sad demise the Harijans of Bengal have lost one of their best guides and noblest benefactors.

ABSOLUTELY CLEAN

My revered teacher (alas, he was so much more to me)—as is widely known, was a man of most unblemished rectitude. He kept his accounts all clean, in all possible ways and by all means. A small incident pertaining to the last days of his life will serve, it is believed, to underline further this very well-known fact. Years ago a six-man Committee was formed at a meeting of the ex-pupils of late Prof. Joygopal Banerjee, a distinguished professor of England and for long years Head of English Department of Calcutta University, with Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mukherjee as Chairman, Prof. Sen as Secretary and my humble self as one of its members to find out ways and means to raise a memorial to Prof. Banerjee. It is, of course, no credit that the Committee—whatever the reason or reasons—could scrape together only a paltry sum of a little over one thousand rupees. How best to utilise this small amount—as the custodian of the fund that became an obsessive worry to Prof. Sen. Possibly he had a premonition of his impending end; that is why he rang me up just after the last Puja and expressed his deep concern as to how the fund could be disposed of. Some possible ways were suggested and as I left, he rang up Ramaprasad Babu to have talks with him over the matter. This is a very small episode but it was significant in as much as it showed the man once more in his true colours—a true disciple of Gandhiji to whom absolute cleanness of conduct was of paramount importance in life.

Current Affairs

GOLD AND THE U. S. DOLLAR

Prior to the 1933 banking crisis in the United States of America the currency of that country had been on the gold standard for more than half a century. That is the Dollar had to maintain a statutory parity with a certain weight of gold of a certain fineness. The old gold standard Dollar had a par value of \$ 4.8666 : £ 1 sterling. In other words it was legally equal to 25.8 grains or 1.6718 grammes of gold of 00.900 fineness. In 1933 the President of the United States was given the power to reduce this gold content by not more than 50% and in 1934 the minimum reduction was fixed at 40%. On 31 Jan. 1934 the President of the United States fixed the value of the Dollar at 59.06% or $15\frac{5}{16}$ grains of 0.900 fine gold. This was equal to \$ 35 Per fine ounce the old price of which was \$ 20.67183. In 1933 gold payments by banks and an embargo on gold exports was also imposed. All gold coins and certificates were withdrawn from circulation. On 18th Sept 1949 the Pound-Dollar ratio was fixed at £ 1 : \$ 2.79 $\frac{7}{8}$ (selling) and \$ 2.80 $\frac{1}{8}$ (buying). The average exchange rate has been below \$ 2.80 during 1964—1966. The idea therefore, that is now prevailing in the Indian markets about something going utterly wrong with the Dollar is not correct. The President of the United States has got legal authority to take steps for the protection of the gold parity of the Dollar, which he is

taking and the fears that are assailing the world public are likely to be removed quite soon, as far as one can judge from external symptoms. If one judges the value of the Dollar or of any other currency by its purchasing power one would always meet with wide fluctuations throughout the period during which an assumed stability in terms of gold has been put up before the world public to create confidence. Had there been a really active free market for gold everywhere the theoretical gold parity too might have displayed spectacular jumps, for while rises in the price of gold can be controlled by official sales at the statutory rate and falls rectified by purchases; the gold markets of the world cannot always be controlled by such official action. Any large scale and persistent movement eventually calls for other kinds of control apart from buying and selling at officially fixed rates. The recent gold rush has not been a strange and isolated incident of world economic history by any means. Such rushes have occurred in various markets at various times in the past and are caused by world forces which are too strong for control by official buying and selling of gold. The gold rush referred to has been caused in this case by a progressively growing lack of confidence in the stability of the Dollar. The United States have got involved in a large scale war in South East Asia which is certainly damaging the position of the Dollar. The countries

which are unfriendly to the U. S. A. are also seeking for opportunities to teach the U.S.A. a lesson by acquiring Dollars in order to offer them for sale at rates which will discredit the Lord of the world money market. These sales of the Dollar at a less than officially fixed rate no doubt made people suspicious about the stability of the Dollar and more and more people tried to convert the Dollar to gold for fear of its gold content being reduced in the near future. The unfriendly States have been quite successful in their attempts at damaging the credit of the Dollar. In all the money markets of the world the Dollar suffered a lack of support and its much vaunted gold parity had to be protected by Presidential action. In fact, if the military undertakings of the U. S. A. are not made consistent with the National welfare of that state instead of being allowed to drag the country into discreditable involvements, the future of the Dollar cannot remain very bright much longer. We do not know what the people of the U. S. A. are doing about it.

BRITISH PASSPORTS

There were times when the British had an Empire. The people of Britain had occupied many lands and had developed some of them for their own profit and advantage. There was great competition in this business of exploiting other peoples resources and France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and some other Countries had their empires too. The British however excelled in this work and took great pride in having a far flung empire. But world conditions made it progressively impossible, or at least very difficult to run colonies and dominions and the British slowly began to recognise

those humanitarian considerations which made it necessary to release their hold on other nations. The British Empire, as well as many other empires began to be wound up and changed conditions of life began to prevail in the countries which had been parts of the empires of the imperial powers. The British officials, soldiers, missionaries and other incumbents progressively left these released territories or stayed on in other capacities of a non-political nature. In India, for instance, many British officials and soldiers had to leave after August 15, 1947; but numerous businessmen, technical personnel, members of delegations etc, etc, stepped into their place with the result that the number of persons of British origin perhaps increased in post independence India.

In Britains other colonies and dominions, Indians had gone in the past to work for the British as well as to run shops etc. as small traders. There had been large numbers of Indian workers too who went out from India as indentured labour for British plantations. Now after many decades these Indians had grown into fairly large communities. Some of the small traders had been able to enlarge their businesses and people had acquired positions of importance in the countries they were living in. Not all the people had retained connections with their mother country, nor had they developed great bonds of fellowship with the natural inhabitants of the countries concerned. The Indians always had British passports and many of them continued to hold those passports without devoting much thought to the implications of staying in a foreign country with passports of another foreign country. Some people had changed

their passports and obtained Indian passports after 1947. Some had changed their nationality and adopted the nationality of the country they lived in. But some lived on in the established British colonies with their British Passports. When Kenya was made independent by the British many Indians with British Passports left the Country and went to Britain in search of a new home. Some came to India and others changed their nationality to Kenyan. But those who went to Britain or had a desire to migrate to that country, faced a new problem in so far as the British began to object to the immigration of such large numbers of Asiatics. They even decided to dishonour the solemn undertaking given in the Passports they issued in order to keep the Asiatics out of Britain. They have therefore become persons without any nationality. They will perhaps try to adopt the nationality of the countries of their origin ; but how far they will succeed in achieving this objective cannot be gauged without reference to the countries which will grant passports to these people.

HINDI ADOPTS INFILTRATION METHODS

In spite of the best efforts of non-Hindi States to stick to their own languages, the sponsors of Hindi are trying to shove Hindi into places where it cannot claim any natural rights. The Central Government, which should be neutral in such matters appear to be helping the Hindiwallahs by using centrally managed institutions, departments and establishments for the propagation of Hindi. The Railways are using Hindi notices in non-Hindi regions in a manner which is considered objectionable by the regional

people. This should be modified and all notices must be put up in the regional language and English. When one speaks to telephone operators in Calcutta one receives answers in Hindi. The quality of Hindi is so bad that one can easily see that the persons who are made to speak in Hindi do not know that language. As most telephone users in Calcutta know Bengali and English the operators should not try to make use of Hindi for any purpose. If the Central Government have issued any directives for the use of Hindi, they should withdraw their instructions. Hindi speaking states should use English for their correspondence with non-Hindi States. If they try to force Hindi on these States, the non-Hindi speakers might retaliate by writing letters to Hindi States in Bengali, Tamil, Oriya or any other language included in the list of officially recognised languages.

VARIOUS PROBLEMS

(a) PRICES

Everybody wants to buy all those things which give the modern human his or her modern way of living. And there are not enough of things to satisfy those thousands of millions of persons who now populate the earth. In olden days supplies compared to world population were perhaps not much better ; but relatively fewer persons wanted to buy, too many things. They did not know of all those things. They did not meet people who used many of the things. And, they did not feel the modern urge to live a more complete and better life. Now, with fast developing human relations, convenience in the field of travel, greater concentration of population and propaganda through the press and the radio, most people know about

most things and the feeling of wants has developed in its endless number of branches in the heart of almost all persons of all nations. So that demand has developed in a manner which had no parallel in the history of the world of the first quarter of the twentieth century. This great and inordinate stimulation of the will to buy has created an economic shortage of supplies which cannot be measured by the actual material and quantitative shortage of goods. The high prices that prevail now-a-days are largely the product of the interaction of the forces of demand and supply; rather than an expression of any loss of production in the various spheres in which people engaged in productive work. In the past very few things were necessities of existence; but now-a-days the number of those essential commodities without which people cannot live has increased greatly. In India very few people purchased sugar, shoes, shirts, tea, coffee, tobacco, aluminium utensils, earthenware glass crockery in the past. To-day one can not find many Indians who would agree to do without the articles named. And, if any such persons exist they live in the remoter villages away from the railways, industries and the big cities. Mirrors, combs, hair oil, soap, bicycles gramophones, electric torches, radios, and many other things have now become essential parts of every day life with the people of India. The use of wrist watches and fountain pens has spread widely too. Standards of living in other words have developed and people have pushed up prices everywhere by creating an active demand for numerous commodities for which there had not been such demand in the past. Of all the causes which pushed prices up, stimulation

of the desire to buy has been a powerful one. Wider use of money, expansion of the total quantum of money and all those illicit manipulations by traders which enable them to make profits in an anti-social manner, should also be taken note of when one considers the reasons which lead to high prices.

(b) WAGES

The wages, which people earn always have a close connection with their ingrained ideas of the barest and lowest standards of living. "We could not live unless we earned so much," they would say to themselves whenever they considered accepting a particular wage rate. The minimum subsistence level, therefore, always remained like a great wall beyond which they could never go into lower wage levels. This bare minimum has been on the increase for many decades and along with other forces which increase money wages, the elaboration of the essential family budgets has urged all wage earners to demand more and more in wages throughout the last half a-century. Increasing numbers of articles at an ever-increasing rate of prices have pushed both real and money earning all over the world.

Another factor has come into action in the field of wage increases and that is development of machinery and technique in almost all spheres of production. The old time trades have now changed with the invention of new machinery and most workers now handle highly complicated tools which enable them to turn out masses of goods in place of the few units that their predecessors made with the simpler instruments they used. This modern mass producing machines have such productive power that workers who operate them can

earn much more by use of these giant tools compared to others before them who worked with much simpler implements. The modern operators of the high speed machinery require extensive general ability and more than average education. The ignorant old timers were simple souls in comparison. The new type of worker will naturally demand higher wages and get what they want too.

(c) JOBS

The modern man and woman cannot find employment easily. The reason is that modern establishments and institutions require men and women to work in them who have a certain degree of education and training. In former times uneducated and unskilled persons could do some of the work which the establishments and institutions of those days required to be done. But with the development of machinery, technique, methods of management and supervision, the relatively uneducated and untrained type of workers found it progressively impossible to do the jobs that were offered to them. It therefore became impossible for such persons to be employed in modern offices and factories. Education and training therefore become all important in modern society; for persons without technical and general knowledge and ability could find no useful place in a modern establishment. Mass education and specialised training for all who desired productive employment became a basic part of national governmental work. The ability to do the jobs that were available guaranteed two very important things. Firstly, jobs done meant that the nation's productive work was being carried on properly and secondly, it enabled the job holders to be earning

members of society. This meant that they were also the buyers of the large masses of goods that were being produced. Any imbalance in the field of prices, wages or jobs, would immediately upset the economic life of the nation. The smooth running of the nation's affairs required maintenance of the price and wages levels as well as controlling unemployment to the fullest extent. Prices, wages and employment therefore have attained an importance in modern life which they had not achieved ever before. Most of the troubles that we meet with nowadays in the internal life of the nation, have something to do with these factors of the nation's economy either directly or in a round about manner. If teachers donot teach, students do not study, factory workers stop working or office employees gherao their officers; prices, wages or jobs have something to do with the troubles. The teachers cannot live like human beings on the salaries they get, the students have no great respect for their examinations or degrees for the reason that they donot obtain employment even if they passed with distinction or honours and even if they found employment inadequacies and insufficiencies stalked them throughout their working life. Wars or earthquakes made life insecure for people on rare occasions. Rising prices, low wages rates and unemployment remained with the people as acute inclemencies which they had to overcome to some extent by great effort. If any State could stabilise prices, offer high enough salaries and wages to its subjects and remove unemployment from the ranks of its workers, that State would be the kingdom of God on Earth. Our beloved Motherland India is in a very bad position in respect of prices, wages and employment. Prices are forever spiralling

upwards, wages can never keep pace with prices and employment recedes as talks of economic progress gather increasing momentum.

UNCTAD

The United Nations Conference on Trade And Development came into existence within relatively recent years. This was found necessary in order to balance the economic compensations due to exploited nations from their imperialistic exploiters and other nations which collaborated with the imperialists. The highly developed nations had the beginnings of their economic growth in conquest, exploitation and unjust use of the resources of defenceless countries and people. It is well known to all students of economic history that when America was discovered it was peopled by certain races of men some of which were highly civilised and others were nomadic and less progressive. The Spanish, the Portuguese, the French and the British occupied the territories of these Amerindians, as they were called generally and destroyed their great civilisations and expropriated the tribes which were not urbanised but were organised bodies of men with their own culture and economy. The Toltecs, the Mayas and the Aztecs, were culturally very highly developed and the Spanish *Conquistadors* treated the last of these people with inhuman cruelty and shameless treachery in order to plunder their wealth and to occupy their territories. The Portuguese barbarities were on a par with those of the Spaniards. The French and the British behaved without any moral scruples whenever they found it of any advantage. They combined their work of

forcible occupation of the lands of the American Indians with a regular importation of slaves from Africa at a later stage when they thought of developing plantations on the immense stretches of land they occupied by chasing the Indians out. Unfortunately for the Amerindians they had not been able to retain any political separateness after they had been conquered and their territories divided up and occupied by the Spanish the Portuguese, the French and the British. The question therefore of compensating the American Indians for their lost territories or of granting them independence and of creating new States for them, does not arise. Very few pure blooded Indians now exist and such of them as do, are too few to form sizeable racial groups or to set up independent states. The Jews, who had lived outside their homeland for numerous centuries had not died out and they could come together again to form a Jewish State. The American Indians were subjected to systematic genocide over hundreds of years and they have died out for all practical purposes.

In Asia and Africa, the western nations carried on their work of colonisation and establishment of imperial centres in a manner which did not kill out the natives. In certain white settlements attempts had been made to reduce the autochthones to an extremely low status, but the people lived on and did not give up all hopes of eventual freedom and full possession of human rights. South Africa and Rhodesia are two of the biggest white colonies which still carry on their governments on the principle of might-is-right. Many African States have now attained freedom by creating endless partitions and divisions, and hopes of forming

powerful African states or hegemonies cannot yet take any definite shape. The Asiatic States have also been cut up into many pieces by use of Western subterfuges. The Arabs have had a large colony of Western Jews planted in the heart of the Near East; and, apart from that, the Arabic people could provide a very colourful cross-section of disunity too. Large tracts of Asia are still in the occupation of China and Russia and the peoples of those tracts are removed from the main currents of Asiatic life in a very watertight manner.

The above described political developments in Asia and Africa have taken place mainly during the twenty years following the end of the Second World War. When all these newly created and old existing States became free with their separate governments and armed forces they began to look for a higher standard of living for their peoples. For, what was good for the proletariat of imperially dominated lands

could not satisfy the vote wielding general public of newly created constitutional states. And, it was politic for all concerned to hold out baits and grant doles in order to keep the masses of the new States in a reasonable frame of mind. When comparisons are made of the economic conditions prevailing in the affluent countries and the poorer ones the differences really stand out very prominently. These facts had to be taken notice of. The developed countries are so very much more wealthy compared to the underdeveloped ones, that unless one could make effective plans for the removal of these inequalities one had to accept the other alternative of a general world upheaval. There are many ways of measuring these inequalities of income and savings. One is by comparing the total of Life Insurance held by the various peoples of the different countries. The figures reproduced below are prepared from statistics given in 1967-68 edition of the Statesman's Year-Book :

Country	Year	Total Life Insurance held in U.S. \$ (Million Dollars)	Population
United States of America	1965	900,554	179,323,175
United Kingdom	1965	69,179	51,435,567
Canada	1965	68,907	18,238,247
Japan	1965	64,931	98,281,955
West Germany	1965	32,665	59,296,600
Sweden	1965	26,062	7,495,316
France	1965	25,500	46,520,271
Netherlands	1965	18,361	11,461,964
Australia	1965	16,749	11,540,764
India	1965	8,649	439,235,082
Mexico	1965	3,523	43,923,129
Pakistan	1965	615	93,720,613

India, Mexico and Pakistan are by no means the least developed countries of the world. There are dozens of other countries which require to be developed much more than these three. The figures quoted go to show the relative prosperity of various countries by reference to their savings in life insurance and that points to the reasons behind the formulation of the UNCTAD.

The countries which are expected to assist the underdeveloped countries to set

up industries and organise other economic institutions with a view to help the rapid abolition of poverty, are not always in a position to render the required assistance. Wars, civil commotion, change of government and deterioration of international relations frequently make things difficult. The Present situation is not favourable to obtain help from those who are rich. There are many involvements which stand in the way of quick acceptance of humanitarian obligations.



DR. C. P. RAMASWAMY IYER

P. RAJESWARA RAO

THOUGH Dr. C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was literally born with a silver spoon in his mouth, gold cup in his hands and silken slippers to his feet, he was always alive to the needs of the struggling publicists and intellectuals and extended unstinted help to them. He belonged to a family with a long history and noble pedigree. Sri Appayya Dikshitar, the great Advaita Philosopher was born in the same family. In fact C.P., was a descendant from the brother's direct line of Sri Appayya Dikshitar. He often traced his familiarity with and hold over Carnatic music to the fact that he belonged to the stock of Samaved's. He was an expert at 'Jalatarangini'. He was a devout Hindu and a convinced believer in Vedanta. He used to say that he owed much to the late Sankaracharya of Sringeri and Ramana Maharshi.

He was born on 'Deepavali Day'--the festival of lights in 1879 which year fell on November 12. His father Sri C.R. Pattabhirama Iyer was a Judge of the Madras City Civil Court. His aristocratic parentage was betrayed by his attractive appearance and pleasing manners. After a brilliant academic career with proficiency in English and Sanskrit he joined the legal profession at the instance of his father against his own inclinations and was apprenticed to Sri V. Krishnaswami Iyer--a giant at the Madras Bar with a long record of public service. He made his debut at the Bar in 1912 when he appeared against Dr. Anne Besant in the case relating to the guardianship of Sri J. Krishnamurty who was then hailed as a Messiah. His successful encounter with her had national consequence. After the case was over she requested him to join her in the political and educational work. He functioned as the Secretary of the Home Rule League from 1916 to

1918 and was also Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1917-1918. He repaid his gratitude to her by writing her biography after the dawn of freedom. While contesting for the Provincial Legislature, he addressed an election meeting keeping a loaded pistol on the table to scare away the rowdy elements that tried to disturb his public meetings. Soon after his victory at the polls he became the Advocate-General of Madras at the early age of 41. As the leader of the Bar his income reached a level which very few attained in India. He declined a seat on the Bench which was very much coveted in those days with his characteristic remark that he preferred to talk nonsense for a few hours than to go on hearing nonsense throughout the day. He was also the legal adviser to Pandit Motilal Nehru on personal matters. Soon after he was appointed as a member of the Governor's Executive Council during the regime of Lord Wellington. Sir Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for India in his diary described him as one of the cleverest men he had ever met who would do brilliantly in the English Bar by his caliber and capacity. His friendship with the Wellington couple typified affinity of cultural traditions. They personified the Christian culture of the European middle ages which seems to have appealed to his Brahminical tradition of intellectual aristocracy.

It was during this period that he showed his mettle. In his own words he functioned as the Madras Government with Lord Wellington as the Chief. At the same time he was alive to the national interests. When Sri S.V. Ramamurty (He later became a Knight and retired as the Acting Governor of Bombay) a brilliant but a junior civilian got into trouble by writing an article to a journal emphasising the national point of view he took him under his protecting wings and tided

over the crisis. He met the entire expenditure for printing and publishing the pioneering work of Sri Pingali Venkayya on "A national Flag for India".

He initiated the important irrigation and power projects at Mettur and Pykara. He was also responsible for inaugurating a number of industrial schemes and developing the Ports of Cochin, Visakhapatnam and Tuticórn. From 1926 to 1931 he was often abroad as India's delegate, to the League of Nations at Geneva and to the first Round Table Conference in London and made a lasting impression with men like Lord Birkenhead, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Attlee and cemented his old comradeship with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. In 1931 he acted as the Law Member to the Government of India and later became Member for Commerce, Industries and Railways in the Viceroyal Cabinet. For many years he was associated with affairs in the old Indian States as Legal Adviser. In 1934 he drafted a constitution for Kashmir. In 1936 he was appointed as the Dewan of Travancore, an association which lasted long and which proved fruitful.

Modern Kerala owes much to his vision and enthusiasm. His ardent desire in accepting the assignment was to deal with the question of industrialisation of the State and the uplift of the depressed classes. His greatest achievement in social reforms was throwing open the temples of the State to Harijans. Mahadev Desai's "Epic of Travancore" written at Mahatma Gandhi's instance provides a stirring account of the importance episode. He initiated Hydro-electric Schemes, started Aluminium, Ceramic, fertilizers, Rayon and other industries with considerable Government collaboration. He founded the Travancore University in 1939 and abolished capital punishment. He also established the Periar Game Sanctuary.

He held that our rivers were national assets and should not be dammed and diverted to placate the tribal interests of any particular region and envisaged a scheme to link up the Ganges with Mahanadi, the Godavary and Krishna with the rivers of the South beginning with Pennar and Palar and going down to Kaveri and Tamarparni. It may sound a fantastically grandiose idea. But even if the work is taken up by degrees and stages not necessarily concentrating on a number of large scale projects following the example of France, and Switzerland where small units are integrated and collected for wisely designed and truly national purposes. In this connection we may recall that by the Volga-Don canal in 1952, the White, Baltic, the Black the Caspian and Azor seas have been united into a single water transport system and Moscow has become a port of five seas. Delhi may well become a port when once our rivers are linked up and made navigable.

As the Dewan of Travancore he declared that the Rulers could not grant constitutional reforms without the assent of the Paramount Power. There was sufficient ground for this shrewd suspicion. Though Travancore was a full powered State it was only in 1932 that the British Government relinquished their claim to exercise supervision over legislation in the State to scrutinise the judgments of the Travancore High Court inflicting capital or life sentences and to advise the State as to certain high appointments. As a matter of fact the inauguration of the Travancore Legislative Council in 1888 and of the Legislative Reforms in 1932 took place after consultation with the paramount

power. This statement of C. P. compelled Earl Winterton to make the historic pronouncement on the changing outlook of the paramount power.

He introduced adult suffrage in Travancore and also drafted a fairly democratic constitution for the State. But the Congress and the Communists combined to demand full self-government. In spite of his political antecedents he felt bound in loyalty to the Ruling Dynasty to point out necessity for gradualness. A conflict arose in which he took strong action; subsequent event proved that he was in the wrong and naturally produced needless hostility. In 1942 he was invited by Lord Linlithgow to join the expanded Executive Council as Member for Information and Broadcasting. He resigned the post after 17 days as a protest against the Government policy. When Dr. Ambedkar carried on a tirade against Hinduism while he was a member of a Viceroyal Cabinet C. P. snubbed and silenced him. For him life was not a simple parade but a perpetual battle and a continuous conflict between what is and what should be. When Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of Dravida Khazagum preached killing of the Brahmins on the ground that they were Aryans, C. P. boldly came forward with the plea for retaliation. His stand on the independence of Travancore having treaty relations with Pakistan disgusted one and all. Probably he did not believe that the British were quitting India. He was stabbed at a public meeting. Fortunately the attack did not prove fatal. He resigned and came away to Madras. It marked the end of his political career. He was rejected but could not be relegated. In this connection one is reminded of the confes-

sion of Winston Churchill when he was defeated at the polls after the Second World War, "How can I accept the order of Garter when people have just given me the order of the boot." His disappearance from public life was due to the malicious method of hounding out rivals which seriously impoverished national leadership intellectually.

His last years were devoted to education and Scholarship. He was twice Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University from 1953 to 1955 and again and again from 1962 to 1966. For two years he was Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University. He was also Chairman of the Inter-University Board and wanted the Govt. of Andra Pradesh about the consequences of interfering in the autonomy of the Universities. He often travelled abroad as a lecturer and to attend university conferences. He thought deeply on problems of Higher Education. A number of Universities honoured him with Honorary degrees. He was a respected member of the Indian PEN centre and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. He had a fine and large library. He read so deeply and widely that he could successfully engage in controversies with people like Dr. Arnold Toynbee on equal terms on questions of history. He was a member of the Press Commission and did valuable work as Chairman of the Hindu Religious Endowments Commission and helped to produce a monumental report. He went to London to bring upto date his autobiography and died there on 26. 9. 1966 at the age of 86. A few days earlier "The Times" said of him, "One would have to go far to see a stronger Octogenarian. At an age when most Englishmen would have contentedly

retired to some rural retreat, C. P. has just arrived from India to start some research for a book that he is writing."

His letters to friends whatever the subject be were most refreshing, where biography and history converged to form the most fascinating form of literature and were models of terseness, clarity and exactitude of statement. It is interesting to recall that when he celebrated his Shatabda Poorthi in 1939 he relinquished by registered documents all his properties and after settling the bulk of his assets in favour on his children, dependents besides giving away about ten lakhs to various institutions and public charities and reserved only a moiety for himself just sufficient for his maintenance and declined payments for articles, book and publications. Till the end he was a lover of Sanskrit and French and a great connoisseur of art.

He was a scholar, a jurist, administrator and educationist and a remarkable Indian. He was a Karma Yogi and treated his Secretary Chidambaram as his own son and above all he was the embodiment of our culture at

its best. He took to his work as a duck takes to water. He had an enfranchised mind free from every type of prejudice and responsive to all good influences. He was unique in the universality of his experience. While holding positions of authority and influence and rubbing shoulders with some of the greatest figures of contemporary history he did not hesitate in choosing the path of wilderness whenever his convictions, in the contest of the situations he faced seemed to demand the choice. He had a regal presence and a lordly manner and moved through the world in a high plane and dominated every gathering. He had always a sense of his own worth, abhorred always what was beneath and unworthy of him. He was smiling and affable without a care on his smooth brow. His appearance reminded us of the ancient Roman consuls. He had not faint of commonness but had a distinction in manner. Even in his casual talk diction and balance mirroring vivacity, tempo and rhythm of the movement were noteworthy. He led a full and purposeful life. His passing away created a void which cannot be easily filled up.

THEY RESOLVE FOR BIHAR-DAN

(iii) SURESH RAM;

When Vinobaji set his foot on Bihar soil on September 11, 1965, he gave a call to the people of Bihar to launch a *Toofan* (Storm) drive to wipe out the curse of landlessness from the State. "The two dangers of violence-preaching communism and communalism," said he with a prophetic voice in a public meeting held at Patna the same day, "can be successfully faced if we establish *Gram Swaraj* in each village and *Nagar Swaraj* in each town. I, therefore, call upon all the villages to join Gramdan. I trust you would have a popular revolution here and thus impart a fresh inspiration to the country.

This clarion call infused new enthusiasm among the workers and out they proceeded into the far off interior to carry out the great mission. They collected a sum of Rs. 3,18,266 for this purpose and obtained 10,665 villages in the country within a year. They intensified their efforts in the Darbhanga district and had the credit of securing the whole of it as Zila-Dan in February, 1967. The district dan of Darbhanga will always be remembered as a great mile-stone in independent India's march towards her democratic goal. The light of Bihar could not but spread all over the country and by the close of 1967 another Zila-dan "Tirunelveli in the extreme southern corner of the country, came forward and the figure of Gramdan shot upto 46,755 in the whole country, of which no less than 16,397 are in Bihar.

Power of non-Violence

But Vinobaji was not satisfied at this pace of the movement. He clearly saw that non-violence should work faster and show its power as an instrument of social and economic change. Again, his mind turned to Bihar and he appealed to the friends and workers there to achieve the objective of Bihar-dan by October 2, 1968. Not so sure of their capacity to attain this seemingly impossible target, they gave thoughtful consideration to their own strength and weakness. With

Jayaprakash Narayan in their midst they ultimately decided to take the plunge.

It was a moving sight to meet them at Patna on 23rd January last. Workers from each of the seventeen districts of Bihar had come to exchange notes and plan for the future. They resolved to leave no stone unturned to secure the goal of Bihar-dan within the specified period. Deeply touched at their solemn pledge, Vinobaji addressed a few words of warning and advice, ("I make no distinction between you and me. What you have decided is noble indeed and I am whole heartedly with you. But you must know that yours is to serve as a fermenting leaven to transform the whole society. Keeping yourselves in the background you should give prominence to others and persuade them to bring about the great revolution.")

God Maintain the Chart of Heart

Penetrating their inner-most depths, he observed, "You know that we all come in this world on a brief sojourn. This life is but a small camp while the bigger camp has yet to be reached. None knows where shall we all be in this grand journey and whether we shall be all together or dispersed in different quarters. My answer is that God keeps a chart of hearts with Him. They of this world know nothing about it, for they estimate a man only from without and have no knowledge of inner-self. You may honour me as somebody big, while I get haughty and arrogant inside. At my moment of departure, He will look at His chart and shunt me off to the place I deserve. What counts most is the feeling you carry in the inner-most recesses of your heart. If it is pure and unsullied, it will have its influence on the whole creation, for the outer is a mere reflex of the interior. I would, therefore, suggest to all of you to make it a point to devote an hour, at least half-an-hour without fail, for study everyday. It will also help you in smoothening the long journey you have to traverse ahead."

Bihar-dan Would Save us all

There was another sitting of workers of Bihar State Panchayat Parishad and Bihar State Co-operative Federation under the chairmanship of Shri Vinodanand Jha, the former Chief Minister of Bihar. Bharat Sevak Samaj (Bihar) and other bodies were also represented. In his presidential speech, Vinoda Babu pointed out that not only our democracy but also the entire humanity was on a state of peril. The law of majority-minority had brought conflict and ill will every where and threatened the very existence of our society. Vinoda Babu stressed on the tremendous potentialities of Gramdan and Bihar-dan which alone could save the country at this critical hour. Shri Deep Narain Singh, chairman of Bihar Co-operative Federation, endorsed Vinoda Babu's appeal. Shri Saraju Prasad, Secretary of the Bihar Branch of Gandhi Memorial Trust, read out the resolution incorporating the pledge of Bihar-dan. It was passed unanimously.

Vinobaji was also present on the occasion. Welcoming their decision he said, "The general elections held last year were carried out in seven days. Now they are thinking of holding the next election on one and the same day, all over the country. I believe that Bihar-dan need not require such a long period as extending upto 2nd October, but should be accomplished in one day. What is required is will-power and determination to turn this into a reality."

New Society by 1971

Vinobaji continued. Time is running fast. You have to obtain Bihar-dan without any

delay. Thereafter you have to accomplish the reconstruction work and build up the social structure anew through people's own strength. Within three years, by the end of 1971, you have to create such a massive and grand power as will control the government and direct it along right lines. My test of Gramdan is not the amount of increase in the production of food and goods. That is bound to go up. My criterion is the growth in feelings of love and compassion and mutual co-operation. Without them, bare increment in production has no meaning for me."

Four things for the people

In conclusion, he urged the need of generating the power of non-violence. "But this will materialise", warned Vinobaji, "only when society takes to the practice of self-restraint in conduct. If we fail to control our indulgence it cannot but increase violence. These days nobody dares mention this view before the people. Even Sarvodaya workers are indifferent to it. But now you have to do it. You have to place four things before them : (i) Self restraint, (ii) Production through scientific method, (iii) Sharing and right distribution, and (iv) Work according to common consent. I am sure they would listen to you with respect and come forward to implement these things in real life and offer Bihar-dan."

In the end Vinobaji raised his middle finger and smiled. He waved it around with beaming eyes. Somebody remarked that Baba demands Bihar-dan in one single day. Vinobaji nodded his head in assent and took his leave with folded hands.

APPRECIATION OF MODERN ART

K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY

MODERN ART is a complex and intriguing blend of diverse influences and heterogeneous tendencies from all over the world, primitive, mediæval, ultramodern, exotic and eclectic, in form, shape, content and expression. The keynote of Contemporary Art is its Versatility, Variety, astounding alike in quantity and quality. Illustrating in an aggressively original and bizarre manner the fact that Art has no longer any geographical frontiers and cultural limitations, present day art tends towards a universal language of emotion which is difficult and vexacious to understand even to the elite. To the uninitiated layman it is bewildering. But to the select few who know the intricacies of art expression and who have been tutored to grant actuality to things normally incomprehensible to the ordinary unsophisticated mind, Modern Art is full of unique aesthetical delights and experiences in the enjoyment of which they even vie with the creative artists.

The restless spirit of diligent enquiry and tireless research into the discovery of newer forms of artistic perception, imagination and expression have resulted in the many current "isms" in art, for the correct appraisal of which the services of either Artists or Art Critics are indispensable to the average spectator. With the Modern Artist, Art is no longer representational or illustrative, romantic or lyrical, but a never ending cri-

ticism and ever changing revaluation of life, and a virile and ebullient constructive expansion of his alert mind and individual personality. It has, therefore, become extremely difficult to disentangle Modern Art which is in a Heraclitean fix. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir, one of India's famous Artists, has hit it off thus: "Modern or Contemporary Art is the logical development of tradition; Modernist's Art from which various other "isms" are derived is a kind of inconsistent and restless affair."

Wondering and perplexed, the average onlooker whose knowledge of art is limited to photographic realism, imaginative romanticism, and religious symbolism, gazes at the works by Modern Artists, the exaggerated emotionalism and intellectualism of which violently disturb him. To understand Modern Art in all its ramifications, one has readily to concede actuality to the unknowable and unexplainable which are the strange and exclusive reactions of the artists' own mind. Most of the artists continue to experiment with line, colour, form and shape, and their avowed aim is to break themselves away from the influences of Revivalism and Academicism as they feel that those idioms of old world art expression, with which the public have long been intimately familiar, have become much too hackneyed and devoid of vitality. Cosmopolitan and heterogeneous, present day art illustrates the vigour and vitality of the surging creative urge of the

liberated and time-honoured conventions. The Six Canons of Painting, considered sacred and inviolable in the East and West, have been thrown to the winds by the Moderns. A profound transformation in Art has taken place during the past fifty years indicating all revolutionary forms of modernism in techniques, subject, matter, and inner significance.

One of the World's foremost art critics, Dr. Anandacoomaraswamy, has put it tersely that each modern artist "seeks to invent an artistic esperanto unmistakably his and his alone." By no standard can Contemporary Art be regarded as popular in the sense that it straightway reaches the masses through its overall appeal. Modern Art is a powerful, persistent, and irresistible challenge to the popular clamour to make art democratic in form, content and expression, and easily intelligible to the common man. No concession to clarity of understanding can be discovered in Modern Art, for it, being the work of intellectual painters who are emotionally thrilled, is intended for the intelligentsia and not for the man on the street. Naturally, such unfamiliar art causes horror and disgust to the many uninitiated, but provides unlimited joy and inspiration to those few who know all about the mysteries of the current "isms" in Art.

The modern painter is solely preoccupied with evolving geometrical forms, and linear rhythms, weird shapes and fantastic ideas, through a marvellous medley of suggestive lines and colours. Hence contemporary painting is a big headache to the Academicians and Revivalists who are devoted worshippers of tradition. Sir Herbert Read, famous art critic, has epitomised the modern artistic

urge as being something far away from "re-deriving the visible", an idiom of art expression not repugnant to the genius of Indian art. Has not the ancient sage Sukracharya declared that the artist must depend upon spiritual values and not upon objects perceived by human senses? To achieve this, modern artists deliberately distort form and shape and in an ingenious mixing up of patterns and planes and colours through a rhythmic dalliance of straight lines and curves, tones and values, create great pictorial effect, almost three dimensional invariably, which excites the emotions of the spectator. The time-honoured alphabets of beauty-art are scornfully ignored by these Artist Iconoclasts who have cut themselves away from all sentimentalism, maudlin tenderness, and decorative pretentiousness.

Askewed by the push and pull of contours, and hollowed and humped by divisions, their paintings of luminously tinted geometric shapes display a command of imagery and a completely personal statement. The artists explore all the five planes, namely, *Annamaya* (physical), *Pranamaya* (biological), *Manomaya* (psychological), *Vignanamaya* (intellectual), and *Anandamaya* (institutional), in their paintings which record aesthetic experiences full of esoteric significance. The physical plane (mineral) is represented by black colour, the biological (vegetable) by green, the psychological (animal) by red, the intellectual (human) by yellow, and intuitional (divine) by white. They follow what Paul Klee, one of the most dazzling of Modern Masters, said: "Impulse is stronger than the mind and only in the end does the artist see what he intended". Impulse and emotion, exclusively his own, guide the modern

artist who is a rebel, whose art is an extension of his personal philosophy into the realm of aesthetics.

Revolutionary methods in painting originated in France, for long, the home of good art, and spread with alarming speed all over the world. Even today France is the nerve centre of art, and changing fashions. Impressionism, Neo Impressionism, Symbolism, Futurism, Synchronism, Cubism, Fauvism, Expressionism, Dadaism, and Surrealism, following one another in quick succession, have shaken the citadel of art to its very foundations and left the impression in the public that modern art is a confounded affair, inscrutable to the layman who has no knowledge of the new trends and portents in modernistic art. It is impossible to understand, let alone appreciate, Contemporary Art without a knowledge of these "isms" in art which have coloured modern painting. Some of these 'isms' like Dadaism Synchronism, and Pointillism, which took the art world by storm when they were ushered in have now become decadent, and established that much of what had been cleverly labelled as innovations in modern art in recent years was not genuine art but inartistic abhorrences indulged in by dilettantes who aspired for cheap fame. Some of these art movements have ceased to have independent existence for they have merged into the more substantial movements. No doubt, a few of the 'isms' have contributed much to the technique of modern painting, though their influence has been somewhat overestimated by fastidious and dogmatic critics and painters. Futurism, which, in fact, was a novel form of illustration of the movements of auto-

mobiles and machinery, did not make any profound contribution to the spirit of art. A solid innovation was Cubism which has left its stamp on modern art with its geometry and abstraction in figures. It invested the quality of dynamicism to art through the analysis of planes of figures and their dexterous arrangement to stir up emotions. Even then Cubism became but a doctrine in Art, and not art itself, for Cubism was a happy union between art and dynamics. The dynamic patterning and colour scheme of the stalwarts Picasso, Matisse, and Braque constitute the most sensational and outstanding expressions of Cubistic Art though opposed to the convention well established by the world's greatest Master Leonardo da Vinci that the natural human figure contained all possibilities for artistic expression.

In the hands of accomplished masters who were equally proficient in drawing and colouring, some of the new art movements did exceedingly well. Their amazing and speedy success thrilled the lesser artists. When the crowd of mediocrities exploited these 'isms', art deteriorated into propaganda for novel forms and a violent denunciation of everything old and great in art. Far too sophisticated are the works of some of these dilettantes and opportunists for they reveal a pernicious anaemia in art. The one new movement which has established itself firmly is Surrealism, and it may be said that all current innovations in painting are either adaptations or variations or amplifications of Surrealism. In its eloquent appeal for imagination, Surrealism caught the fancy of art enthusiasts all over the world. The Surrealists declared that

they are "opposed to all goodness and beauty", thereby causing a violent tremor in the Academic and Revivalist art circles. German Metaphysics and Psycho-analysis were courageously marshalled by the Surrealists to repudiate tradition in Art. The Surrealistic doctrine which embodies the quintessence of the creeds from Plato to Blake, from Hegel to Karl Marx, was heralded with great gusto, for the Surrealists proclaimed that Surrealism will deliver Art from all moral conventions, prejudices, classic idioms and old methods of painting which were imposed by four centuries of Capitalist and Academic standards. Surrealism came as the New Messiah in Art and many gathered round the Liberator, with abundant hopes.

Wave after wave of Abstract Art of which Surrealism is the most potent has engulfed Art during the past fifty years. Dadaism which converted Art into an irrational mockery was a reflection of postwar disillusion. Its aim was the liquidation of the intellectual bias of Cubism. Dadaism was shortlived. Surrealism with its insistence on automatism and the searching of the subconscious mind was shrunk from Dadaism. Alfred Baur, a noted art critic, says: "The Surrealists preserved the anti-rational character of Dada but developed a far more systematic and serious experimental attitude towards the sub-conscious as the essential source of art". "Pure psychic automatism, by which it is intended to express, verbally, in writing or by other means, the real process of thought. It is thought's dictation, all exercise of reason and every aesthetic or moral preoccupation being absent". That was how Breton de-

fined Surrealism. An instrument of imagination and emotion, Surrealism produced some outstanding painters. It is significant to note some of the great Modern Masters, who are All Time Masters in art, like Corot, Renior, and Cezanne, were not enamoured of the new Art Movements. Living the simple life of peasants, they were not drawn to the new 'isms' like city intellectuals. The new "isms" are not devoid of snobbery and sophistry, and too often deceptive labels have been given by self-seeking art dealers and art critics who are out to exploit art and appeal to mass suggestion and current political manias. That is why most of the 'isms' devoid of integrity and artistic worth have not survived the test of time. The current feeling in art circles of France is that the art world has had enough of revolutionary methods and that the return to tradition is a welcome sign. Giants like Rodin and Matisse were saturated with the tradition of the past, and yet they created most original and unique pieces of art which are unequalled. Ryder, Van Gogh, Monticelli, and Nicholas, Roerich who are Master Artists, have produced astoundingly magical effects, absolutely new, in their famous paintings which are beyond the reach of the Modernists who are the exponents of "isms". The inspired works of these stalwarts soar high over the paintings by the stodgy Moderns, and reveal what is real, great Art. Yet, who can deny that some of the most famous and powerful imaginative contemporary Artists are the revolutionaries—Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Paul Klee, Paul Nash, Salvador Dali and the Mexican Diego, each one a veritable Giant?

With his characteristic profundity, Sri Aurobindo has said thus of Abstract Art: "The idea (of the modernist) is to get rid of all over-expression, of language for the sake of language, of form for the sake of form, because all that veils the thing in itself, dresses it up, prevents it from coming out in the seizing nudity of the truth the power of its intrinsic appeal. There is a sort of mysticism here that wants to express the inexpressible. It is the same impulse that pervades the recent endeavour of art. Form hides, not expresses the reality: let us suppress the concealing form and express the reality by its appropriate geometrical figures and you have Cubism, or, since that is too much, suppress exactitude of form and replace it by more significant forms that indicate rather than conceal the truth—so you get "abstract" painting or, what is within reveals itself in dreams, not in waking phenomena, let us have in poetry or painting the figures, visions, sequences, design and of dream, and you have Surrealist Art and Poetry". Against this background of flashing Truth and Wisdom one has to evaluate Modern Art.

Modernistic Artists record directly, without editing, their emotional experiences and thought processes through Abstract Art which is apparently a chaotic jumble of divergent, convergent and rhythmic lines and planes, a simplification of forms and shapes fused into an intricate design, a dynamic use of contours and colours. They play malicious havoc with all accepted canons of art. Impelled by galvanic motor energy and cerebral considerations, they seek for immutable archetypes existent beneath the surface of appearances and un-

veils an the subterranean depths of the psyche. Rockwell Kent, one of the world's greatest living American Artists, has said thus: "In the minds of a large section of our culturally sophisticated, or gullible public it has come to be believed that if it is not an Abstraction it is not Art. In art—recognising Aesthetics as we must, to be what our senses apprehend of all pervading universal order—Abstraction would remove from its context, life and matter; and of its disembodied elements with line, "pure" line of course, "pure" form, "pure" colour, create Art. If the material Universe, of the beauty and dignity of man, and of his joys and sorrows, the Abstractionist is, by the very definition of his art irreverent."

Whether one likes it or not, Abstraction has largely coloured Modern Art and it has come to stay. It is futile to attempt to ignore Abstract Art. Abstract or non representational Art expressed in arbitrary and unfamiliar compositions and formal patterns invented by modern artists is not intelligible. It began in 1906 in Paris and today it is the most vital and controlling international force in Modern Art. The first purely Abstract Painting was the work of Kandinsky in 1910. Abstract Art has forged ahead along three paths—one, classical, rational, and intellectual as in the architectonic works of Cezanne, (few of the present day Artists follow this path now); the other, romantic, intuitive and emotional, as in the paintings by Gauguin; and the third is the highly complex, violently emotional and deliberately distorted yet profoundly significant, works of Picasso, Max Weber, Jackson Pollock, Braque, Fernand

Lager, Chagall and Chirico. Some well meaning critics and artists of knowledge and integrity view with alarm the growing popular acceptance of Abstract Art, and bemoan with the famous Historian Arnold Toynbee that nothing but the breakdown of spiritual values is manifested in Modern Art. Their arguments against the validity of Abstract Art have been collectively summarised in a masterly manner by the famous art critic John I. Baur thus: "First, that it is a form of escapism which refuses to deal with the experiences and problems of life; Second, that it is exclusively self expressionist, an art of private symbols and forms, which fail to communicate with average spectator; third, that it is unAmerican, not in a Chauvinistic sense but in depending too heavily on unassimilated foreign influences, such as that of Picasso; fourth, that such of it lacks craftsmanship and is a refuge for the incompetent. Those who do not make the first charge often add a fifth; that it is too faithful reflection of the sterile scientific determinism and empty morality which they believe to be the characteristic of our time."

In the course of a revealing letter to the writer of this article, Rockwell Kent, one of the world's topranking living Artists, says; "It is my impression that the most 'advanced' spokesman for 'Modern' art contemptuously repudiate the thought that art should be a means of communication. Quite frankly, I am not the least bit interested in any form of expression that is not directed toward that end. I am not interested in art but, rather in what art can reveal to me of life—as you and I

tha man of the street, the people in the fields and if they would be honest about it, the sophisticated understand it—is the only thing worthy of human beings' concern. An English painter, for example, whose name I have fortunately forgotten, dressed himself in black silk clothes and a white helmet, lays a canvas on the floor, squeezes a black pigment (may be stove polish) on to it and produces pictures which, in succession, he has named "Asphyxiation No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3". We have countless advocates of art as an expression of this sort of "emotionalism". Anyhow I am not the least concerned about it, and if what is going on in art is to be taken as indicative of what has happened to Western man today, I see only the desperate need of so changing the world that mankind can return to the normality of other days."

Novel Art movements have often proved unintelligible to the common man when they were first introduced. But, later, they became widely acceptable by the succeeding generations who came to possess some knowledge of these new 'isms'. Beethoven and Wagner were called 'noisy' and "unintelligible" by their contemporaries. Time and posterity have reversed this opinion and established their greatness as the Immortals. Therefore, Abstract Art or Modern Art cannot be ignored, simply because it does not easily appeal to the masses. Mass appeal alone is not the criterion of good art. The artist's responsibility is not to the common denominator of public intelligence but to the highest from which the meaning will spread in time to wider understanding. He cannot be required to popularise his thought any more than the scientist or the mathematician, for all seek

truth. Art, Truth, in its newly discovered aspects, is often difficult to comprehend. If it awakens echoes of strangeness in the spectator and stimulates his imagination with suggestion of elusive meaning and emotions, it will have *communicated* as forcibly in its own way as the more explicit forms of rational art. This it does, indeed to those who are willing to meet it on its own ground. Einstein's theory of Relativity, Raman Effect, the modern developments in Nuclear Physics, the theories of Jung and Freud, are all highly complex and beyond the immediate and intimate understanding of the common man. But who can deny their enduring contribution to human advancement? Those who want to know about these supreme achievements must study them. Why should this necessary concession be denied to the Artist, who too is an Inventor.

The real reason why Modern Art fails to interest and enlighten the average onlooker in his sheer inability and un-willingness to meet Modern Art on its own ground. He should take a cue from what the great visionary Blake said: "He who does not imagine in stronger and better light than his perishing mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all" Pity the man who does not realise that Art has travelled a long way from its start of truthfulness of appearance or photographic accuracy in man and nature. That perfect likeness alone does not make a good portrait has long been established. A knowledge of the development of art is necessary to supplement one's general awareness of what Modern Art can impart to the inner meaning of life. Unfortunately most of the people look at paintings without equipping themselves with the required knowledge. Indeed, art appreciation is

primarily dependent upon the observer's inherent and cultivated capacities to be receptive to beauty. Modern Art like modern science and philosophy, is an enigma to them. If the gamut of the unalloyed enjoyment of the observer should be enlarged he must learn the rudiments of art expression so that he will be able to cognise the aesthetical qualities in works of art, which move his heart, intellect, and mind. He should realise that Modern Art is not colour photography but the realisation and revelation of truth of a selective and constructive type, the communication of the evanescent glimpse of the creative artist. The spectator must learn to recognise the visual symbols of emotion, such as lines, shapes, forms, and colours, used by the Artist. Many centuries ago one of the greatest scholars, in aesthetics and literary criticism, Sishavanatha, in his *Sahitya Darpana* made it clear that the tasting of *Rasa* the vision of beauty—is enjoyed only by those who are competent thereto."

No longer do we have as in the past a collective style of Art, homogenous, that lends itself readily to the immediate enjoyment by all. The ever increasing personal freedom and individualism among Artists of the present day have resulted in a diversity of style, absolutely in keeping with the spread of democratic ideals in thought and expression. To read and understand the language of Contemporary Art, one must take some pains. Those who are not prepared for this will always view with dismay and dissatisfaction the new trends and portents in art. Like every other human endeavour, Art too is constantly developing, changing and experimenting. Classicism, Academicism and Revivalism, are in the wane, and abstra-

tionism is at its meridian. Abstract Art is no more a mere cult or fashion in art, but a deep rooted Movement exercising profound influence wherever art is practised. Any one who does not have his inner world to translate is not an Artist, for individual expression is the highest law of Modern Art. Paul Gauguin, one of the world's Masters of Art, has stated : "One must not seek what encompasses one's eyes, but what lies at the mysterious centre of thought."

Sir Reginald Blomfield, the author of famous book *Modernism*, said in 1935 that should be surprised if the products of modernism in art survive, say, one generation. To this, the immediate rejoinder of Eric Newton, reputed art critic, was that after all the ultimate test of worth in art is that it gives pleasure and there are plenty of people who get pleasure out of the more extreme forms of Modern Art. Subsequent developments have substantiated that Sir Reginald Blomfield's surprise and Eric Newton's conviction have become true. Abstract painting is today, a paying proposition, which means that the public have come to love, enjoy, and want it. What is really wrong is not Modernism in Art, but its prevaricating exploitation by the large crowd of opportunists and mediocrities, and the incompetence of the people to understand Modern Art. They cannot dismiss it as ugly and crazy because they cannot understand it.

Growth and change are the visible and inevitable manifestations of life. Art is an indication of life, emotional, and intellectual. No sensible man can afford to remain unaffected by the different and unfamiliar transformations in art. The wise man will make an

honest attempt to discover the new values in the diversity and changes that have left their characteristic stamp on Modern Art. All facilities should be given to the average observer to discover and appreciate the new values. Happily, there are easily accessible to the general public up-to-date books on art combining catholicity of outlook and popularity of style, as in the famous Penguin, Pelican, Margaret Harold and Mentor Series. These books provide the key to a proper understanding of Modern Art, and open the eyes of the people to the pleasure which art can give.

For the cultivation of popular art consciousness and providing stimulus to art appreciation. Art Education should be imparted to the public by all educational and cultural institutions, art societies, Akademies, art museums, and through travelling Art Exhibitions. A simple elementary course in Aesthetics which conveys basic facts about Art Appreciation, as is provided in the secondary schools in France, will stimulate popular interest in Art. The Art Appreciation classes through Lectures, and Exhibitions, first conducted in 1936 at Ashington by Prof. Robert Lyon of the Durham University, and followed up by several public institutions in England, have been most helpful to the masses to understand and appreciate Modern Art. In the Art Department of the London County Council Special Courses of Lectures on the Appreciation of Art and Architecture are held. Their main object is to promote in the layman a comprehension of the World's masterpieces and thereby to raise the standard of general culture. Such instruction alone will remove the obstacles in the way

of proper appreciation of art and enable people to be less hidebound, less blind to new values, to be wiser in standards and fairer in judgment. If those who are charged with the noble task of educating the public to be better citizens and useful members of society do not open their eyes to the indeferrable need for providing art education, and if they do not implement a well thought-out scheme of art instruction, the appreciation of Modern Art will continue to remain an enigma even to the elite.

A product of intuition, feeling, and imagination is Modern Art. The Modern Artist is not an uneducated man, or a coward. He is determined to exercise his fundamental right to improvise, to communicate highly personalised Art. He is engrossed in revealing emotionally kinetic overtones by sublimated Surrealism. He is a stubborn soul holding steadfast to his own visions and language. He knows his business well and he can defend his work. He expects people to equip themselves with adequate knowledge to appraise his art. He is not of the stuff of which the pot boilers among painters, the pseudo artists, who are ready to turn out made to order stuff, like portraits, sensuous studies of pretty women, and lovely landscapes to please patrons, is made. Vision, expression, and pattern, all personal and original, distinguish the art of the genuine Modernist in Art, while the semi-artist who thrives on sensationalism is a menace to Art. The genius of the modern Artist asserts itself more in the initiative he displays in the arrangement of his material than in the relative novelty of the subject matter. Such an Art is the produce of a conflict between a Concept and a Reality. Without

a knowledge of these fundamentals, appreciation of Modern Art which is becoming increasingly mystic, is an absolute impossibility, for contemporary Art is not an open book which any one who runs about may read and digest like a poronographic tract.

What Pablo Picasso, the Greatest and Wealthiest Living Artist, says is most revealing and authentic for it comes as the Voice of an Epoch in Art. Says this Genius thus about Art and Artists :

"The truth is that art is, of course, not just an investment, a money symbol. It is in fact something beyond price.

I will tell you why people buy art. One reason is that in art, if it is really art, the unconscious spirit of one man, the artist, speaks to the unconscious spirit of another, the viewer, and says : this is Man, this is why the Machine will never be as great as Man. This is why we suffer and love ; this is why we have children ; this is life, all the rest is pretentious boloney. Art is the antithesis of romanticism. Art is what we cannot escape from the unflattering facts of life itself.

Another reason is that art, if it is really art, is unpredictable.

Art is unfinished, and man is tired of finished goods. A portrait may be finished : a great painting is never finished. The artist has exhausted the subject, but another artist—himself ten years later may be—will find other possibilities in it a new picture.

So with the viewer. Where the artist leaves off, the spirit of the viewer can begin the journey. What is finished cannot be art, because art is life, and what is fini-

shed is death. The last stroke of an academic picture puts a bullet through the subject. It is the *coup de grace*.

When man buys art he buys not beauty but life with all its microbes in it. He learns to love the "ugliness" in things as well as their "beauty". He discovers that nothing is hideous, not even himself, that there are no such things as ugliness and beauty; he is liberated. Can you look me

in the eye and say that there are no vitamins in refuse?

Abstract art is for the birds. Abstract art is phoney; there is no construction. An artist should take reality, bend it to his will and sell it to feed his children.

Art is the currency of the infinite: it can never devalue. I know because I am very rich, and so I should be."



INDIAN PERIODICALS

HERMANN JOSEPH MULLER

Dr. S. P. Raychaudhuri writing in *SCIENCE AND CULTURE*, Sept., 1967, pays tribute to the late Prof. Muller :

In the death of Professor H. J. Muller, N. L., on April 5, 1967, the world has lost the most original and all-round biologist. Muller's discovery, that X-ray produce mutations of genes, is ranked as one of the most outstanding discoveries of all times ; yet he was little known outside the scientific fraternity for, throughout his life he scrupulously avoided all kinds of publicity.

Muller's grandfather, Nicholas Muller, emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1848. Muller's father, Hermann Muller died at the age of 47 when H. J. Muller was only nine. Muller as a child attended a public grammar school in New York and later entered the Morris High School whence he graduated in 1907. He was the founder-secretary of the first high school Science club in U. S. A. and the founder editor of his class newspaper. He won a merit scholarship at the high school examination when he was only sixteen, which enabled him to continue his studies in the Columbia University, New York. Amongst his teachers at Columbia, E. B. Wilson influenced him profoundly. I have always seen a photograph of Wilson on his office table both in Edinburgh and in Bloomington. Muller received his B.A. in 1910. He obtained a graduate science scholarship and in another year he was M.A. in Physiology and his thesis was on "The nature of the

nerve impulse". He left Columbia for a year as a teaching fellow at Cornell Medical College before he returned for his Ph.D under Thomas Hunt Morgan, N. L. with a teaching assistantship in Zoology. It is here, in the Zoology Department of the Columbia University, the foundation of Modern Genetics was laid. Morgan was the leader of an unique group of graduate students consisting of H.J. Muller, C. B. Bridges, A. H. Sturtevant amongst others. Discoveries followed in rapid succession and the publications from the laboratory during this period are classics of Genetics today. Muller told me from his personal recollections of those days that the degree of mutual collaboration between the workers in their laboratory in solving problems under investigation was such that it was very difficult for them to give credit to one person or the other for a particular idea leading to a major discovery.

In 1915 Muller was awarded Ph. D for his contribution on the mechanism of crossing over—now considered to be a classical contribution. At the invitation of Sir Julian Huxley Muller joined the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas and in 1916 became the chairman of the Biology department. He joined the University of Texas in Austin in 1921, and in 1923, married Jessie M. Jacobs, a mathematician. Their son, David Eugene, now professor of Mathematics in the University of Illinois, was born in 1924. Muller's epoch making discovery was made in 1926 and he presented a paper on the subject at the 5th

International Congress of Genetics held in Berlin in 1927. The paper, unlike that of Mendel before the Brun Society, created a sensation amongst the geneticists present.

Muller left for Berlin in 1932 after winning a Guggenheim Fellowship and joined the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute. The rise of Hitler forced Muller to leave the country because it was not possible for him to work there any more.

Quite early in life Prof. Muller was interested in the progress of biological sciences in the U.S.S.R. At the invitation of the greatest Soviet geneticist, N.I. Vavilov, he went to the U.S.S.R. in 1933 where he apparently found a paradise for genetic research in Leningrad and later in Moscow. He found a world of difference between the facilities and support provided to him in Russia with what he had in America. His wife divorced him and left Russia but Muller stayed on. Muller's 'paradise' for genetic research was gradually turning into 'hell' by 1937 owing to the influence of a Ukrainian plant breeder named Lysenko who was backed by the then ruling party. It became impossible for the geneticist of the U. S. S. R. to carry on researches in genetics. This science was branded as Mendelian-Morganian nonsense. On the advice of his friends he quietly left Russia to join the Institute of Animal Genetics at Edinburgh as Guest investigator in late 1937.

When Britain was blitzed it was no longer possible for Muller to stay on in Edinburgh and he returned to his own country with his wife late in 1940. In 1945, he was appointed as Professor of Zoology at the Indian University, Bloomington and in 1946 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine.

At long last, Muller found a place where he could work uninterruptedly for nearly 20 years. After the Nobel award he won a large number of laurels from various organisations of, at least, 14 different countries; to mention a few—he became the President of the Genetics Society of America; President International Congress of Genetics; President, American Humanist Association; President Society for the Study of Evolution; Kimber award of the National Academy of Science, U.S.A; foreign membership of the Royal Society of London; Honorary Fellow of the National Institute of Sciences, India and many others.

Muller's fight against the radiation peril has not been altogether unsuccessful as he himself remarked some time back. "Today there are two currents in the medical professions on the subject of radiation. For years there was only one. So we are making some headway." Further, over a hundred American top scientists in the National Academy of Sciences accepted Muller's long-held view and made two major recommendations in 1965:

1. To establish a national system for keeping a record of every American's exposure to radiation from any source throughout his life;
2. To limit the amount of man-made radiation reaching human reproductive organs "by whatever controls may be necessary."

As a humanist Muller had to fight another and much more difficult battle and this was against the deliberate misuse of the science of Genetics. In his opening sentence of his address to the NAS as a recipient of the Kimber award he said, "Genetics seems to be the field of 'natural' science that is most abused by

persons with political and other interests, in their attempts to fabricate theoretical bases for their practices, as in the case of Hitler's racist obsessions and Stalin's Michurinism." The former, as we all know, led to the unprecedented atrocities against the Jews and the latter to the banning of Genetics from Russia. Muller thundered from different platforms and wrote forceful articles to expose their false theoretical premises and the dire consequences of science in political bondage. Many other top-ranking geneticists joined Muller in this crusade and the result happily is the rehabilitation of Genetics in Russia after emancipation from political bondage and a more scientific attitude towards the race controversy.

Prof. Muller inspired all who were around him and in the process realised sublime inspiration, like a lamp which becomes brighter as it burns. Such was Prof. H. J. Muller.

LEO TOLSTOY

Dr. S.C. Varma writing in *THE ARYAN PATH*, February, 1968, says about Count Leo Tolstoy :

Tolstoy, like Gorky and other great Russian social realists and writers of the time, looked around himself and found Russia on the verge of a cataclysm, undergoing the first birth pangs of the new revolutionary order. The authority of the Czar and the Church was being questioned and challenged, and serfs had been freed. A new intelligentsia, which had no roots and vested interests in the landed aristocracy, was coming up, portrayed differently in such works as *At Daggers Drawn*, *The Possessed*, and Tolstoy's own *A Contaminated Family*. Some of the boldest sons of

Mother Russia were living abroad in exile, calling for action to change the existing social order. And the atmosphere was further heated by the debates raging between Slavophiles and Westernizers, reactionaries and nihilists, and believers and atheists. Tolstoy saw all this, and much more. He also saw the coming storm and change, and declared, "I cannot be silent."

He did not remain silent. Like Ruskin, Tolstoy expressed his disgust with the shocking and inhuman consequences of economic individualism. He recognized humanity as divided "into two classes, one working, oppressed, living in misery and suffering, and a second which is idle, oppressing, living in abundance and enjoying themselves." This was possible because the capitalist "steals from the worker, year by year, the most part of his earnings and takes it himself." Thus, like Proudhon and Marx, Tolstoy treated property not as the product of the capitalist's thrift and self-denial but as theft. He also declared it as "the root of all evil," and denounced those who lived by the sweat of others' brow.

Tolstoy regretted the denaturing of human life and, therefore, called man back to nature. It was a reaction against a social life which was fast becoming too artificial, too sophisticated, to remain healthy and creative. But the call was not given in the Wordsworthian mood of "wise passiveness." To Tolstoy nature meant all the processess of life, motion, and change ; and he asked men not to live at the mercy of blind social forces but to participate actively in these processes. He, therefore, extolled labour, which was to become the sole religion of the coming socialist order.

And the only way to help the poor, he said, was not to sit on their backs and feel sorry for them and give them charity, as was done by the capitalists, but to get off their backs—a point which was missed by Abbe de Saint Pierre when he pleaded for a perpetual Concert of Powers as a way to universal peace. It was also necessary, Tolstoy held, to do away with the State, which was designed to protect private property; to non-cooperate with an order in which one class exploited the other; and to so recognize society that money ceased to be a means of exploitation, status, power, and prestige. In view of this, he said, the proper function of the science of political economy was “to teach nations to desire and to labour for things that lead to life and to scorn and destroy the things which lead to destruction.”

Tolstoy did not stop here. He observed that the feudal and capitalist systems and the State were not the only institutions which exploited and oppressed men. Religion, institutionalized religion, to be precise, did the same, dehumanizing man and alienating him from himself, his fellow men, and God. Like Pascal and Kierkegaard, therefore, Tolstoy attacked all organized and formalized religion. He rejected the ideas of the Trinity, angels and devils, the Creation of the world in six days, the Virgin Birth, etc. For his objective was to purge Christianity of its mystical and irrational elements in order to make it humanly understandable. He sought to combine faith and reason, and thus became, like Goethe in German, both the Rousseau and the Voltaire of Russia. Maybe, he was “the greatest Christian” as Hauptmann pro-

claimed or, maybe, he was the “greatest atheist of his age” as Maeterlinck declared on his death. The vital point, however, is that Tolstoy treated Jesus as a man and constantly referred to “this God enclosed in man.” For to him God was acceptable only in terms of human aspirations and identity.

A man who is in love with life and has abundant faith in the creative potentialities of the masses is bound to be against slavery and war; for slavery and war negate life and creativity. “Every year of war,” Tolstoy declared, “makes men more immoral than could millions of robberies, fireraising, murders, committed by single man under the influence of passions, in the course of hundreds of years.” A “Christian army” was a contradiction in terms, and the priest at least, Tolstoy said, should be ashamed and shocked when administering the oath to soldiers: “he takes up the cross, the same cross to which Jesus had been nailed, because He refused to do what this man, his pretended servant, orders others to do.” Tolstoy’s philosophy of history was thus anti-heroic. History, he said, was neither the work of some divine power nor of Napoleons nor of certain philosophers; history was the work of the masses, of the teeming and toiling millions. Like Dostoevsky, Tolstoy refused to accept Nietzschen heroism and Supermanship as the correct ideals of a sane and balanced life, personal or social.

Tolstoy rejected any art which was divorced from the life and fears and hopes of the masses as pseudo-art. True art, he said, brings men together in fellowship and

creative co-operation. It must, therefore, be rooted neither in an abstract theory of aesthetics nor in the artist's subjectivity, but in the life of the masses and the artist's social awareness. Such art can flourish only in a classless society. For in a class society the artist's consciousness itself becomes divided and narrowed, and art becomes class art and a status symbol. It becomes highly abstract, formalistic, atomistic, and cynical. And this not only severely limits the appeal of art but corrupts the public taste and destroys true artistic sensibility. In fact, servile art, as Tolstoy put it, is "a measure of the corruption and decadence of privileged classes."

IRRIGATION COOPERATIVES

J. D. Jain writes in the *INDIAN COOPERATIVE REVIEW*, Oct., 1967 :

Cooperative credit societies, which were perhaps the first to be introduced in our country, were followed by agricultural co-operatives, industrial cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives and so on. They have all greatly benefited our people and the economy as a whole. But no attention has so far been paid to the starting of cooperatives for irrigation which, as a matter of fact, is the basic necessity of Indian agriculture.

In the context of the present acute food shortage and the stress on more extensive and intensive agriculture, India's prime need is for more water for irrigation. Although the area irrigated by canals, wells, tanks and other sources has increased over the past fifteen years from about 500 lakh acres to 870 lakh acres, the latter figure represents no more than nineteen percent

of the total land under cultivation. This underlines the extent of the country's continued dependence on rainfall and the widespread failure of crops which inevitably follows when the 'gamble in rain' does not pay off. A recent tragic example has been provided by the unprecedented drought and near famine conditions which have prevailed in Bihar and some parts of UP and effected the lives of millions of people in the rural parts of the States.

Agriculture is now rightly accorded a very high priority in India's national planning and ranks next only to defence. Estimated expenditure during 1966-67 was as much as 42.5% above that for 1965-66, while further investment in agriculture including irrigation in the Fourth Plan is likely to be double that of the Third Plan.

The past two decades have witnessed the launching of mighty river valley projects and a big expansion of the country's irrigation system. But these projects and all other schemes completed by March 31, 1966 have accounted for only about 36.5% of the usable volume of water. There is still a considerable potential for further development. Vast sums of money are spent on irrigation schemes. It is essential that a sound policy of water management and utilization should be evolved and implemented. It is in this context that irrigation cooperatives can play an important role.

In the foreseeable future some two-thirds to three-fourths of cultivable land in India must continue to depend on natural precipitation and is likewise subjected to the intensities of storms which result in major run off and flooding. It is vitally impor-

tant that these rain fed lands receive more, not less attention as to the conservation and management of the precipitation that falls on them. Irrigation cooperatives at the village level can play a very important role in this sphere.

Irrigation cooperative must be set up at the village level for providing a regular supply of water to the fields. The membership of an irrigation cooperative must be open to all the cultivators working in the area of its operation. The Government can help these societies by providing finance and technical guidance of experts free of charge. These cooperatives will not work as independent bodies but will work as supplement to the irrigation department. They will mainly deal with minor projects and temporary relief works and help in the completion of bigger projects benefiting their members.

During times of drought, as happened last year, these irrigation cooperatives can play a great role in providing irrigation facilities to farmers by providing water from tanks and reservoirs in which they collect water during heavy rains. They can dig kachcha wells and sink tube-wells at their cost and thus provide water to the cultivators in times of adversity. The work of sinking wells can be done more speedily through these cooperative societies than by the irrigation department due to the fact that the members of these societies are directly affected by the delay in sinking or digging of wells. From a recent survey it has been revealed that in the draught affected areas of Gorakhpur Division in Uttar Pradesh the cultivators in a cooperative spirit completed the digging of 1,20,000

kachcha wells in about 20 days times in their bid to fight the draught conditions. Government can subsidise such efforts by cooperatives by granting cash subsidy and thus enable people to mitigate the effect of natural calamities in an easy way. Had the work of sinking tube-wells and digging kachcha wells in the drought affected areas of Bihar and UP been entrusted to such newly set up irrigation cooperatives the situation would have not taken such a serious turn and the miseries of the people would have been lessened to a large extent.

Canal leakage and run off of water during the monsoon have resulted in an estimated forty five million acres of water logged land of which about fifteen million acres are salt affected. The irrigation cooperatives at the village level can remove this water logging by taking up effective drainage and water disposal system in their respective areas and thus reclaim much land and prevent further water logging. These cooperatives can build up big reservoirs and tanks nearby and collect this superfluous water in them to be used for irrigation during periods of scanty or no rains.

There are vast areas in the country which get water for irrigation from rivers, canals and reservoirs. They get regular supply of water but some times due to high rate of sedimentation of reservoir stream beds and canals hinderance is caused to the supply of water from these sources to the fields. Cooperatives can keep a watch that stream beds, canals and rivers in their area cleaned off and on and sedimentation be checked by taking different measures

such a reforestation and stabilization measures.

The above steps taken by the cooperatives at the village level as supplement to the irrigation department will enable agriculturists to make optimum use of available sources of water and avoid waste. But at the other end of the scale there is primeval problem of saving large tracts of land from ravages of flood during the monsoon. The worst floods during recent years occurred in India in 1955 when about 275 lakh acres of land were affected. Long term plans of flood control include such means as construction of flood moderating reservoirs that have to be integrated with anti-water logging and drainage schemes. An expenditure of Rs. 148 crores was incurred on flood control measures upto the end of the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan provides for a further expenditure of Rs. 115 crores. But a large part of this expenditure can be avoided if irrigation cooperatives are formed at the village level and they work in coordination with the irrigation department.

Irrigation cooperatives at the village level can ensure an expeditious, fuller and efficient utilization of the irrigation potential by re-

moving the causes of delayed or inefficient utilization such as, delay in execution of field channels and faulty design of channels, lack of land preparation by levelling, grading and sub-dividing fields into plots of adequate size, lack of uniformity of irrigation as a result of wild flooding of fields with consequent shortage or excess in high or low spots, wastage of water and washing away of nutrients in the soil, losses in the form of seepage, deep percolation and running off of water; a tendency to over-irrigate; ignorance of correct cultivation practices and suitable crop patterns.

Rural irrigation cooperatives will not usurp the functional area of powers of the State irrigation department. They will supplement and not replace the departments. With vast areas of land still waiting to quench their thirst there is ample scope for both the irrigation department and village irrigation cooperatives to function in the same field at least for a period of fifteen years to come. While the irrigation departments will have exclusive jurisdiction in launching new irrigation projects both of them can have concurrent jurisdiction in management and distribution.



Foreign Periodicals

EARL ATTLEE

The following are taken from the British Information Service SURVEY, 10-11-67 :

TRIBUTES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tributes were paid to Lord Attlee in the House of Commons when Parliament reassembled on 23rd October (Hansard, Cols. 1335-67). The Prime Minister said that Clement Attlee was a member of the House of Commons for 33 years. There were few men, if any, he said, who had done more to speed the process of change from the country he knew as a young man to the country in which we were living today. Referring to his achievements while Prime Minister after the second world war Mr. Wilson said that the creation of the Welfare State and the attack on poverty were given a very real priority in the work of his Government. Before he laid down office he could have claimed that Britain's social services were a model for the world to copy. Nothing gave him greater satisfaction than supporting the launching of the National Health Services

But the greatest expression of his vision for the future, continued Mr. Wilson, was his decision to give freedom and self-government to the 400 million people of India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. This was a signal that the old imperialism had ended and that a new Commonwealth had been called into being.

Mr. Edward Heath, Leader of the Opposition, followed the Prime Minister in paying tribute to Lord Attlee. He said that as Deputy Prime Minister he complemented so much that Winston Churchill did to win the second world war. As Prime Minister after the war he must be considered one of the most effective Prime Ministers of modern times. At home he handled an immense programme of social legislation and the development of atomic and nuclear weapons; overseas, the development of the Empire into the Commonwealth, the creation of NATO, the organisation of European economic development, the Berlin airlift, Korea, and rearmament—tremendous burdens which he carried superbly.

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Leader of the Liberal Party, also paid tribute to Lord Attlee. He said that as Prime Minister he came in for much criticism from many who would now be the first to recognise his qualities. Perhaps a reason for this was that it was some time before the British people pierced his outward modesty and reserve to discover that he was a man of real courage and utter integrity, and deep compassion. It was no exaggeration to say that his decision to create the Far Eastern Commonwealth and the dramatic extension of the Welfare State made a permanent impact on the lives of millions of people all over the world.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

L. B. J. STEPS DOWN

President Lyndon Johnson of the United States of America has declared that he would not stand for the Presidential election this year. He does not wish to be the President again even if the people of the United States wanted him ; for he feels that public opinion both at home and abroad has begun to associate him with the progressively intensifying war atmosphere which is spreading all over the world. President Johnson feels that the world needs peace and that the aim of human civilisation is to banish war from the earth. If by his decision to stay out of the contest for presidentship, the world gets a better chance to realise the ideal of international peace and amity, nothing will please him more than to retire from the political field. Those who think that the peoples of the earth are being dragged deeper into the war fever that is now raging, by his policy and his way of handling international problems will get a chance to discover the truth of their accusations. Wars may rage, as they have before, without any Lyndon Johnson to

provoke them. In fact according to his own belief, he has always tried to establish peace between nations, but circumstances have made it impossible for anybody to tone down the feelings which stimulate people to fight. There are many races, groups and parties in Vietnam which wish to dominate the entire region, although no single ideological community can claim numerical majority in the area. Those who are aided by Russia and China are now contending with the porteges of the U. S. A. If it is right for the Russians and the Chinese to try to create new communist states by giving military assistance to selected pro-communist forces, why should it not be right then for the U. S. A. to render assistance to anti-communist fighters ? Such and similar arguments have induced the U. S. A. to participate actively in the civil war in Vietnam. Other anti-communist nations have supported U.S action and some have even sent soldiers and supplied equipment to fight the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. In U. S. A. too there are vast numbers who are

in favour of fighting in Vietnam ; although those who oppose it are gaining ground now. World opinion also favours the idea that the war in Vietnam should be stopped ; for one can now see clearly that a decisive victory for any party will be inevitably preceded by fighting on a much larger and more intensive scale. That may quite easily drag the other powers into it and thereafter a global war with nuclear weapons will be just round the corner. In such circumstances all efforts should be made to stop the fighting and to see that the stoppage is really and truly a return to peace conditions. The U. S. A. and the others who are trying to stop the communists from taking over south Vietnam must be assured that the Communists will stop interfering with the internal affairs of the non-Communists ; for if the Communists continue to be aggressive, the war will break out again, even without Lyndon Johnson.

It is utterly fantastic to suggest that the fighting in Vietnam has been the result of one man's, misguided thoughts and that once that man goes out, the people of South East Asia will immediately begin to feel a brotherly affection for each other and all humanity. History tells us that the various races inhabiting the lands that are now involved in war, have always indulged in little wars. L. B. J. has no doubt given that war wide dimensions ; but he surely was not the originator of the fighting that has involved local people as well as the Japanese and the French, during the last twenty years. It may now be good strategy to talk peace, but soon war may return to fashion again. With no admiration for the President of the U. S. A. that we feel, we must still stick to facts and a rational way of giving weightage

to them in judging relative causal importance. We have to admit that the people of the earth who believe in ideologies always go off the rails from time to time and become aggressive against others who have a different ideology or faith. The Russians, the Chinese, the Germans, the British, the Americans and many other nations have indulged in such aggression. We see no signs that the peoples of the earth are becoming more rational and conscious of the rights of those who differ from them. We therefore think that universal peace cannot be brought into force just by displacing a man here or a group there. A precise assessment of causes must always precede any planning for the abolition of war from any place or from the earth.

DEMOCRACIES AND REPUBLICS

Democratic and Republican forms of government do not guarantee equal freedom to their subjects in all cases. The people of a certain State with a government dominated by elected representatives of a political party with absolute majority can be subjected to many rules, regulations, controls and handicaps which may reduce them to the position of slaves of their elected rulers. In another case, where no single political group, could attain overwhelming power, the people might retain their rights and freedom to a much greater extent. In Switzerland, for instance, the Cantons have much more freedom in all matters concerning their own territory and people than even many states have in larger Federations or Unions. The Swiss cantons can even promote the officers of their militia upto the rank of Captain without any interference from their national government. In

India the various States have a lot of freedom to engage in squabbles among themselves over inter-state movement of goods, use of a language for education or a script on the number plates of cars but in all matters concerning more fundamental rights they are completely under the thumb of their Central Government. Parliamentary government, therefore can cause deprivation, expropriation, exploitation and persecution of fairly large groups of persons without actually violating the basic principles of government by the consent of the majority of the elected representatives of the people. People who are higher in point of culture, wealth and social position are always in a minority in all countries. If in a democracy or a republic there are no constitutional provisions protecting the rights of persons who are not numerically strong; the greedy and jealous majorities can always make laws to dispossess those who are better off and lower their status in society. In some cases privilege has to be abolished in order to establish justice in its proper place; but all attempts made by government to grab power or possessions from individuals do not necessarily establish justice. The nationalisation of life insurance in India for instance has injured relatively less prosperous persons and has not benefitted the poor or the downtrodden. The attempts that are now being made to exercise "social control" over banks will probable injure the interests of the people without doing any good to any one. Almost all efforts made by inefficient persons to socialise, nationalise or to plan the basic economic institutions of a nation, usually lead to disastrous consequences. If political parties ever achieve a majority they should

never use their advantage to effect changes in the basic structure of society, nor attempt to change the status of large groups persons. For majorities never last forever, and any attacks on the prestige, position or rights of others will inevitably call for retaliation as soon as the rolls are reversed. That society acquires reasonable stability which does not try to jump forward in too many directions at the same time. Progress should be slow and certain and should not affect the wellbeing of any particular class of persons. In India our political parties have no sense of locational rights nor of the importance of individuals and their wishes and desires in forming the ultimate national or statewise policies for the development of cultural and economic institutions. The political parties always seek ideologies of a basic categorical sort and miss the fundamental human needs of a community organised in families, clans, classes, castes; or religious, racial and linguistic groups. The result is that the parties suffer from wants and shortcomings which do not really reflect the psycho-physiological demands of the people; and the party programs make much of what really does not affect the lives of the people in any intimate or intensive manner.

Socialism, whatever meaning it acquires in the party dictionaries, certainly cannot be a substitute for food, clothing, education housing or medical aid. It cannot replace good roads, efficiently run railways or effective postal, telegraphic or telephonic organisations. The work that has been done by the political parties during the last 20 years will show how busy they have been doing nothing that could make human life more comfortable, useful or perfect. The Parliamentary system

for the operation of a federal form of democracy in India has developed into a type of government which can be called a highly acquisitive bureaucratic organisation backed by party men whose promises have not been made good as far as the electors are concerned and who have tried to establish a centralised structure in administrative and economic fields with the sole purpose of making themselves all powerful and complete masters of the lives and possessions of those who have elected them. Jobs have been created in ever increasing numbers in all branches of government with the idea of stretching and pushing the tentacles of bureaucratic management into our lives as much as possible. The State has progressively gone into every sphere of life and the result has been state ownership of various mismanaged major industries, state sponsored purchasing, storing, distributing and selling units all over the country and State control over banking, financing, personal savings as well as over industrial or commercial requirements of the nation. Life insurance had been nationalised and, of course, telephones, railways, posts and telegraphs, radio broadcasting, irrigation, mining, ownership of land, sea fisheries and many other things have been in the clutches of the State for long years. Nothing has been or is managed or operated effectively and nobody has a good word to say for anything done governmentally. Education including publication of text books ; manufacturing a State language, giving workers protection from disease and injury, safeguarding everybody's provident funds, general medical provisions in the shape of hospitals, sanatoria etc. and numerous other functions have been taken over by the depart-

ments of the various governments and none of the functions can be described as properly carried on. But the State is not yet suffering from any loss of appetite for increasing varieties of functions. The Parliamentary form of working the sovereign, socialistic (in pattern only), Federal, Democratic Republic has been used for creating an all powerful and many branched monopoly for political leaders and their henchmen. It is high time all Indians tried to cure the great political disease by creating constitutional checks and safeguards.

RAILWAY DISASTERS.

Indian Railways are not improving their safety arrangements. More and more accidents are taking place on the railways and the nature of the accidents show a wide range of lack of inspection and acts of omission or commission. The other day when a railway bogey caught fire the alarm signal did not work at the same time and several persons died and got injured. The fire started due to either a short circuit in the electrical system or by friction caused by improper lubrication, sticking parts or some such thing. This accident therefore demonstrated a twofold negligence of persons in charge of the railways. The fire could not have occurred if things were systematically checked and examined. Also the alarm signal did not function. The excuse given for this was that of late the railway passengers had been using the alarm signal in a frivolous and irresponsible manner and the railway authorities had therefore ordered the signals to be disconnected. This explanation cannot be accepted for the reason that the railway authorities could not pass any such order without a high

level decision and if such a decision had been made then all alarm signals on all trains would have been disconnected. That would have been a major change in railway safety arrangements and notices should have been put up to let passengers know of this drastic change. We think, however that no orders to disconnect the alarm signals on any trains could have been issued by any responsible railway official and had anybody issued such orders, his action would constitute a major breach of railway rules and regulations. The incidents and explanations therefore require thorough investigation.

There have been other cases of accidents at various times in various places too. Trains colliding or running into standing wagons or bogies are the most frequent type of accidents. With all sorts of mechanical devices for the prevention of such collisions we cannot see how these could happen unless railway personnel were extremely negligent and unmindful of their specified duties singly and in groups. Superior officers who see to things cannot be excused either ; because they should know when their subordinates were carrying out instructions scrupulously as well as when they were not doing so. Discipline is enforced from the top and not even the Railways Minister should be excused from shouldering his part of the responsibility. When the Railways Minister wanted to resign recently after some accidents the Prime Minister asked him not to.

We do not see why the Prime Minister thought it necessary to do this when, the Minister concerned was doing the right thing. There have been many cases of derailments caused by defective permanent way and by

deliberate tampering with fishplates and other fixtures. Proper permanent way inspection and policing should prevent these things. There are ample staff of both kinds employed by the Railways. Why do they not do their work more conscientiously ?

We also hear of trains running over people crossing railway lines and of collisions between trains and road vehicles at unguarded level crossings. There are laws which make it an offence to cross railway lines excepting by overbridges. Why are not these laws enforced ? Why are there unguarded level crossings on our railways ? How many are there and how much does it cost to have them guarded properly ? The main thing that one has to assure the public of is their safety in relation to railway travel and the running of railways generally. This assurance is not there and the public feel that the railways are managed carelessly and in a slipshod manner. All government managed institutions are working in the same or a worse manner. The main cause of this is lack of supervision and of punitive action when the culprits are found. If the entire railway staff collaborate with one another in making the railways unsafe and inefficient in operation ; then large scale dismissals should be effected by legislation. Similar dismissals in large numbers would be necessary in all state managed institutions if India wanted to introduce precision, accuracy and efficiency in her economic life. All rights and no obligations make a nation's workers completely useless. Our national life is reeking with inefficiency, unreliability, dodging duties and bluff. Then we have quite a lot of petty larceny, cheating, falsification of records, bribery and other

corrupt practices. The moral pretensions of our political leaders have not removed these. Stronger methods must be thought of quite soon so that things improve.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH

Sheikh Mahammad Abdullah was a political leader of some importance even in the days of the British overlordship in India. When Independence came and Kashmir had not yet opted for either India or Pakistan Abdullah advocated accession to India when the Pakistanis tried to occupy Kashmir by force. Thereafter the Sheikh could not adjust himself to the idea of being a unit in a federation of States, as Kashmir has to be after its accession to India. Punjab, Maharashtra or Bengal are similar units in the Indian federation of states. These States have no special rights excepting what accrues to them through the provisions in the Indian constitution. These states contribute much more to the Indian Union in money, man power, industries and natural resources than the state of Kashmir does. Sheikh Abdullah's idea that the Indian Union should make special provisions of an extra constitutional kind for the Kashmir people, is based on a misconception of political rights. In a secular democratic republic there can be no special rights for special groups of persons on the ground of their religion, race or other characteristics. Kashmir cannot have any special treatment just because Pakistan has grabbed a part of it with the approval and support of several foreign powers. The Sheikh too should be treated like any other Indian, who talks treason and acts anti-nationally.

DANGER AT INDIAN FRONTIERS

We have a long frontier over very difficult terrain in most places. Uninhabited,

bleak mountainous regions for hundreds of miles unapproachable for lack of roads, dense jungles, snakes, wild animals and terrible obstacles created by nature, would be a good description of our frontier line. It is very difficult to guard a frontier like this for the reason that most places in it are naturally unguarded and if special guards are placed along its length a large army will be required to watch the thousands of inhospitable spots with no clear cut objective other than to see that nobody entered India without the knowledge and sanction of the Indian government. It is easier to guard Indo-Pakistan frontiers than the Indo-Chinese. The line separating India and Pakistan is not so desolate and the work of guarding it not so heartrending. It is also not easy to cross over and occupy Indian territory without such intrusion being detected as soon as it occurred. The border line separating Chinese occupied Tibet from India can be crossed at many places without detection because the Indian side is deserted and has no normal movement of people in the ordinary course of their daily activities of life. The Chinese have come into India at many places and occupied our Territory without detection when they did so. Later on they were found to be well provided with approach roads and fortifications at the places they occupied unlawfully, while we had no roads nor militarily strong out-posts in most of these places. We had therefore to lump it, as they say, until we could feel well prepared and equipped for chasing the Chinese back to their side. It may take us long years to achieve that degree of military preparation and in the mean time the Chinese will be able to consolidate their position on our

territory, They will also be able to create contact more easily with all Indian groups which specialise in disloyalty to the mother land and treason. The Chinese have already supplied arms to rebel tribesmen of India and funds to political partymen who do not feel any shame in accepting money from their country's enemies. The Indian government should have been able by now to build a few strong military out-posts in some places where the Chinese have been more active. We do not know if they have actually built many other necessary roads, bases and advanced fortifications to retaliate successfully in case of further Chinese attacks or to successfully reoccupy the territories now in Chinese hands. If they have, they should by now be able to prevent the Chinese from creating contact with Indian traitors. For this sort of connections do exist between the Chinese and their Indian agents and if the Chinese get a free hand they would try to create traitors' corridors connecting Chinese occupied Tibet and East Pakistan. They already have contiguity with West Pakistan through the so called Azad Kashmir which the Late Lal Bahadur Shastri so unwisely handed back to Pakistan at the insistence of Western Pro-Pakistanis after India had driven the Pakistan army out of it. Guarding the North-Eastern Frontier therefore is a very important part of our national defence.

AMERICA RE-ARMING PAKISTAN

Whenever we hear of Pakistan acquiring military equipment we usually trace the supplies back to the U. S. A. Whether the immediate supplier is Iran, Italy or West Germany the goods

are made in U. S. A. in most cases. There are other helpers and suppliers too; but whether they also were inspired to assist Pakistan by the U. S. A. is not easy to ascertain. China has given some weapons and some foreign currency to Pakistan but the Chinese aid has not been of a size to put the Pakistani military machine back on its old time effectiveness. Pakistan is buying aircraft from France. If the French are getting immediate payment for their supplies the money may be coming from American sources. If the French are giving credits to Pakistan, may be the Americans are inducing them to do so. The hand of the U. S. A. is visible behind all supplies of arms to Pakistan. Economic aid is also being given by the U. S. A. to Pakistan for purposes other than getting prepared for war. Who can guarantee that the Pakistanis will not buy planes with the funds that she is receiving from the U. S. A. for setting up industries, hospitals or schools and colleges? Chances are that funds received for other purposes are being spent on military supplies.

KENYA INSULTS INDIA (?)

Kenya became a free country in 1963 and a republic in 1964. The head of that new state is President Jomo Kenyatta. Latterly the Kenyans had begun to organise their country in the manner of independent states. That is persons who are not natural born Kenyans have now the necessity to obtain permission from the Kenya Government to stay and work in that country and those who do not obtain such permission have to leave Kenya. There are many Asiatics in Kenya, including large numbers of Indians, who hold British Pass-

ports issued to them by the British Government by reason of their membership of the Commonwealth. These people have been living in Kenya with British passports but the Kenyan Government recently asked them to leave, unless they changed their nationality to Kenyan. Many Asiatics migrated to Britain when this happened and the British made new rules restricting the immigration of Asiatics holding British passports. Whatever the legality of such restrictions may be at international law the Kenyans have nothing to do with it. The British should have made compensations for having issued passports to persons who in their opinion were not entitled to enter Britain freely and at their will. The Indian Government sent Sri B. R. Bhagat, their Minister of State, to Kenya to discuss the rights of Indians holding British passports. Why he made an appointment with the President of Kenya to discuss a matter which did not particularly concern the affairs and relations of the two states in a fundamental manner, was not explained by the government when the opposition raised the question of the President of Kenya cancelling his appointment with Mr. Bhagat. One might think that the President of Kenya discovered that what Mr. Bhagat wanted to discuss was a departmental matter with which the President was not directly concerned.

Mr. Bhagat went to Kenya and had his discussions with the Kenyan Government,

though his visit did not receive the dignity of a visit at highest level. We cannot say that the incident deserved the prominence that was given to it by some opposition members. They argued and tried to prove that President Kenyatta had not shown all the courtesy that should have been shown to Mr. Bhagat. In this interpretation of the incident too the opposition members have been carried away by their emotions. For one should not take it for granted that all visits of all Indian officials should be participated in by the top men of the visited States. If President Kenyatta had to be consulted about anything the proper procedure should have been to send a more senior person to Kenya than Mr. B. R. Bhagat.

Whether the British had anything to do with the alleged discourtesy shown to India, is another matter. The British have tried and will always try to create divisions among the numerous States that they have carved out of their now defunct Empire. In this work of intensifying disunity among the peoples of the earth the British are not alone. The Americans and all other powers also contribute substantially to the general atmosphere of unfriendliness that prevails the world over. It is therefore the duty of all powerless states to strengthen the fellowship that exists among them. There are persons who play into the hands of the powers by taking up the cudgel at the least provocation. This should be avoided and friendliness maintained at all costs.

THE THREE LANGUAGE FORMULA

Dr. (Mrs) SAROJINI SHARAN.

Besides making literature a language, or languages have to perform five important functions in a country. First, a language has to do the work of an official language for carrying on administration within the country. Secondly, it has to serve as a medium of instructions in all the stages of education of a nation. Thirdly, it has to serve as a link of understanding between various peoples within the boundary of a state. Fourthly, it has to act as an unifying force between the various groups of people. Finally, it has to equip those people who step out of their nations into the international world, with the means of international communication.

In England, U.S.A., France and many other countries only one language, as accepted by the people therein, serves all these purposes. India is not fortunate enough to be included in this list. We are facing today great difficulties in finding out one common language which will perform all the functions described above. The language issue in India is a ticklish one. It has created much bad blood amongst the different regions of the country. It has led to violent demonstrations resulting into damage of national and state properties. The country has suffered immensely and is standing on the brink of emotional disintegration.

Let us examine the background of the three language formula and test the ability of English, Hindi and the regional languages to serve the five purposes set above.

1. As official language :

According to Article 343-1 of the Indian Constitution "The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagri script." But English is to continue for fifteen years more¹ for all official purposes of the Union. The Parliament is

empowered to make law for the use of English language for official purposes even after fifteen years²

In the States the Constitution provides that English shall continue unless the States themselves provide otherwise by law.³ States can make laws for the use of Hindi or any other regional language for State Administration.⁴ For official communication between one State and another, different States can agree on Hindi as common language. The language of the Union—whichever is in use English or Hindi—is to be language of inter-communication between States and the Union.

The language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts, Bills, etc is to be English until the Parliament by law provides otherwise⁵ It is important to note here that an ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Sir P.B. Gajendra Gadkar held the view that any regional language is absolutely inappropriate as the media for the High Courts and the Supreme Court.⁷

English or Hindi or any other regional language alone is unable to do all the jobs of official language for every part of India. Within the boundaries of States, the States will keep Hindi or other regional language as the language of administration. Outside the boundaries of the States, in their communication with the other States of the Union, they have to adopt either Hindi or English. Hindi will be adopted only by some of the northern States. Rest of the States especially the southern ones will go for English there is no doubt about it.

2. As Medium of Instructions in the various stages of educational system : There are fourteen languages⁸ which have been recognized and given equal status by the Indian Constitution.

The States are free to direct their educational

institutions to adopt the regional language as medium of instructions. Article 350 B of the Indian Constitution provides for a special officer for safeguarding the interests of the linguistic minorities.^{8A} Here also English or Hindi or any other regional language alone is unable to do all the jobs for all the corners of India.

3. As link of understanding : Linguistically India is made up of heterogeneous elements. The Indian Constitution has given recognition to the equal status of all the major languages spoken in the country. Because India is linguistically heterogeneous, there has to be a link language which will facilitate understanding not only between the elites of the country but also between the masses. The question of link language has to be seen from three angles (a) link between the masses ; (b) link between the elites, and (c) link between the universities and the libraries in India.

(a) Link between the masses—The common masses of India are not made up of only Hindi speaking groups. Majority of the masses of India are made up of non-Hindi language groups. It is true that the Hindi speaking group is the largest, yet it is more true that taking together all the non-Hindi linguistic groups, the non-Hindi groups are in majority. If Hindi is to become the link language of the whole of India, it will have to depend upon the acceptance of the non-Hindi groups. The key lies with them. The Hindi speaking group cannot force Hindi upon them. The greatest opposition is coming from Madras, which has decided even to disband its National Cadet Corps because the commands are given in Hindi.⁹ It shall not be inconsistent here to point out the role of the cinema in propagating Hindi to the furthestmost corners of India through entertainment.

Today even entertainments in the form of Hindi films have become detestable in Madras. Worst riots have taken place in the name of anti-Hindism. Anti-Hindi violent demonstrations have taken place in other southern states also. All this is unfortunate, but still more unfortunate is the attempt by the Hindi speaking groups to force Hindi on the unwilling people within as well as

outside their own boundaries¹⁰. This has led to a suspicion in the minds of the southern people and also of people of other parts of India. They think that the Hindi speaking Indians want to dominate them through their language and place them in a disadvantageous position. It is here that Hindi has failed most and English cannot take place of Hindi as the link language of the masses. English is after all a foreign language. It cannot establish kinship with the masses. Link between the masses can be established only through an Indian language. Hindi is the widest spoken language and is inter-provincial in character. On this ground it has got the best claim for becoming the link language amongst the masses.

(b) Link between the elites—The elites of the whole of India should have a common language. It is very necessary for the growth and exchange of knowledge and opinion. At present this can be only English. A person of Sri Chagla's eminence who was Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and who had adorned the bench of the International Court of Justice as an ad hoc Judge from India, quitted the cabinet on language issue because he considered English as a necessity for maintaining the unity of India". The unity of the elites is more essential than the unity of the masses. If there is emotional disintegration amongst the masses, the elites can bring them back to emotional integration. But if the elites of the country themselves disintegrate emotionally it would be the worst day for India.

(c) Link between the Universities and the libraries : As Dr. Miss. Aloo Dastur, Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Bombay University has observed¹², University education and the researches should be carried on only in the link language. She said that if researches are done in the regional languages it will be waste of effort because it cannot be available to all the elites of the country. It is agreed by others also that all the universities and libraries should have a common language so that they may be able to refer and draw knowledge from common sources. Then only they will be

able to exchange, scholars, teachers, students and books. This language can only be English at present.

If research theses on science, humanities or social science subjects are written in Hindi or any regional language, how can their standard be maintained? A thesis written in Hindi language cannot even be examined in South India, leave alone the question of its being examined in a foreign country. The same will be the case with a thesis written in Tamil or Telugu which cannot be examined in north, east or west India or in any foreign country. The international standard which is so much necessary for a high and good academic standard of any Indian research work cannot be maintained in such cases. We cannot dispense with English in this field. Dr. Triguna Sen himself said that he had no sympathy with the movement to drive English out of the country: "That would indeed be suicidal and put us back to the 18th century".¹³ It would be contrary to the spirit of our times and our "Yug dharma" English is a window for the world.

Prof. M.R. Dandavate, an eminent educationist of Maharashtra and a member of the PSP National Executive is of the view that the medium of instructions in all the universities in the country must be one language in order to facilitate mobility of teaching staff, exchange of scholars, ideas and researches. For the time being English should continue. Later on it can be replaced by Hindi. Regional languages should be used only at the school level".¹⁴

We find that at present English is the only language of link between the elites of this country. English is the only library language for the whole of India which can open up vistas for new knowledge. Hindi will take a very long time to reach that stage.

Till then we have to depend mostly upon English. There is nothing to be ashamed of in depending upon English for knowledge. Americanism and Europeanism have already entered our culture. We are donning their dresses, copying their music and accepting their habits. We have even changed our outlook towards life and the world from spiritualistic to materialistic.

Why should not we accept their knowledge? We have been learning English since long. Why should we unlearn it now when it is serving a useful purpose. It has never harmed us. It has brought us unity, nationalism and ideas of democracy.

The higher technical education also has to be carried on in one common language. It should not be done in regional languages. Prof. R.N. Dogra, President of the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions delivering his presidential address at the Annual Session of the Association at Baroda said that upsetting the present pattern of university education by introducing regional language as media would be "to set the clock back as the country was not even fully prepared to make change over at the school level"¹⁵. Prof. R.N. Dogra is very right. If we dispense away with English at present we shall remain backward—centuries behind the other nations. We shall not be able even to use scientific appliances like the electronic computer and the teleprinter.

5. As medium of International communication: For exchanging opinion with the elites of the world it is very necessary to know one of the chief foreign languages. We, in India, are already teaching and learning one foreign language i.e. English. English is the widest spoken foreign language of the world. There is no doubt about it.

With the knowledge of English we can step out of our country into any part of the world. Of all the chief foreign languages, English language has the deepest roots in India. It has well trained teachers and institutions. Indians like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. Sarojini-Naidu have made contributions to its literature. In other fields also Indians have made their contributions through English language. Hindi or other regional languages have no place in the list of world languages. Hence for international communication we have to retain it.

The greatest and the most dangerous enemy of India which is raising its head at many places is parochialism. It is in its worst form today. We have become self centered. Nationalism

is at its lowest ebb. No one is thinking in terms of the whole nation. Our unity is in danger. The issue of language has become one of the disrupting forces. We have had the division of our country once on ground of religion. Now shall we disintegrate on ground of language? Unity, integrity and independence of India are the best cherished ideals for us today. We should all achieve them and maintain them. If Hindi states will insist on destroying English and if other states will persist on not learning Hindi, there can be no way-out. It will lead to balkanisation of the country. To make the burden of learning languages equal on all, it is necessary that the Hindi states should learn one more Indian language which will be an addition to learning of Hindi and English. The three language formula is the only solution and hope which can assuage the fears of every group. We have seen that neither English nor Hindi nor any other regional language alone will be able to do all the jobs a language in a country should do. Each of these languages will do one bit of work and the whole job will be done by all the three taken together.

Learning of three languages will be a heavy burden on us all. But we have to bear it for the sake of our unity, integrity and independence.

The three language formula will be examined in this background.

If we wish to trace the deep roots of this three language formula we will have to go back to the year 1867 when the first demand for changing over to regional language in the university stage was made by the British Indian Association of the North Western Provinces (present Uttar Pradesh) in a memorial to the Viceroy. This demand was for introducing the regional language in the Calcutta University. This was rejected by the Viceroy on the plea that the vernacular languages of India were not fit for university education¹⁶ Second demand was made in 1884 for introducing the regional language in the Allahabad University. But again it was rejected.¹⁷

Many commissions, committees and conferences like that of Radha Krishnan Commission,

Official Language Commission, Emotional Integration Committee, Education Committee, Committee of the Members of the Parliament on Education and the Vice Chancellor's conference contributed directly or indirectly to the making of this formula.

Three language formula was discussed at the five day International seminar on long term educational and training programme for the advancement of women in Asia. It urged the Government to accept the three language formula. This seminar was attended by 130 delegates and 40 observers and it was conducted by the National Council of Women in India with the collaboration of the Indian National Commission of UNESCO and the Maharashtra state Women's Council, Bombay.¹⁸

The three language formula was actually devised by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956.¹⁹ Later on it was approved by the Chief Minister's Conference held in 1961.²⁰ The impelling conditions behind this formula was more political and social than educational. The formula established equality with regard to the study of languages between the Hindi and the non-Hindi areas. It recommended that as against the third language-Hindi, which pupil in the non-Hindi areas have to learn, another Indian language (besides Hindi and English) should be studied by pupils in the Hindi areas.

The difficulties in the implementation of the three language formula were :

1. Heavy language load in the school curriculum ;
2. The lack of motivation for the study of an additional modern Indian language in the Hindi areas,
3. the resistance to the study of Hindi in some non-Hindi areas ;
4. the heavy cost and effort involved in providing for the teaching of the second and the third language for five to six years (from class VI to class X or XI) ;
5. the half-hearted implementation ;
6. very little gain by the students because of unreal situations and inadequate facilities for learning the third language ;

7. the recognition of English as associate language for an indefinite period which made the study of the third language unimportant.

According to the Report of the Education Commission 1964-66 the basis for a workable three language formula are²¹ :

1. Hindi is the official language of the Union and in course it will become the lingua franca ;
2. English will continue to enjoy a high status as long as it remains the principal medium of education at the university stage and the language of administration at the Centre ;
3. The degree of proficiency that can be acquired in learning a language at school depends also on the motivation of the student ;
4. The most suitable stage for making the learning of three languages compulsory appears to be the secondary stage (Classes VIII-X) ;
5. The stage at which Hindi or English is to be introduced should be left to the discretion of the states, because it will depend upon the motivation for that particular language ;
6. Learning of four languages should not be made compulsory. It should be voluntary.

The Education Commission 1964-66 (also known as the Kothari Commission) therefore recommended a modified or graduated three-language formula to include :²²

1. The mother-tongue or the regional language,
2. The Official language of the Union and the associate official language of the Union so long as it exists, and
3. A modern Indian or foreign languages not covered under (1) and (2) and other than used as the medium of instruction.

The implication of this graduated formula would be that at the lower primary stage only one language would be studied compulsorily—the

mother tongue or the regional language at the option of the pupil. According to the Constitution,²³ the state Government should provide primary schools teaching through the mother tongue for the linguistically minority children, if they so desire, subject to the usual condition approved by the Education Ministers' Conference (1949) that the minimum number of such children should be 10 in a class or 40 in a school. These children should also have facilities for studying the regional language also because that will be to their advantage. The Kothari Commission was not in favour of teaching English as a second language at this stage.

The implication²⁴ at the higher primary stage (uptil VII) would be that only two languages would be studied on a compulsory basis : (1) mother tongue or the regional language, (2) The official or the associate official language.

At the lower secondary stage (VIII-X) the implication of this formula would be that a study of three languages would become obligatory, and a student would be under obligation to study either the official language of the Union or the associate official language, which he had not elected at the primary stage.

At the higher secondary classes preparatory to the University education the implication of this formula would be that the students would have an option to select two of the three languages from the following groups (1) modern Indian languages (2) modern foreign languages and (3) Classical languages—Indian and Foreign.

The Kothari Commission was of the view that at the University stage, the three language formula would be a heavy load on the student²⁵. It would entail a waste of time and resources there. The study of only two languages should be compulsory at this stage.

The position of the official language in the formula :

The three language formula as modified above is elastic and will meet the varied linguistic needs. The study of English and Hindi would be indicated in terms of hours of study and for 3 years and the other for those who study it

for 3 years and the other for those who study it for 6 years. For most children completing lower secondary stage of education, two of the three languages learnt will be Hindi and English which are link languages working as instruments of integration. Some need only a working knowledge of Hindi or English and others need proficiency in Hindi or English. Although English would be the most important library language to be studied, a certain number of students will be studying a library language other than English in all parts of the country. In every linguistic region, there will be a certain number of students studying modern Indian languages other than Hindi and thereby opening up multiple channels of internal communications.

Study of Hindi : Study of Hindi should be encouraged on voluntary basis. Every Indian should have a working knowledge of Hindi. Those who will have to use it as official language at the centre or the state level should acquire a much higher proficiency. The Commission held : "But in our opinion, the cause of Hindi and also of national integration would be better served if its study beyond a certain point is not forced on unwilling sections of the people."²⁶ This in turn will depend upon the extent Hindi will become the language of administration.

Scripts : Burden of learning languages is heavier because of the differences in script. The student is required to learn three scripts very often. The solution to this problem as suggested by the Commission²⁷ is the adoption of a common script either Roman or Devnagri for all the Indian languages. The students will learn the Indian language first in their own script and later on when they have mastered the language, they will be taught the proper script.

About the numerals the Kothari Commission suggested²⁸ that it should be the international form which should be adopted. It also observed that the international numerals were actually of Indian origin. Adoption of these numerals will lead to great convenience.

Study of English : According to the Commission it will continue to be a library

language in the field of higher education. A strong foundation for English will have to be laid at the school stage. But the effective teaching of English in the lower primary classes, where millions of pupils are enrolled requires a very large number of trained teachers who are not available..... "We therefore recommend that the study of English as a foreign language, except on experimental basis in certain schools should not begin before class V".²⁹

Study of classical language : The Commission did not agree with those who wished to include Sanskrit or other classical languages in the three language formula. But it accepted its importance. Sanskrit and other classical languages may be taught and learnt on optional basis from VIII onwards.

The Kothari Commission did not support the idea of separate Sanskrit Universities. It held that Sanskrit should be taught in all the Universities.

Conclusion : After saying everything about the three language formula, one has to stop at the threshold of the uncertainty through which the country is passing. One cannot miss the point about the increasing interference of the most volcanic and violent sections of the masses in deciding policies and putting pressures upon the Government to do or not to do certain things. The issues which ought to be decided in the legislatures and cabinet rooms are taken out into the streets, by the interested politicians. Everything becomes surcharged with emotions and passions. Everything becomes uncertain.

Even if all the saner elements in the country decide upon noble plans, there will always be a big 'If'. Such plans will succeed only "If" the most volatile and the volcanic section of the people accept it. And the walls of parochialism have surrounded them—They are unable to see beyond. They have become un-Indian. The only way-out seems to be an all political-parties meet where the political leaders will try to rise above their narrow outlook and give a constructive lead to the people. They must leave agitational politics. They must leave being dogmatic and dictatorial.³⁰

1. Indian Constitution. Article 343-2
2. Ibid Article 343-3.
3. Ibid Article 345 para 2.
4. Ibid Article 345.
5. Ibid Article 346-2.
6. Ibid Article 348.
7. Times of India 18.10.67. "Language Question", an article by Gajendragadkar.
8. Indian Constitution—Eighth schedule.
- 8A. Ibid Article 350 A
9. The Statesman 29—1—68.
10. Ibid. Sri Nijalingappa said that the Hindi protagonists consider Hindi as their personal property.
11. Hindusthan Standard. 6.9. 67.
12. Times of India. 22.7.'67.
13. Times of India 9.10.67.
14. Times of India 22.7.67.
15. Hindustan Standard 30.11.67.
16. Times of India, July 18, 1967.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid 3.10.67.
19. Report of the Educational Commission 1964-66 P.191 (Kothari Commission)
20. Ibid Page 191
21. Ibid P. 192.
22. Ibid P. 192.
23. Ibid P. 192, Indian Constitution Article 350A
24. Ibid P. 193.
25. Ibid P. 196.
26. Ibid P. 196.
27. Ibid P. 196.
28. Ibid P. 196.
29. Ibid, P. 197.
30. The Searchlight 9th Feb. 1968 Sri Jaiprakash Narain's speech at Patna.



THE OCEANICS AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

BISHWANATH SINGH

The twentieth century has witnessed not only the breath-taking developments in the weaponry of warfare, but also an increasing attempt, both at the national and international level, to harness the forces of nature for augmenting the welfare of mankind. In this respect, the oceanics field provides an immense opportunity and a great challenge. Occupying about 70.8 per cent of the surface of the earth, the oceans are known to be the depository of varied sources of wealth, ranging from an important source of food, particularly of animal proteins and fats, to minerals like coal, petroleum, gas and sulphur and the precious jewels. The oceans are the reservoir of salt chemicals and fertilizers. This phenomena of largely unharnessed oceanic abundance provides a curious contrast with our world where 70% of the population suffer from under-nourishment and a great many of them from starvation. The oceans, if properly harnessed, provide an important key to the socio-economic development of the nations of the world and they have almost unlimited potentialities. The objective of this paper is to discuss the potential of the oceanics field with particular reference to the Andaman & Nicobar Islands of India. II. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are one of the centrally administered territories of India. The Andamans are a group of 204 islands lying 500 miles from the mouth of the River Hooghly. This land area is 2,589 sq. miles-the extreme length being 219 miles and width 32 miles. In their south lie the Nicobar Islands with their aggregate area of 627 sq. miles. The total land area of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands is 3216 sq. miles. Their administrative headquarters are at Port Blair on South Andaman, and an assistant commissioner is stationed on Car Nicobar in the Nicobar Islands. The Islands have not received

the attention in any proportion to their importance, the reason being that in popular imagination they have largely been associated with a penal colony for the settlement of the convicts. The strategic importance of these Islands was emphasised during the Second World War when the Japanese occupied them and built a number of roads and jetties there. After their reoccupation by India in 1945, the penal settlement was abolished. After the attainment of Independence, it has been the policy of the Indian Government to settle some of the displaced persons from East Pakistan and Burma in these Islands.

These Islands, situated as they are in the middle of the bay of Bengal possess physical and geographical advantages as well as unique environmental features that make them specially suitable for all types of oceanic research and investigation, like oceanography, geophysics, biomedicine, agronomy, astrophysics and astronomy. Also, the unique composition of their population and their location offer unusual advantages for research in many fields of social sciences, particularly sociology, criminology, anthropology, economics, education, linguistics and military sciences like navy, etc. However, the unique advantages and immense potentialities of these Islands have been matched only with the general indifference and even ignorance about them and they have thus far not participated in research and development projects in any proportion of their importance. It is highly important that the potential of the oceanics field there is as widely recognised and as fully exploited as possible by the Government of India.

III. For the sake of convenience, the discussion of the potential of the oceanics field for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands may be

divided under several sub-headings like Fundamental Research, Exploitation of Natural Resources and Naval Operations.

A FUNDAMENTAL OCEANOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

In spite of the tremendous increase in the Scientific knowledge about this universe, knowledge about the oceanic phenomena is still very limited. Little is known about the circulation patterns of the oceanic currents in all its ramifications. Nevertheless, this knowledge is necessary, because the currents are known to influence such diverse phenomena as the fertility of the sea, the dispersion of radio-active wastes, and changes in climatic conditions. Similarly, knowledge about the distribution and density of deep sea organisms is very limited.

Many sea animals possess strange organs which function mysteriously. These are some of the unsolved problems of oceanography, attention towards which may be fruitfully directed at these Islands. The Islands possess many interesting oceanographic features and is an ideal center for an oceanographic research institute analogous to the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute in Massachusetts, the Lamont Geological Observatory in New York, or the Scripps Institute in California.

B. EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Oceans are the store-house of a variety of minerals which are found both in dissolved water-chemical as well as in solid deposits. A number of mineral deposits are being profitably mined, as for example, iron ore in Japan, tin in Malaya, diamonds in South Africa. Similarly, sulphur is recovered from salt-domes in the Gulf of Mexico, phosphoric deposits near the coast of Southern California. Deposits of oil and gas also have been discovered in the sea-water. It

remains to be explored the possible mineral deposits at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the waters around them.

Closely connected with the mineral resources of the seas are the biological resources found in them. The sea-waters provides a great opportunity for the protein-starved world. With the little organised efforts, the supply of fish proteins from the seas could be multiplied. To countries like India, which are chronically short in food-supply, the fish-industry in the seas may provide a good solution.

These Islands should provide an ideal location for the development of fish-industry and research in fish-culture. The Government of India have been spending a lot on the food front. The exploitation of the fish-supply from the seas at these Islands assume added importance in this context. These Islands also provide an ideal situation for research in tropical agriculture and tropical diseases.

C. NAVAL OPERATIONS AND WEATHER PREDICTION

It is in the field of naval operations that the true importance of these Islands seems to be gaining recognition. The natural fortifications of the Indian subcontinent-surrounded by the seas on about three sides and the Himalayas on the north, had tended to create an illusion of security, a kind of Maginot Line mentality. But when the Himalyan barriers were breached by the Chinese invasion on India in 1962, this illusion was shattered. That invasion also served to remove any illusion of impregna-

bility from the side of the seas. An awareness is gradually dawning on India that the oceans and the seas, far from being the protective ditch, may turn out to be the royal road of invasion from without. The late Mr. K.M. Panikkar was right in pointing out that "it is the oceanic space that dominates the strategy of the Indian defence."

The Indian Ocean, after the Suez crisis of 1956 has ceased to be a veritable British lake, rather it has tended to be a whirlpool of conflicting interests. In 1957, Soviet warships had visited the Indian Ocean for the first time in many years. In 1963 the USA also extended the operational sphere of the 7th Fleet to the waters of the Indian Ocean. In April 1963, India's Defence Minister had stated in Parliament that the Chinese had the capacity to operate in the Bay of Bengal. Already the greatest Asian power, Communist China has global objectives. Her coast-line in the Pacific is an ideal spring board for jumping off into the Indian Ocean. The late Mr. K.M. Panikkar had written as early as 1944: "A renovated and triumphant China...may become a greater menace to the defence of the Indian Ocean than even Japan with her lines of communications extended so far from sources of her power."

China is feverously increasing her naval power. In 1963-64, China had developed the number of her naval personnel up to 31,000, including 15,000 in Naval Air Force, whereas the corresponding figures with regard to India, Australia and Japan were 16,000, 11,000 and 38,000 respectively.

Bound by the waters of the sea on three sides, India can not afford to ignore her navy. Ultimately her own strength, rather than any permanent presence of the USA will be an assurance to her security. It was this realisation which led her to take steps to garrison the Andamans and a shore establishment was commissioned there on the 15th Feb., 1964. The Andaman & Nicobar Islands have great potentiality in any programme of naval development in India. There can also be very fruitful co-operation in the naval development between the neighbouring countries by creating a naval training institute at these Islands and providing opportunities of naval personnel from these countries.

Sound naval operations require accurate oceanographic information for charting remote areas and monitoring the weather and the currents. The Islands of Andaman & Nicobar are uniquely suitable for such marine investigation and research. Though they are in the middle of the Bay of Bengal, they are rarely affected by a cyclone. The greatest importance of their central location lies in their suitability for communicating accurate information relating to the direction and intensity of storms to the shipping in that part of the Indian Ocean. It was in recognition of this importance that a meteorological station was established at Port Blair as early as 1868.

IV. Any ambitious oceanic programme at the Andaman & the Nicobars will inevitably face the problem of finance and trained personnel. But the problem of finance and personnel is not something

which defies solution. Since the ocean and its resources are common property, no single nation can be expected to underwrite the cost of oceanic research whose fruits will be enjoyed by all. It is possible to attract the investment of foreign capital, both private and government. With the international cooperation, very useful oceanic research can be conducted. It can be explored if the fertility of the sea can be enhanced and if selective breeding of the ocean species

is possible. It appears to me that ultimately man will have to learn to utilize marine resources with the skill of the farmer rather than in the haphazard manner of the hunter at the present. In the realization of this ideal, the Andaman & Nicobar Islands can have a role. In conclusion, it may be emphasized that India can have a very brilliant future in the oceanic field if it takes full advantages of the unique natural facilities available at these Islands.

NON—ALIGNMENT IS NOT NEUTRALISM

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The recent tripartite meeting of President Tito of Yugoslavia, Mrs Indira Gandhi of India and President Nasser of Egypt in New Delhi, India's Capital, as chief architects of non-alignment in their foreign policies reaffirms its importance in an ideologically divided world. Non alignment is one of the most important principles that gives a positive content to peace, by identifying the political and economic imbalances that threaten it by the vast gap that lie between the rich and poor nations.

The Atomic and Jet age has made the one small indivisible unit, that is modern nations are much more interdependent than independent. It is inconceivable that any nation or group of nations could isolate themselves with a neutral or negative policy in world affairs today. The word "neutrals" has a special derogatory meaning when applied to these Afro-Asian lands, in that it tries to mark them as "fence sitters" in interna-

tional relations who are said to be completely unmindful of what fate awaits the rest of mankind. Such a policy is both impracticable and suicidal in application in our New World. It is perhaps through ignorance rather than with malicious intent that India, Ceylon, Southeast Asian and African lands are termed neutrals. This assertion by both sides of the power blocks is quite unwarranted as they possess dynamic and positive alignment with great power groups.

The application of the word "neutrals" definitely has a recent history. The post-World War II era saw the rise of two giants of continental dimensions : the United States and the U.S.S.R. as the world's greatest powers. Each had the alignment of one-third of mankind. The one-third aligned to the U.S.-U.K. is pledged to uphold the western democratic way while another third was committed to the Soviet Union-China block is

pledged to sustain the communist way of life. The remaining one-third are the nations uncommitted to either of the above two groups, who exist in the Asian-African region. There is a constant ideological and economic cold warfare between the power groups to win the minds of the millions who inhabit these lands. It is some of these uncommitted nations who are wantonly called neutrals.

In the words of the Burmese Ex-Premier, U. Nu, "the implication seems to be that a nation that does not choose sides and irrevocably with one or the other camp in the armed truce that exists in the world today, lacks courage and convictions. And very often the inference which seems to be drawn is that if you are not with us, then you are against us, you must be either openly or secretly in tow with communism. This seems to be the Western concept of neutralism and therefore there exists a real need for the clarification so that we may build better understanding between the East and the West."

Neutrality is a word that applies to war and belligerency and it is the opposite of belligerency. Man has developed such a state of mind in the post-war era that he cannot get out of the war mentally. The word neutral is completely out of place in time of peace and no war. The so-called neutral nations are supposed to fall in line with one group or the other of the two power-blocks and they are not entitled to a place for independent thought and action. This kind of thinking is essentially authoritarian according to late Premiers Nehru of India and Bandaranaike of Ceylon.

These uncommitted nations find that they would have to face formidable problems besides the moral factors involved if they were to join any power groups. Any alignment would inevitably involve the acceptance of military aid, which means the mortgaging their future to power groups which they have joined. Besides the acceptance of such aid leads them to be labeled puppets or satellites. Military alliances are inevitably a challenge to some other country and stand in the way of friendship with some other country. Further military alliances on a regional

basis are absolutely obsolete in the solution of world problems in this atomic and missile age. Therefore international problems could best be solved through direct negotiations or through the United Nations Organization. The late Ceylon Premier Bandaranaike and ex-President Sukarno of Indonesia stated that "military alliances are pregnant with danger to world peace." These are some of the reasons why India and southeast Asian and African nations steadfastly refuse any military alliances.

It is rather tactful recognition of the merits of non-alignment that India was made chairman of the truce commission in Korea and later chairman of the Armistice commission in Indo-China after the Four Power Geneva Conference in 1954. Had India committed herself to any one group she would not have been trusted and honoured by both sides of the power groups.

The positive role played by India, Burma, and Ceylon in their international relations are further strengthened when a study of the United Nations' voting is carefully analyzed. These nations have more or less voted 70 per cent of the time with the U.S.A.—U.K. and 20 per cent with the U.S.S.R. and the balance, 10 per cent, she has been a complete "fence-sitter." These nations have sided with either of the big powers whenever they felt that they were on the right path, or they remained completely neutral, or they launched a suitable amendment to the motion on the floor. Therefore, such voting identifies them with a positive contribution to world peace. And unlike countries like Switzerland which is definitely neutral in the sense she even refuses to seek the United Nation's membership.

Thus the foreign policies of these Asian lands are independent and positive in application. Their policies are not only conditioned for their self-preservation as independent nations, but also conditioned by their historic past. They are following the Middle Path—a positive path advocated by the Great Buddha in the 6th century B.C. India, Burma, Ceylon and Cambodia closely adhere to the Buddha's gospel of love, compassion and brotherhood of man. They refuse to join

sides as they are built on hate and fear and any future war will be a catastrophe for mankind. It is on these moral grounds that these nations have accepted India's pancha-sila—five principles, in conducting international relations. It is based on the Buddha's precepts for the daily conduct of life. The five principles that guide the relations among the nations are :

1. Mutual respect for each other's freedom.
2. Territorial integrity and sovereignty.
3. Non-interference in each other's internal and external affairs.
4. Non-aggression.
5. Lastly, acting together for mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

The last principle is the pivot of these five principles (panchasila) namely, peaceful coexistence. The necessity for this in the present world of economic, political and ideological aggression which may bring untold misery on mankind is now universally admitted. India's five principles give all right-thinking people hope and inspiration. When the world is divided into two hostile camps, with all the known deadly weapons of destruction, what hope can man have other than coexistence? The great British Statesman, Mr. Winston Churchill once said : "We win the war, but the world will be in ruins." Scientists say if over 200 H-bombs are exploded, all life in the world may be destroyed by radiation. That means it is not only the enemy who will be destroyed in the process of war, but also the user himself will be consumed in the process. In a future all-out war there won't be a victor, therefore there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

Mr. H. W. Baldwin of the U.S.A. states, "The nations in Asia are far less antagonistic to communism than those of Europe. Anti-colonialism, anti-westernism, the racial problem, the influence of communism in Indonesia, the proximity of Burma and India to Red China, the mystic—pragmatic opportunist leadership of Prime Minister Nehru of India, the the bandwagon complex of most Asians, that is, their desire to be on the winning side." The answer to this fantastic

statement is very simple. There are more communists in France or Italy than were ever found in India and these southeastern Asian countries. There is no iota of evidence that these lands lean towards the communist block against the West. The U.N. voting illustrated before testifies to this fact. India and Ceylon have adopted democratic constitutions and preferred democratic planning to totalitarianism. Further, these countries have ably demonstrated the effectiveness of economic measures combatting communism. It has also been demonstrated in a foregoing passage that in a future war there will not be a victorious side. Therefore, Mr. Baldwin's belief that these Asian lands hope to join the winning side is just a myth.

It is often heard that "so-called" neutralist Asian nations are opportunistic in that they try to exploit these power-blocks for their own economic advantage. These proud nations have never gone out of their way with a begging bowl to any nation. Mr. Chester Bowles, the U.S. Ambassador to India states that when India wanted to establish her first 100,000 ingot steel plant she first approached the U.S. and the U.K. and, after their refusal, when India was pondering over this problem, the U.S.S.R. offered to build the plant on very liberal terms. It was only then that India accepted the Russian help. Thus it is wrong to surmise that the peoples of Asia are trying to exploit the world for their own advantage and benefit.

The peoples of India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon are always conscious of the vast economic and technical help extended to them by the U. S., Canada, the U. K. and now even the U.S.S.R. If this help is rendered to Asia with selfless motives, then it is hardly ever necessary for loud talk and improper advertisement. Rather, this generosity of the Western World to these underdeveloped countries, given at a time of need will always shine in the annals of mankind and solidify mutual friendship and understanding forever and ever between them. However, the acceptance of aid does not bind these countries to any group powers.

The peoples of the U.S. followed a policy of non-alignment and non-involvement in big-power disputes after the American revolution which liberated the U.S. from colonial rule. George Washington himself formulated a policy of non-alignment in what he called "unshackled by entangling foreign alliances." Similarly these Asian nations' policies of non-alignment are positive policies seeking peace and friendship with all countries. They are policies actively seeking to discover through negotiations, compromise and accommodation of some acceptable basis on which peace of the world can be secured. One cannot promote peace if one becomes involved in military block and alliances. With independent policies these nations can best serve the cause of democracy and mankind. It is imperative that the great powers should comprehend the policies of these new but ancient lands. Sukarno of Indonesia, once stated "Fail to understand us and no amount of thinking, no torrent of words, and no Niagara of dollars will produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment."



INDIA'S ARTISTIC TALENT AND SKILL. AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

—Contributed

What is Artistic Talent and again, what is Artistic? It is not my purpose to go deep into Philosophy and Psychology to discover the true and ultimate meaning of Art nor to wander far into the intricacies of aesthetic analysis in order to establish what is perfection in the field of Art and Technique. It is quite enough to realise, as we all do, that all man made things are either beautiful or not, attractive or uninteresting; pleasing or repelling, colourful in an exciting manner or drab, capable of stimulating wonder, amazement or other strong feelings or just plain and powerless to rouse thoughts and emotions. That is to say, all man made things have or have not a certain mentally stimulating excellence which is their Artistic quality. And Artistic skill is that mastery over material, implements and methods of work which can bring out to the fullest the Artistic quality of the objects made.

The ideas that are the basis of Art are often very simple. They are also sometimes the result of profound thinking and great emotional upheavals. But the art value or the excellence of the art effort will not be directly proportional to the greatness or depth of the ideas which set things in motion to produce the work of art. The emotions which urge men to produce works of art are similarly quite simple and homely at times and powerful, strong and surging on other

occasions. Thus, someone may try to make a beautiful doll for a beloved child or paint a picture just to please himself or someone else while another artists may apply himself to produce a fit memorial for a great conqueror, a martyr to a great cause or to give expression to a deep and complex idea. A great many Temples, Churches, Mosques and Viharas have been built by people out of deep religious feelings and masses of sculpture, painting and decorative objects have been produced out of similar feelings. Political ideas have also inspired the building of great cities and edifices and the production of painting, sculpture and other works of art. But as far as the quality of the art goes it has not much to do with the size, complexity and force of an emotion to develop a certain excellence. Love for one woman or child or even pure ego can produce a great work of art while an elaborate pattern of profound thinking and feeling may not produce anything of any artistic worth.

We have now to leave aside this general discussion of the nature of art and its technique and go into the subject we want to discuss. We all know that we Indians are now planning to become a great and prosperous nation. For this our national leaders and economic experts are engaged in what is known as economic planning. That means that those who are in charge of this planning are

surveying our human and material resources and are thereafter calculating and thinking out the best methods of bringing all these productive resources into active operation so that the country can be more prosperous and economically stable and powerful. You all know how India is building great dams, hydro-electric power stations, large factories to produce all kinds of things, roads, railways, steam ships and is also expanding India's mining and quarrying, deep sea fishing, recovery of forest products and generally making a great effort to make the fullest use of science and technology to remove the poverty of the Indian people. Great minds gifted with the ability to make a synthesis of realities and visions are engaged in solving the problem of India's standard of living. We now almost know what we shall eat, wear, live in, make use of in different ways and generally consume 20 years hence, as well as what quantitative improvement that will constitute, in exact percentage, on our present quantum of consumption, so that, as far as Science, Technology and mathematical economics are concerned, we are on a very good wicket and are likely to break records at any time. As a matter of fact we almost know when we shall break what records and to what extent.

But, let us go back to the fundamentals of human life and existence. Men live because of the urge to live and they progress because they want to live better. They also feel a very strong urge to increase and multiply their species, to live together in families, tribes or nations as the case may be, and, also to excel one another in brute strength, intelligence, craft, cunning, art, music, oratory and in everything else that

can be called human behaviour, possession and achievement. The individual's ego is the root cause of all this. In primitive society dance, music, arts and crafts, fighting, hunting, magic and sooth—saying gave men the satisfaction of doing better than others. In modern society man's ego takes him into the various professions, into industry and into literature, art, music and all those other things that men do to distinguish themselves, so that the modern man follows his own eternal urges and emotions in the same manner as did his primitive ancestors. We know therefore that man's emotions and his ego are the driving forces that take him along wherever he is going. In economic planning men in very large numbers are coaxed into new ways of conducting themselves in order to make them productive and consuming units in a super-size and highly complex organisation. Theoretically, it is possible to turn men into robots and to make them behave according to mathematical formulae which will have no connection with man's nervous system at the receiving end, but will only instruct, advise and direct. In fact, men are queer creatures and their sensory responses usually override the conclusions arrived at by their upper brain. So that human emotions, instincts, urges; even human delusions, superstitions and psychological kinks have to be taken into account as important factors in social calculations where one is dealing with masses of men and women. And, we are planning to take from and to give to all Indians who are a big enough crowd of heterogeneously mixed men and women to require a thorough survey and examination from the psychological angle in order to be understood as factors of produc-

tion and consumers of scientifically planned quanta of commodities.

You may be wondering how India's artistic talent and skill are coming into these highly technical and scientific patterns of production and consumption. You are quite right too. For it is extremely difficult to retain and make use of traditional backgrounds of emotions and emotional preferences of entire races of humanity for achieving objectives which are totally and utterly scientific and supercharged with cold logic. But they have to be retained and made use of nevertheless because they concern human beings who are not moved by calculations or logic but by emotions and urges which go back to the very dim past of pre-history in their origin and which cannot be wiped out by mathematical planning or by complex machinery and equipment.

The aesthetic outlook and emotions of large groups of human beings are expressed and recorded in their dance, music, folktales, arts and crafts. These can belong to that class art which is called folk art and is simple and straight from the heart of the people. Side by side with folk art can grow the art of the leisured and cultured classes which may or may not draw inspiration from folk art and can develop its connections, styles and forms which may be complex, intricate and elaborate in motif and technique and which may, in its turn influence the folk art of the region. In India we have the folk art of the different regions and there are wide differences between areas. The urban and court art has clear cut forms area-wise as well as according to periods of history. The fact that has to be emphasised is that India is rich in dance, music, arts and crafts and

these are rich both in their existing forms and in their past styles and conventions. I am mentioning dance and music as these are as important as architecture, painting, sculpture and the various artistic crafts in the field of aesthetic and emotional expression. When we talk of artists, dancers, singers, instrumentalists, actors, composers of song, music and dramatic literature line up with poets, literateurs, painter architects, sculptors and the creative artists of the various crafts to form a grand pageant of the great creators of beauty and communicative emotions. And India has been producing artists and artistic talent and skill of a rare excellence for over two thousand years to everybody's knowledge. This history goes back another three thousand years or more, but we shall not discuss that. India has been and is a great store house of talent and skill and even today there are millions of Indians who can produce works of art of great beauty and excellence and there are thousands of Indians who possess artistic ability of a high order and who can fruitfully engage in creative work of various kinds.

II.

We are hunting for a standard of living and we are building great dams, power generation plants and factories in feverish haste in order to introduce an age of prosperity in India. But after we have procured for ourselves sufficient rice, bread and the other essentials of life, which we may do within a short period, what will be our outlook in the matter of a standard of living? Should we pack our homes

with factory made bathroom tiles and electrical gadgets to vie with America, or should we retain our emotional links with the past and create a higher standard of living that will be comfortable and beautiful? I can visualise great rectangular blocks of flats towering on the sky line of the cities and towns of India and large or small clusters of prefab—huts crowding the villages. These flats and huts will have mass produced furniture, gruesome decorations and hideous hangings. Their kitchens will no longer display any beautiful utensils made of copper, brass or bell metal. Their rooms will not have any objects of art made of ivory, buffalo-horn, wood or inlaid metal. The walls of the rooms will not display any pictures born of India's aesthetic genius, the floors will be covered with rubber, linoleum or jute fabrics and their steel almirahs will hold fineries of synthetic origin. Having got used to strange comforts and luxuries the dwellers of these flats and huts will soon replace the VEENA by music broadcasts of an inferior type, see the dances of a modern type televised from a connection centre and forget RAGAS and RAGINIS AND the stone marvels of Mahavalliputam. They will not know the meaning of Kalidasa and Rabindranath; Ajanta, Kangra and Abanindranath; Konark, Sanchi and Ellora; Dhrupad, Kheyal and Thumri and of a host of other persons and things that made the pages of India's cultural history colourful and rich.

I can also visualise the future homes of Indians who might go by a different path to comfort and luxury. In those homes, I find shapes, forms, colours, designs,

material, sounds and movements that conjure up before my mind's eye visions of the past glory of India. I can see the great temples and the temple dancers. I can hear the rythm of the MRIDANG and the sweet ecstatic tones of the Veena. I can smell the incense and feel the pulsation of a great aesthetic flow of life. The Mogul Courts float into my vision and I see beautiful palaces, fountains and gardens. The beauty of things take on a lyrical and sensual form but retain a grandeur of their own. New steps in dancing supported by the TABALA and the SARENG, the heady smell of ITR and a thousand lights reflected on exquisitely inlaid marble, priceless carpets, shawls, embroidery and jewellery create a new atmosphere of illusive charm. These homes and their contents have developed the old themes and given them new shapes and forms. But the emotion that move the people here never broke away utterly and devastatingly from the past. They kept the past and added to it. If they changed shapes and colours, intonation and volume, modes of expression and thoughts; the changes were balanced and creative of a beautiful synthesis.

These bits of fantasy have been served to you to bring before you the fears and the hopes that naturally are born in our mind when we see a great change coming over this ancient land. The greatest fear however is not aesthetic but economic. The economics of an ancient civilisation incorporate in it the genius and the talents of its people. Any attempt at breaking away from the past to the extent of stopping the flow of emotions that created and made things in the past, creates a great

danger. Firstly the talent, ability and skill acquired through the ages is thrown away and that is as great a loss as the destruction of a thousand industries by atom bombs. Millions of men and women who produced and contributed to the nation's stock of the good things of life are slowly squeezed out of the circulation.

The present poverty of India is not a little due to the greedy acts of the British who destroyed our arts and crafts ruthlessly in order to push up their own factories. Hundreds of crafts have died out and that has impoverished our towns and villages very badly. These facts are well known to our students of history and economics. If now, we repeat the performance with a greater thoroughness and efficiency we shall have no one to blame but ourselves. It is therefore very necessary that all Indian artists and craftsmen should receive the keenest attention of our planners and their products should be woven into all patterns of consumption that are being thought out by our experts. If they require modifications here and there that should be arranged.

Secondly, our shortage of foreign currency is an eternal headache to our planners. They are for ever going off the deep end, so to speak, to obtain foreign exchange. We can only sell our minerals, forest products and cash crops to get this foreign exchange. For, who will buy our hydro-electric power, steel, locomotives or canal water in America or Britain. We are therefore, in great and dire need of selling things abroad. Our artists and craftsmen, properly guided and aided can produce articles of great value for the foreign markets. How and to what extent, we can-

not undertake to expound upon in these pages. There should be a survey of artistic ability and skill carried out with an eye to utilising the same for pushing up exports. Experts should make a study of foreign markets and foreigners should be invited to India to see for themselves the possibilities of our arts and crafts from their point of view. A little management can easily start a flow of Indian art products to foreign markets. The things made for the foreign markets must be Indian only from the point of view of art and skill. Their utility to foreigners must be decided by the foreigners. Let us take some examples. HOOKAS, GULAB DARS, PAN boxes and high grade BONTIS or KATARIS cannot be sold in Europe or America. But the same craftsmen can produce flower vases, rose bowls, fruit dishes, cake stands, scent bottle containers, powder and trinket boxes, ash-trays, carvers, bread knives, hunting knives, paper cutters etc. etc. which can sell in those markets. Saris will not sell in the West but dress pieces, tray cloths, tea cloths etc. of good design will sell. Leather work in gold for shoes, book covers, ladies bags etc. can be sold outside. So can all sorts of bone, ivory, horn and wood carvings if they are made to suit the requirements of others. We have a habit of depending too much on the Government. This work is being tried in a small way everywhere in India. Great minds and big brains are however required to make a good job of it. Artistic ability and skill are vague names for a variety of highly specialised productive ability. How these can be best utilised for home and foreign markets are again another aspect of the same question. They all require extensive and intensive study and analysis. That

requires men and women of education, vision and a practical outlook. Those who think they can do this work should begin it on their own and later offer their services to a greater organisation that will no doubt come sooner or later. Our artists who are at a higher intellectual level compared to our craftsmen can easily enter the field of mechanical production and bring new beauty into it. Satisfaction of human needs includes a large slice of aesthetic satisfaction in it. Comfort and satisfaction of needs can be achieved in an ugly manner as well as with a full provision for beauty and aesthetic excellence. Everything in fact can be more beautiful. If our artists do not avoid the mechanised industries they will have a place in modern organisations. Architecture, engineering, manufacture of hardware, plastics, castings, forgings, etc. etc. can all afford a certain amount of increased good looks and intelligent artists can always adapt themselves to new things and ideas. How far they will go in this field will depend on their own enterprise and adaptability.

Our Planning has been worked out on a purely material basis. The various factors are material objects like roads, railways, dams, bridges, hydro-electric or thermal power generation plants with transmission and distribution cables, switch gear etc. etc. leading to power using units which are all machinery with bunkers, storage lines, assembly lines and so forth. The urge to produce has not been engendered in human

hearts, nor the feelings and desires which lead to inventions, new designs, new uses for old ideas and the creation of attractive shapes, forms, compositions, colour, schemes, get up and all else that provoke man's willingness to buy things. Innovations in production are the sellers' most important agents for marketing their goods. One may say that electric current is electric current and steel is steel; and there can be no question of making electricity or steel attractive or beautiful. But we may counter such arguments by pointing out that aesthetic forces can be utilised to stimulate the use of electricity and steel. How about neon signs, improved street lighting, the popularisation of radios and television, the domestic use of electricity for cooking, heating, cooling, ironing, better interior lighting and all that sort of things? How about steel furniture, architectural use of steel for decoration, the use of stainless steel for kitchen fittings, the development of lighter steel alloys leading to yet further uses for steel and the use of steel for toys, carts, prefab-huts, boats, crockery, kitchen utensils, large receptacles and containers for grain and other food material? Artistic talent can certainly make newer shapes of steel which will stimulate the demand for this basic material. This line of thought can be carried to other fields too.

* The basic thoughts guiding a discussion held at the time of the Third Five Year Plan.

STUDY OF TAMIL BY GERMAN SCHOLARS

NANDA MOOKERJEE.

German interest in Tamil literature goes as far back as 1716, when Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg's dictionary on Tamil grammar appeared. Ziegenbalg was a missionary scholar who arrived at Tranquebar, a little village on the Coromandel coast, on July 9, 1706. Immediately after his arrival, Ziegenbalg began to study the language and customs of that part of India. It took him hardly a year to delve deeply into the language and customs of the Tamils.

With what sincerity Ziegenbalg approached the Tamil language is evident from one of the letters he wrote to Europe. In this he wrote : "I have begun to make a dictionary, writing first of all each word in Malabar letters, then giving the pronunciation in Roman script, and finally the meaning. It would be desirable for this language to be taught and learnt as industriously in Europe as other Oriental languages." The dictionary by Ziegenbalg bears a long title in Latin : "Tamil Grammar which shows by various examples, rules and the necessary vocabulary the shortest way of learning Tamil or the Malabar language as spoken among the East Indians and as yet unknown in Europe."

Ziegenbalg wanted the people of Europe to learn this rich language not merely to have a little contact with a foreign language, but even more to get to know the Dravidian theology and philosophy in which, to quote Ziegenbalg, "perhaps as much which is good and sensible could be found as in the long—explored Aristotle or any other heathen writer." The dictionary by Ziegenbalg paved the way to the study of Tamil in Europe. It was due to the efforts of Ziegenbalg that Tranquebar was the first place in Tamilnad to have a Tamil printing press. In 1714 Ziegenbalg translated the Bible into Tamil.

In 1779 J.P. Fabricius, a well-known German Scholar, published "A Malabar and English Dictionary." An expanded version of his work was published in 1797. J.P. Rottler's

Tamil—English dictionary appeared in 1834 in Madras and the Tamil grammar by Renieus was published in 1836.

More publications on the Tamil language did not take much time to appear. Karl Graul, a famous German scholar in Tamil who spent many years in India, published the first volume of his commendable undertaking, the "Bibliotheca Tamulica" in Leipzig in 1854. The first volume dedicated to the Saxon Minister of Education. Dr. Falkenstein, bore the title in German "Tamil writings to explain the Vedanta system of the Orthodox Philosophy of the Hindus." In the preface to this volume Graul made an interesting observation that "Sanskrit and Tamil literatures are combined most intimately and significantly." Graul published translation of Kaivaljanavanita Pancadashaprakarana and Atmabodaparakashika. In 1855 the "Outline of the Tamil language" by Karl Graul was published. Thus Graul made a significant contribution to the study of Tamil by Germans.

The last German-Tamil grammar, "Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache", written by Hermann Beythan, was published during the Second World War. Graefe, a renowned German Tamil scholar, published his "Legends as Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature" in P.K. Gode commemoration volume. Before his premature death in Bangalore he was preparing a "History of Tamil Literature."

Mention may also be made of the German poet Fredrich Rueckert who, besides Sanskrit, knew Tamil well and translated many Tamil poems into German.

Within the narrow limits of a small article like this it is not possible to dwell, in detail, on the attempts made eminent German scholars to unveil the arcana of Tamilian thoughts. India gratefully acknowledges her debt to the German Indologists for playing substantive part in making her ideas accessible to the whole of mankind.

THE DUTIES OF A CITIZEN IN A WELFARE STATE

A. T. MURTY

The term 'welfare state' has come into use only recently in the 20th century. But the notion is nothing new. It implies that the state is charged with the duty of promoting and maintaining the welfare of the people, the entire people. Hence there can be no discrimination. In ancient India there existed such states. This will incidentally show that the welfare state is possible in a monarchy also. We have then, enlightened despotism. Enlightened despots, in the history of Europe and even in the history of India, for some of the Moguls can be called enlightened despots, cared largely for the people. They sought to increase the happiness of the people by providing them all sorts of amenities.

The welfare state, therefore, implies that all people must have employment, must have food, dress and shelter and that nobody should suffer. This translated in modern politics is Socialism. The welfare state now has come to mean economic democracy with the added provision that there should be ceilings on holdings of property etc., on income and so on. The welfare state is the state in which all the citizens without any exception including all minorities, either political or religious, should enjoy the fundamental rights and the four freedoms. There should be the freedom of the individual, the freedom from arrest and detention, freedom of speech, the freedom to carry on a profession, etc. That is the ideal because all the obligations cannot

be put on the state alone. There are obligations also on the citizens of the state and as all the citizens do not fulfil their obligations the necessity arises to impose restrictions or limitations on some of the freedoms. The freedom which the law of the welfare state allows is the freedom to do lawful acts. A man has no rights, liberty or freedom to do unlawful acts. Besides enjoying the privileges made available in a welfare state the citizens has certain duties to perform in order to safeguard his freedom and other virtues of a welfare state. They are as follows :

1. The citizens must jealously guard their rights to stand up and fight for their preservation. In the absence of determination on the part of the people, power is likely to slip into the hands of a small body of men and dictatorship might result. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

- 2- The people must possess a high degree of political intelligence and abiding interest in public affairs and must feel a public responsibility with a readiness to accept and abide by the decisions of the majority. The citizens should have a certain standard of education which would enable them to contribute their opinions and judgments to the common good. It is, therefore that free and compulsory education is important to the citizens.

3. There should be general agreement among the citizens regarding the fundamental

issues. No government can carry on its work successfully should there be differences between groups. The citizens must be prepared to express their opinion on political issues through the parties. Instead of remaining as mere spectators and passive recipients, the citizens must be active participants in the administration.

4. The welfare state makes heavy demands on its citizens. It expects men and women of all classes and occupations to be ready to serve on public bodies of different kinds, ranging from the Panchayet to Parliament, even if such service involves financial loss or personal sacrifice. Besides volunteers for public offices, voluntary associations which form the essential infra-structure of a successful democracy must spring up and assume importance in the long run. These include societies for promoting all sorts of good causes, from the welfare of discharged prisoners, to the care of children deprived by misfortune of a normal family life. There is a great need in a country like India for the growth and development of voluntary bodies of this kind, and many more people—especially women—are needed to serve on them. Their purpose is to bring to the notice of public opinion and the government the needs of the blind, the deaf and the lame, to awaken the public conscience, and to focus attention of the exploited and submerged elements of society.

Voluntary bodies need not be limited to engaging in civic education or in promoting good causes. They can also pioneer services of a kind which public authorities do not yet provide, for example, taking care of old people or the orphans, or the unmarried

mother and her offspring. In England, some of the social services we value most began as voluntary services offered by non-governmental bodies and were later taken over by the states or local authorities and provided for everyone. In a country like India, a huge proportion of the population which possesses the vote, is illiterate, and the creation of an intelligent and discriminating public opinion among the masses is of extraordinary importance. The task of political and civic education must be placed high in the list of functions of the trade unions, co-operatives, chambers of commerce, and other voluntary bodies.

Voluntary effort in these and other directions, is indispensable to the welfare state and is essential to making democracy work. It is surprising to learn that the famous Servants of India Society is in decline, because there seems to be less for its members to do than formerly. Just the contrary should have been true. The growth of functions of government in a welfare state leads to a corresponding increase in the need for voluntary bodies to supplement and complement the work of the public authorities.

If the individual man or woman is not willing to give voluntary service in generous measure as a spontaneous act of citizenship the welfare state may degenerate into mere paternalism, with government consisting of management from above rather than being a response from below. Leadership there must be, but leadership is helped and not hindered by clear indications of the popular will and by widespread popular participation in the processes of government, in voluntary

actions, and in the formulation of public opinion.

There is need in a democracy for bringing in at all levels of government men and women who are neither politicians nor officials in the civil service sense, to serve in an advisory capacity. They can render most valuable service in many spheres by mediating between the public authorities and the common man. They can serve as school managers, or members of advisory committees in social insurance agencies, in child welfare committees, and in many other capacities. Here again women

could play a much bigger part in such bodies than they do at present in India.

The welfare state is a mutual-aid-society which demands active participation by its members in all these social bodies as well as on the public authorities. It also demands from its members of continual exercise of the social conscience. A sense of compassion for the underdog, the destitute, and the other victims of misfortune and a feeling of moral outrage and shame at unnecessary suffering, are very important elements in the dynamics of the welfare state.



Current Affairs

When in August 1963, on the day of the great March on Washington Dr. Martin Luther King addressed two hundred thousand fellowmen from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, he spoke of his dream of unity of the black and white American with an emotional sincerity which he alone could command. To-day when an assassin's bullet has silenced that rich musical voice for ever, we have to restate his dream over and over again, so that someday when all hatred and fear have gone from the hearts of the American people the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King will come true. The youngest man ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. Martin Luther King was an ardent follower of the Gandhian Policy of non-violence and his leadership held the Negro militants back from activity adopting a policy that would surely start a civil war in America.

"I have a dream," said Martin Luther King "that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

"I have a dream," he continued, "that one day even the State of Mississippi, a sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. "I have a dream—that one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and little black girls will be able to join hands with little

white boys and little white girls as sisters and brothers."

The dream had not come true during his life time. The cruel hands of an assassin cut it short before he even reached his fortieth year. The dream receded far into the dark corners of impossibility by the insane action of the assassin; for the Negro militants will now find more supporters among those who believe in revenge and have little faith in the possibility of a change of heart in white Americans.

Political leaders everywhere are shocked to hear of this brutal killing. Mahatma Gandhi was murdered by a man of his own community who thought the Mahatma was an obstacle in the way of a solution of India's communal problems through organised violence. Dr. Martin Luther King has been murdered by a man who belongs to the white community and who can have no reasonable ground to think that Dr. King stood in the way of anyone in any manner of speaking unless he objected to Dr. King's dream of Negro-white brotherhood. If the assassin is a fanatical believer in the cult of hatred he cannot have many sympathisers and he is not very far from being dangerously insane. No one really believes in the desirability of hatred. For races can remain apart and retain their exclusiveness without hating one another. Hating and fighting can serve no useful purpose and no one is so unintelligent as to believe in the possibility of achieving

any human objective by fighting and killing persons who are different from one's kith and kin. We think the racial problem in America will not become uncontrollable after this foul murder. More and more people will see how insane the men are who hate other human beings just because their complexion is different. We don't think that there will be a colossal explosion and racial indignation in America, after this.

WAR FEVER IN THE EAST

The very short war which enabled Israel to occupy large areas in Arab territory did not bring peace to the countries participating in it when the U. N. induced them to cease fire. For the Arab countries and Israel were not satisfied with the results of the war. The Arabs naturally felt disgraced by their defeat at the hand of the Jews and wanted to fight on until they could drive the Israelis out of all the Arab territory they had occupied; and the Jews wanted to consolidate themselves in whatever lands they had conquered by smashing up any remnants of military force that the Arabs could deploy against them. The Arabs were being rearmed by the same powers that were exhorting them to stop fighting. Egypt was receiving military aid from Russia and the British were helping the king of Jordan to reorganise his army and air force. France was also helping Jordan. That the Israelis were obtaining arms and munitions from the U. S. A. was known the world over. So that whatever the U. N. said or did was not standing in the way of the Arabs and Jews from settling their disputes by the use of arms. This double faced way of the powers

in establishing peace has become quite blatant of late. They tell combatants to stop fighting and there after give arms to them so that they can renew the fighting soon with fuller might. This insincerity among those who have undertaken to maintain peace in the world is progressively driving all nations into war against one another. The big powers do not wish to fight against each other openly and they have large and ready supplies of armaments which they have to manufacture all the time for military preparedness. They therefore have their proteges whom they supply with arms and encourage to fight members of opposite camps. The weapons are thus tried out regularly and the war industries maintained in proper trim. That is why the little wars never finish. Neither in West Asia nor in Vietnam. That is why enmities never die out but are stimulated by the big powers in order to have more people wanting to fight as soon as some wars show signs of coming to a close.

The War in the Near East will not easily end. Half-a-dozen nations are behind the Arabs and the Israelis and both groups have the urge to fight on until their desires are fulfilled. These desires in their turn are linked up with trade, politics and there are big powers interested in controlling petroleum supplies whose plans are based on stimulating ill feeling among the oil owning countries. While big business thus remains connected with international politics, hopes of world peace will never be realised.

COMMUNAL CLASHES

Communal clashes occur from time to time in many places in India and we hear sermons

and accusations from our own leaders and the leaders of other lands. In fact factional strifes are not unknown in other countries nor are all internal fights in India of a communal type. The Chinese are fighting away during the last few years to decide the greatness of Mao t'se Tung. Some do not think this man is a prophet of Communism while others think he is ; and they fight to convince one another. The Russians have fought many times groupwise and so have the Poles, the Hungarians and others. The Pakistanis have committed large scale orgies of communal murders on many occasions. They have also fought on the language issue and between muslim sects. In one intersect fight a minority group of Muslims of the Lahore area lost about 10000 persons in casualties. In America a fight between Negroes and Whites is raging just now. The communal clashes in India were originally provoked by the agents of the British and a tradition was created which occasionally took shape anew in fresh attacks on opposite communities. The Pakistanis of course have kept up attacks on minority communities as a part of their national way of life. They have killed and injured, so far hundreds of thousands of Christians, Buddhists and Hindus, to say nothing of the minority sects of Muslims. In India we have had some fight on a linguistic basis or between members of political parties. There have been large size fracas in football and cricket grounds or to gain admission in music conferences and other amusements. The Communal troubles are made use of by our enemies to prove that Indians ill treat their minority communities, which of course, is more propaganda than truth, for the reason that India more than any other

nation grants equality to members of minority groups. They can hold the highest posts in India. This cannot happen in Pakistan. In the communist countries there are no minority groups in so far as such groups cannot exist.

We have had our fights over cow killing too and in that fight sadhus took part using the holy trident as their weapon. It was not an attack on any religious group. Rather the Government of India was the target of the *Sadhus* for not making cow killing illegal. Attacks on the untouchable by high caste Hindus have taken place at times and the tribal people have attempted revolutions by unleashing attacks on bazars, police stations and military camps. All these go to show that the Indians have no preference for communal fights. Some Indians like to behave lawlessly and for them any excuse is a good one to start a fight.

PEACE IN VIETNAM ?

Some people made propaganda that the U.S.A. have shown a great change in their attitude towards the war in Vietnam. President Johnson by refusing to stand for the presidential election has proved to the world that he feels he is in the wrong about his handling of the Vietnam affair. And so on and so forth. But in fact all these conjectures are just putting an interpretation on matters and incidents which do not really mean all that, or anything much at all. For facts show that President Johnson has said or done nothing for which he can be worshipped for his sudden moral awakening. He can inspite of what he has said, carry on the Vietnam War for the next six months

in a manner which will vastly escalate it and make peace unthinkable for all parties thereafter for as long as they choose to fight. Lyndon Johnson's Presidentship will be functioning for many months and his desire to retire does not necessarily mean that he feels he has been in the wrong in Vietnam. Hanoi has had exactly similar offers for peace talks before this; but had not responded gracefully to such invitations. Now, there is a change in their attitude for reasons best known to them. Bombing had been slowed down by the U.S.A before this too, but Hanoi refused to come to the conference table. This time there has been a willingness to talk peace which cannot be explained by anything that the U.S.A. have done or not done. If we have to give a reason for this new atmosphere which is of American origin, we can assume that President Johnson has discovered that he cannot remain at the head of American politics much longer and that the next President will be anti-war and all for peace. L.B.J. is therefore trying to make peace on terms which he considers good for democracies and restrictive for Communists, while he thinks he is still the top dog. For, the Vietnam War has not recently gone against the Americans. After an all out offensive the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong have failed to force the Americans to capitulate or to withdraw from S. E. Asia. The Americans and the South Vietnamese government are now taking the offensive and there are no signs of weakness in their camp. In the circumstances, one may say the North Vietnamese are really seeking for peace while they can settle matters honourably. If and

when the two parties come to the conference table and start bargaining, one will soon find out which side is more eager to end the War.

The Chinese of course, are there, as an active factor and one may say they have put pressure on the N. Vietnamese to make peace. The Chinese do not want War with the U.S.A. just now and they may be fearing developments which may force them into open war in Vietnam. Their behaviour towards the Russians is also peculiar. They are making it difficult for the Russians to assist the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. The reason may be that the Chinese do not want any Russian bases in Vietnam. They may also be acting in collusion with foreign powers which are not coming out in the open but are putting pressure on China in their own way. The Chinese may have other plans now for world domination. They may be desiring more advantageous terrain to fight in than they can find in Vietnam. The internal affairs of China may also have taken a turn for the worse and they may be wanting freedom from internal involvements. We have to meet conjectures with conjectures in the absence of any clear cut facts. One thing however is quite obvious. It is that the U.S.A. are not seeking for peace more eagerly than the top men of Hanoi and their Russo-Chinese patrons. Both groups now desire peace; for the war by proxy has proved the uselessness of such wars. The U.S.A. have tried to make things difficult for the Communists and the latter, in their turn have shown that the U.S.A. cannot have their own desires for democratic expansion fulfilled without much greater

escalation of the War. In the circumstances, the two sides have now reconciled themselves more or less to peaceful co-existence and the current peace talks will inevitably induce both parties to come to a settlement which will prove that the sacrifices made have been of no great advantage to either side. Communism is now slowly adjusting itself to democratic institutions. The democracies also are finding it progressively easier to collaborate with Communist States. The only good this War in South East Asia has done is to convince both sides of the futility of attempts to force the will of one nation on another. But we doubt if China has acquired that wisdom wholeheartedly.

FIGHTING IN U. S. A. CITIES

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King created great inter-racial ill feeling in many American cities. The Negroes, feeling that their lives were not safe nor their human rights well protected, have lost patience with the white people and started looting and destruction in Washington, Chicago, Pittsburgh and other big cities. Judging by the size of the clashes and incidents of arson and plunder one must say that the majority of the 20 million Negroes are not involved in the rioting. The U. S. A. have deployed large military forces in all the affected cities and have also arrested hundreds of hot headed Negroes who are preaching Civil War. Generally speaking the atmosphere is not quite so bad as it might have been considering that Dr. Martin Luther King was held in high respect by the Negroes as well as by the majority of the whites and

his assassination was a dastardly act which upset the mental equilibrium of his numerous admirers. Although this incident has made the interracial relations in the U.S.A. very bad, the symptoms are against the possibility of a general Negro uprising. The Black Power forces will no doubt try to intensify their fight against the white rulers of the country, but their numbers and resources will not permit any large scale fighting with weapons of War. The reaction of the assassination on the minds of the white people has been one of shame and a consciousness of the wrongs done to the Negroes now prevails among the whites. These may lead to reforms of a lasting kind and eventually improve interracial relations in the U. S. A.

CPI (M) WEIGHS POLITICAL VALUES

India became a free country in August 1947. A free country, according to the CPI (M) political philosophy is a Communist country. But those Communist countries which are not of the approved vintage, namely of the Chinese variety, are again not quite free. They can be unfree for being what is called of the revisionist type or being the stooges of imperialism etc. etc. In fact according to the CPI (M) theory no country is free excepting China. India is not free because she does not go about preaching agrarian, industrial and other kinds of revolution and being attached to various age old traditions in the field of politics and economics. In fact the whole world, with the exception of China is in bondage. One may ask, whose bondage? Who are these mighty overlords who rule over the peoples of the U.S.A., the U. S. S. R., the

British Commonwealth, the European countries, the Australians and the numerous other countries that are scattered over the world? The CPI (M) would say they are the imperialists, the capitalists, the revisionists and the various other people who do not believe in the particular variety of Communism preached by Chairman Mao t'se Tung of the Peoples Republic of China. As far as we can judge by a study of facts, wage earning men and women are not free and have to obey the dictates of their employers in all countries including China. If the State becomes the sole employer, the wage earners have no voice in the matter of selecting employers. They become the slaves of a monster employer whose monopoly knows no weak spots. About imperialists, one must say that Communists too can conquer other countries and establish empires. The case of the Chinese conquest of Tibet is a good example of Communistic imperialism. Humanity in our opinion, can never be totally free under any form of government.

The CPI (M) conference, at which some even recanted their faith to earn popularity has not produced any useful analysis of human freedom, nor suggested any workable means of attaining that freedom in a fuller manner than one can find it established in the U. S. A., Russia, China or India. If the various stalwarts of Communism were given a freehand to establish freedom in the various countries of the world, there would be no uniformity among the institutions established by them. Totalitarian tyranny will replace the various bits and pieces of exploitation of man by man that we find in the democracies, monarchies, dictatorships

and other types of political organisations. That would be about all. The CPI (M) conference has been particularly barren in so far as its contribution has been nil in the field of the problems that face India. The Naksalbari type of agrarian revolution means the forcible occupation of land by one set of individuals in place of another. There would be no guarantee of increased production in such a revolution. And, as it would merely change the ownership of agricultural land and not lead to nationalisation of cultivation, we cannot call it much of a Communistic revolution.

There are certain Types of insane persons who think all other persons are mad and they are the only sane persons. The CPI (M) appear to be suffering from the same kind of insanity. They think they are the only people who know how to be free and liberated in the manner of the followers of Mao t'se Tung of the Peoples Republic of China. We have not been convinced that the Chinese know the true meaning of freedom. For had they known it they would not have imposed themselves on the Tibetans, nor kept their subjects in Turkestan forcibly down. The CPI (M) also do not know the real nature of liberty and freedom. On top of that, they are disloyal to their own motherland and have no shame in acting treasonably. How else can one assess their love of China knowing that China is India's enemy?

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION DRAGGED DOWN

Lawlessness and self-willed ways of behaviour of large groups of backward and uncivilised persons are a great drag on

progress. A new road is built at great cost and large factories and residential buildings are erected for the benefit of humanity according to well planned blue prints; and, immediately, on all adjoining open land miserable huts and primitive structures grow like mushroom for the habitation of those who do not mind how they live and for housing cows, buffalows, donkeys, goats which are required by milkmen, washermen and others who arrive in the area to make a little money by selling sub-standard consumer goods and rendering service according to their own understanding of such service to those who worked at the new centre of industry. This happened not so long ago at Durgapur, where nearly 300 crores were spent to set up a steel factory. Hundreds of huts went up on the north side of the Grand Trunk Road, opposite the great factory building and no one knew who were building these disgraceful structures on whose land. Shop, restaurants and even big depots were built unlawfully and most of them are still there after years of forced occupation of anybody's land.

In India there are people who exist outside the law. They have no background and have nothing to lose if they are prosecuted or ordered to pay fines which they never pay. Their assets are nil, their names are constantly changed and they move from here to there at anytime in order to repeat their crimes against society and humanity. The big cities are crowded with dwellers who live nowhere or anywhere. Servants quarters are shared by tenants of the servants and quite often shops spring up in the back or front yards of ex-

pensive dwellings of tycoons, whose servants help the lawless elements for a consideration. The cities are full of unauthorised structures in which are situated insanitary and filthy establishments selling edibles and carrying on nefarious trades. Thieves, pickpockets, professional beggars, prostitutes and all sorts of anti-social elements live in these "godowns" and hutments which cannot be razed to the ground however much the real owners may try for it. The courts, the Police, the Municipalities may try to remove them by orders which are never honoured by the underlings in these superior organisations. A few rupees here and a few more there will postpone, adjourn or just delay things year after year until the attempts are given up out of sheer fatigue.

Now, these people have invaded the grounds of hospitals and railway land too and there is great hue and cry against their activities. They sell food, they live in these places in their thousands, and they carry on all kinds of illicit business. They also bribe all underlings who might have kept them out. These underlings are their own kith and kin and while they are employed by the great institutions, the unlawful squatters will continue to live in their own filthy manner in the precincts. We shall wait to see, what the government do to clean up the hospital areas.

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

A nation of 500 million persons should have about 200 million earning members, whose work should produce enough consumer goods to feed, clothe, house, educate, entertain,

render medical aid to and provide luxuries and savings for all the 500 millions persons. At current values the 200 million earning members must have a minimum monthly income of Rs. 200 in order to satisfy their own needs and those of their family members. That means Rs 2400×20 crores p. annum as the total national income. Our national income is no where near Rs. 48000 crores. Moreover by the the time we can produce Rs. 48000 crores worth on consumable and capital values annually our population may go up to 700 million and our needs too may increase considerably. In the circumstances we should try to produce values worth about 100000 crores annually within the next twenty years in order that this nation can give its members all that they require for proper living. Our production potentials should be studied carefully and we should decide what productive work each "worker can do in order to add to the total quanta of goods and services which will be readily distributable to the people. Among the capital goods, roads, wells, tanks, houses, trees, plantations, pipes, pumps, basic furniture, implements, carts etc. etc. should come first. India spends about 70% of her total income on food, which is in very short supply. If our present national income is Rs. 24000 crores, we can safely plan to increase our food budget from Rs. 16800 crores to over 30000 crores. Food of course will mean a variety of things which are now produced in relatively insufficient quantities. Milk, eggs poultry, fish, meat, fruits, nuts etc should be produced in greater quantities so that the calory value of diet increases to double of what it is now. This will require mass excavation of wells, tanks etc., clearing up

and using all available land for tree planting, cultivation, putting up dairies, fisheries, poultry farms and well built villages with community centres, cottage industries, schools and hospitals. Roads and communications must be improved very greatly. Additions to capital goods like roads, wells, tanks, canals, dams etc together with about ten crores new houses of different sizes may be the equivalent of Rs. 200000 crores. This may be added to our national capital in 20 years i.e. at the rate of 10000 crores annually. The work of doubling our food supplies and building up a better capital structure will increase our national dividend annually by about Rs. 25000 crores. This will not require any foreign exchange and will be achieved mainly by a fuller utilisation of our man power. Planned efforts at building roads, improving irrigation facilities, adding to our wealth of cattle, poultry, fisheries and orchards; and a general stimulation of agriculture, plantations and cottage industries will yield results from the very beginning. The main idea will be to make use of human labour as far as possible and to take up immediately productive projects first. Cleaning and improving all available tanks, reservoirs, wells and canals should come before digging new ones. Repair of old houses, roads, carts and implements, similarly should have preference over construction of new ones. Fish growing, increasing supplies of eggs, meat, fruits, milk and milk products should be begun immediately. Most of this work will begin to yield income within two to three years. If therefore groups of workers numbering ten to twenty five per village are engaged by the organisation set

up for this purpose the total number in 500000 villages may not exceed a crore. If a crore of persons receive wages of about Rs 2 per day or Rs. 600 per annum the expenses will not exceed a thousand crores annually including overheads and other

cost. Inclusion of this in our five year plans will mean Rs.5000 crores during the plan period. If the organisation is made by forming multi-purpose co-operative societies the expenses may be largely recovered from the societies as soon as the work yields values.

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FOOD PRODUCTION vs. SOCIALISM

K. VISWANATHAM

Despite the efforts that Govt. have made to increase food production in the country there is little indication that there is going to be any such increase except on account of a good monsoon. Last year 110 lakhs of tons of food grains were imported and Govt. have stated that this year there would be less of imports. But now it is evident that they have to import during this year, too, more or less the same quantity at the present estimates and may be by the time the year is out they will have to go in for more.

Food production cannot increase all on a sudden. It can come about only gradually. If during 66-67 and 67-68—to mention only these two years—there is a substantial shortage, how can all this gap be filled up quite suddenly by the year 70-71, when our requirements will have increased by a good quantity? Therefore one fails to understand how Govt. will be able to keep up their word that the food imports will stop by the year 70-71.

It is only after our independence that food imports began and these have increased steadily year after year until now they have assumed colossal proportions. In spite of the fact that Govt. have been spending huge amounts there has been no increase whatever and actually for some reason or other there has been a steady fall in production, year after year,

Govt. do not seem to realise that their own policies were responsible for the failure on the food front and their hope that the increase will come about without modifying these policies is a matter for deep concern to the thoughtful public.

There is no doubt whatever that the fall in production is due to the introduction of socialism into the country and is in direct proportion to it. This can be proved from a study of the failure of agriculture in countries where socialism was introduced.

About the first thing that Socialist Governments do when they get hold of a country is to destroy its agricultural set up. The existing structure that each country evolved in centuries to maximise production in its own and which served the country well through all time is condemned as out of date, unscientific and tabooed. The class of people, who through centuries of inherited experience in agriculture had become adepts in that science are all dubbed enemies of the State and liquidated.

The farmers in Russia called Kulaks were simply liquidated in their millions without compunction. In China they were removed without mercy. Similar things happened in other socialist countries such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania etc. In all these countries a new class of people, the new order, with little or no experience

in agriculture was installed in their place.

Soviet Russia is the most typical socialist country in the world. With America it has the most extensive land at its disposal. Ukraine, one of its republics produces enormous quantities of wheat. Its potential for manufacturing tractors etc. is highly developed. Its fertiliser industry produces surplus stocks. In scientific development it is at the top. Its human material is superbly efficient. In short it has got every conceivable facility to grow as much food as it needs and more. Yet in this country, the paradise of Socialism, agriculture has often been uncertain. At one time millions upon millions of people had died of starvation. Now and then there are calamitous failures. A few years back it had to import enormous quantities of food from other countries.

Regarding China, which in its philosophy has out heroded Herod, the less said the better. Ever since Chairman Mao Tse-tung took charge of the unfortunate people it is producing everything including atom bombs but not enough food. It scourges the world every year for food with a begging bowl and has been importing about 60 lakhs of ton of food year after year from wherever it is available.

Yugoslavia whose socialism was modelled on that of Soviet Russia depends regularly on food imports from U.S.A. and other countries.

For aeons the Nile valley was synonymous with agricultural plentitude. One never heard of food shortage in that region. But since Nasser took charge, he fell in for socialism. Result is the country is having food shortage for several years and now this has assumed such serious proportion that Nasser has declared that he has to devote all his attention for increasing food production.

There may be other socialist countries which are also importing food. But the example of Soviet Russia, China, Yugoslavia and Egypt which are stalwarts in socialistic idealism should be enough.

In contrast to this dismal picture we have the example of a number of countries which are not only producing their own food in very

liberal quantities but many of them are producing large surpluses. The United States of America, Canada, Australia, Argentine and Siam are prominent amongst such countries. It is the surpluses of those countries that are feeding those who managed to destroy their own agriculture and without exception all these countries are those with a free economy.

Burma which at one time was a large exporter of rice has since the introduction of total socialism been producing less and less of grain every year until now a stage is reached when it is hardly able to export any.

Our shortfall in production is not entirely due to our not adopting scientific and modern methods of agriculture. Mighty Soviet Russia, as we have noted, is not a backward country. It is using the most up to date and scientific methods of agriculture. But still it is not successful. The same is the case with determined China. Moreover most of the so-called modern and scientific methods are intended to save labour and have little relation whatever to improvement in production.

Neither is it a question of population pressure. It is nothing short of blasphemy to say that we in India are too many in numbers. Japan's population is more than double than ours per square mile. It is producing its own food completely. Israel, that tiniest of all States whose population is enormous has got a spectacular record of food production. It has produced enough food even from desert land.

So our problem is not a problem of over population or obsolete and unscientific methods. Even if the population is controlled and scientific methods are adopted the basic problem will still remain and gradually it may become worse.

The conclusions are therefore inescapable.

Countries with a free economy will be able to produce enough food for themselves, prosper and, therefore, survive. Those with a socialist economy cannot produce enough food for themselves, therefore cannot prosper and are bound to go down. There may of course be a few exceptions here and there but on the whole the con-

clusions should hold good. Socialism seems to kill the instinct in man to survive.

As long as there is sufficient food for import, the socialist countries will continue to pull on somehow. The crisis will come when there is no such importable stock. That may happen any time and then these countries will find themselves in real difficulty. An ominous future therefore stares these countries in their faces.

Our leaders have travelled far and wide. They have seen the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, Japan and also tiny Israel with their spectacular achievements. But these did not impress them. They were dazzled by the tremendous 'progress' of Mao's China. So have chosen the Socialistic form of Govt. for us. Thousands of people, the professional agriculturists, the old order, who were attached to their lands for centuries have abandoned their villages and their lands to the new order, a new class of people. This class has not increased production; on the other hand, as we have

noted, they are producing less and less every year.

If there is a lot of production still, it is because a large number of the old order are still clinging to their lands in the hope that things may change in due course. But as more and more of socialism is introduced these too will abandon their lands and seek their fortune elsewhere. Production will then touch a new low.

Dogmatic socialists would no doubt try to dispute these conclusions. But facts are clear enough and they speak eloquently.

Therefore it is crystal clear that as long as our Govt. pursues the Socialist goal they will not be able to produce enough food for the country, try as they might. The only and certain solution to the problem is to abandon immediately the dangerous ideal of Socialism and adopt the tried policy of free economy. The earlier the Government realise this stark fact the better it is for the country.



LINE AND LINEAR RHYTHM IN INDIAN SCULPTURE

TARAN KUMAR BISWAS

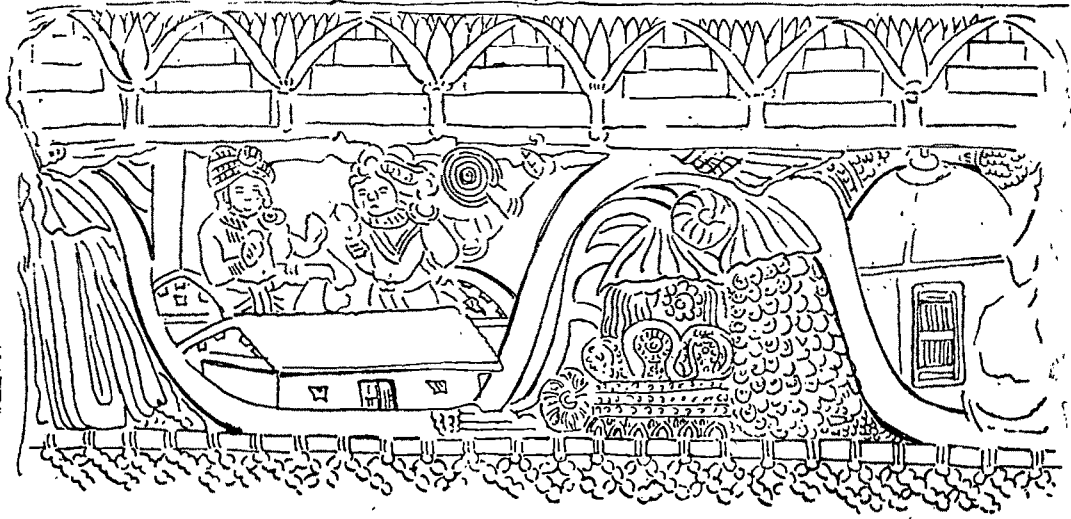
Line is purely conventional method of representing forms. It may be nervous or sensitive and it is often regarded as a summary and abstract device of rendering an object. Vertical and horizontal lines are firm and static and embody all balancing and stabilising elements. When standing in the centre, the vertical is the axis, the support of the whole composition. Whenever it stands, the vertical always gives a sense of equilibrium, stability and firmness, while the absence of horizontal may mean an absence of expansive movement or an absence of levels and of rest. A sinuous line in sculpture, always suggests the idea of pliability, softness or weakness and indecision. Where the vertical and horizontal, these two stabilising factors are absent, the oblique lines dominate the composition and as a result, the composition gets animated with extreme dynamism. Anyway the problem of cohesion out of vagueness is solved by lines, and 'it is above all selective, suggesting more than what it states.'

Indian sculptures of the ancient period reveal that the ancient artists were very much sincere and cautious about the effect of lines and linear rhythm. The rhythmic movements appeal to everybody. How they appeal to every one and how the lines bring rhythmical sense are things that are easier to appreciate than to explain. These sculptures are regarded as dynamic and not static. The dynamism and innervation appear

to have resulted from the dynamic balancing of the lines. Some unique sculptures move with dynamic rhythm and they please the onlookers because of the judicious distribution of lines but as Dr Stella Kramrisch says in this context: "The line does not move or dance, it is we who imagine dancing, ourselves along its courses."

In the reliefs at Bharhut in Central India, equal peace appears to have embraced all figures but curiously enough all these figures have no power to stand by themselves; they are joined by a stabilised harmony, by the heavy and patient movement of an untiring lotus stalk. On the coping stone of the stupa railing at Bharhut a wavy lotus stalk is carved which appears to have connected all the panels into one continuous pattern and all the figures and patterns are animated by the wavy linear arrangements of Kalpa-lata or Padma-lata. Apparent disregard, however, for the swaying rhythm is noticed in the carvings of the Ajatasatru pillar; yet, as Prof S. K. Saraswati observes "a fluid linear rhythm remains the keynote of the style of Bharhut."

In Amaravati, however, the composition is more fluid and resolved into moving rhythms. In a bas-relief at Amaravati a bacchanalian dance scene has been wonderfully portrayed in stone. 'It revolves in a circle growing more and more narrow round the offering bowl which surges out of the crowd in its centre' but it is bound and held



Kalpa-lata or Padma-lata

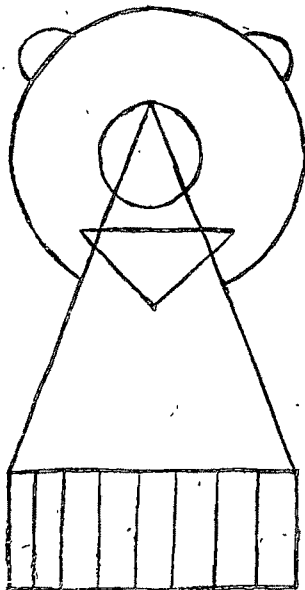
by an undaunted energy of a never tired movement. All the figures are skilfully and judiciously arranged within concentric lines : the figures are carved in madly dancing attitudes, yet their movements are arrested in a rhythmic pattern of the concentric lines which move and move but never get disbalanced.

With an accurate knowledge of geometry and keen sense of linear arrangement, was created the Sarnath Buddha in the Dharmachakra Pravartana Mudra which appears to be residing in absolute symmetry. Prof D.P. Ghosh says that the verticality of the image has been skilfully dissolved in triangles and circles. His face forms a circle and the halo is a bigger one. The flying gandharvas on either side of the halo give a judicious check otherwise circles of still bigger circumference would have lost the balance of the figure. These circles glide down and take rest on the lap and some triangles are

put forward to resist them from overflowing. The verticality of the Master is enshrined in an isosceles triangle with the head as apex and the crossed legs as the base. Where the hands meet in a 'mudra' is the point of another triangle which has the shoulder for its base. Lastly the rectangular base with seven erect figures and the profile of the wheel-stand for the vertical lines which were intentionally thought out to bring in balance to the whole figure.

It is a universally known fact that the power of a straight line is increased when it is made to slope. Accordingly the figure of Mahisasuramardini with her whole weight resting on the diagonal slope of Sakti (the trident), while killing the buffalo demon, was sculptured. In the Bhagavata Gita Lord Krishna claims that He is the Vishnu of the Twelve Adityas and thus He establishes His solar relationship. The ancient Indian sculptor while making the image of Trivi-

Krama Vishnu hewed his limbs in such a way that they appear as radiation of the sun. His arms and legs are no longer limbs but strong and piercing rays bursting from one centre. Here again Dr. Kramrisc remarks : "Greatness is simple and what could be simpler than a horizontal line in which a vertical line reposes this latter line being the diameter of circle. Through the inner relationship of horizontal and vertical lines, the Sun, the all pervading upholder unfolds the circle of His rays."



To the sculptors, "Benu-Gopala" is a very interesting theme. They have tried to depict this figure with masterly skill and in some of the figures the linear arrangements are so magnificent that the limbs sing the melodies better than the flute. The right foot crosses the left and the left arm crosses the body (or vice versa), the body moves from rest to movement in rhythmic and gliding linear arrangements. The peaceful and poised play

of vertical and horizontal lines is perfectly balanced and hence pleasing to the eye.

In the cosmic dance of Siva, a moving circle is exclusively used by the Indian sculptors. Lord Siva Nataraja (the King of Dancers) dances to perfection in an untiring circle like a revolving Swastika from Creation to Protection and from Protection to Destruction ; the movement has neither beginning nor end--"The attributes of the Nataraja include drum in the upper right hand which in its vibration symbolises the God's creative activity. The fire on the left hand both destroys and cleanses the impurity



Benu Gopal

of the soul. The lower right hand is in the gesture of reassurance and the lower left

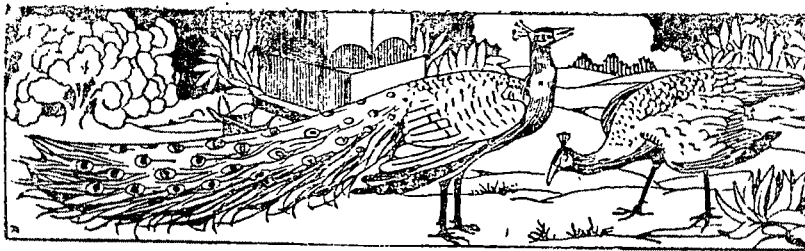
points to the God's foot as the place of refuge and salvation for the worshipper.'



Nataraja

It is interesting to note that there is no theory dealing with the laws of linear

composition in plastic art. The Silpa Sastras do not impart instruction on the formal aspect of figural compositions. Composition in a work of art is another matter altogether. It is that which like the skeleton in a living organism determines the entire structure and relationship of all forms. Actually the compositional aspect in plastic art depends solely on the competence of the artists themselves and in this respect our ancient sculptors command our appreciation. In fine, let it be concluded with the observation of Alice Boner: 'Unless the basic pattern exactly espouses the fundamental conception, the sculpture, however cleverly and beautifully done, will not reach its full symbol value'.



SONS AND LOVERS
Or
THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST

KAMAL ROY

Part I

"A man enjoys being a man: for what purpose was he made a man, if not to enjoy it?"

"And likewise," continued Tom Brangwen, "a woman enjoys being a woman; at least we surmise she does..."

"Now," continued Tom Brangwen, "for a man to be a man, it takes a woman..."

"And for a woman to be a woman, it takes a man..." continued Tom Brangwen.

"The Rainbow" pp. 133-134 All citations from Lawrence's writings are from the Phoenix edition of his works).

Reduced to its fundamentals, this is the metaphysic of Lawrence, stated here a bit cryptically. But it is not as neat a body of tenets as the quotation may lead us to believe. Its diverse ramifications create a veritable labyrinth to which it is very difficult to find a key, and the consequent amorphousness does not lend it to sweeping generalizations. Yet what is astonishing about it is its complexity coupled with comprehensiveness and novelty.

On the face of it, there should be polar antithesis between the votaries of "Art for art's sake" on the one hand, and the writer who values art primarily "for my sake" (whatever the expression may mean, it is never a deification of art for its own sake) on the other. Their seeming differences

notwithstanding, the "artsakists" and Lawrence, after making their respective metaphysical detours which intersect at more than one point, reach a destination surprisingly similar. The aesthetes argue from the aesthetic autonomy to human autonomy but at the same time they subscribe to the Lawrencian postulate of what Huxley calls "Cosmic Pointlessness": "There is no point. Life and love are life and love, a bunch of violets is a bunch of violets, and to drag in the idea of a point is to ruin everything. Live and let live, love and let love, flower and fade, and follow the natural curve, which flows, pointless" ("The Letters of D. H. Lawrence" ed. by Aldous Huxley, William Heinemann Ltd, 1956. p. XVIII). To buttress the philosophical position taken here Lawrence once more declares in unambiguous terms his lack of faith in any teleology, specially the Christian type: "... don't know where I come from nor where I exit to. I don't know the origins of life nor the goal of death" ("Fantasia of the Unconscious," P. 14). Thus, at a single stroke, he strips life of any divinely ordained purpose or destination. Life, divested of any instrumentality, becomes an end in itself and, since, according to this assumption, we are not so many beasts of burdens for transporting of other's goods, our only purpose is to fulfil ourselves: "The highest

goal for everyman is the goal of pure individual being" (*Fantasia*", p. 26). And this may remind us of the aesthetes' motto of "self-culture."

Another important strand in the metaphysical fabric of the "artsakists" as well as of Lawrence (an inevitable concomitant of denying the existence of the transcendental and suprapersonal values) is the notion of the perpetual self-imprisonment of the individuals within the impregnable fortresses of their bodies. In consequence all lines of human communications are snapped. This belief in the absolute non-existence of any communication among human beings strikes at the very foundation of the absolute values. If every man is circumscribed within his own mind, then he himself must be the creator of his own values. This assumption necessitates a theory of relativity in every sphere and militates against the acceptance of any pre-existing ideal or pattern of life. So Lawrence has to expound a "theory of human relativity": "We have no one law that governs us. For me there is only one law: I am I...One is one, but one is not all alone...I am I, but also you are you, and we are in sad need of a theory of human relativity" (*Fantasia*", p. 19).

He also shares the aesthetes' conviction that in the affairs of life sensibility is a more dependable guide than the rational faculties. A sensibility protean entity, we have to live from moment to moment for the adoption of a fixed world-view will result in leaving out a large chunk of human experience. Emphasizing the unpredictability of sensibility Lawrence observes: "Not even the most knowing man that ever lived would know how he would be

feeling next week; whether some new and utterly shattering impulse would have arisen in him and laid his nicely conceived self in ruins. It is the impulse we have to live by, not the ideals of the ideas" (*Fantasia*", p. 54). Moreover, we can form the idea of a process when it has come to a dead-end, or the image of a man when he has stopped evolving spiritually, i. e., for all practical purposes when psychically he is dead. As Lawrence puts it: "To know is to lose...To know is to die" (*Ibid*, p. 61). So, the very notion of conforming to any pre-determined scheme of life is fraught with disastrous consequences. In the first place, any idea of ideal of life which does not emerge from the life-experiences of the individual concerned must be alien and dead to him. To imitate a dead and foreign pattern of life is to mechanize one's life and to distort one's personality. Secondly if a man tries to follow an already charted course of life, and will lose all contact with the spontaneous life-sustaining experiences. Lawrence catalogues the perils of such an ideal oriented life: "It is the death of all life to force a pure idea into practice. Life must be ived from the deep, self-responsible spontaneous centres of every individual, in a vital, non-ideal circuit of dynamic relation between individual. The passions or desires which are thought born are deadly. Any particular mode of passion or desire which receives an exclusive ideal sanction at once becomes poisonous" (*Fantasia*", p. 81).

So long as Lawrence holds that human beings are completely islanded, and consequently are unknowable, and anathematizes the abstract ideas and ideals of life, he

travels along with the exponents of "Art for art's sake", but after that their paths diverge.

Where Lawrence differs most from his contemporaries and is at his most original is in his attitude to love. In his view, love is always instrumental and functional. He does not set love up as an absolute ideal or as an end in itself; rather he envisages it as a means to self-fulfilment. Since, as the popular view has it, in his hierarchy of values love occupies the pride of place, it behoves us to discuss his attitude to it in details. He thinks that left to ourselves, ordinarily we remain confined within the cells of our minds: "Enclosed with the vicious circle of the self, with no vital contacts outside, the self becomes emptier, till it is almost a nullus, a nothingness" ("Phoenix", p. 180). Excessive self-consciousness that is generated by constant confinement within the vicious circle of self-enclosure eats into the sap of life and it has a constricting effect on the spontaneous flowering of the self. But love provides us with a window to the world outside and with a momentary release from the tyranny of the self. In the Laurentian vocabulary the innocuous and apparently unambiguous word "love" takes on a meaning altogether new. He conceives of at least three well-differentiated brands of love with their spheres well-defined and their significances well-articulated: "Love is manifold. it is not of one sort only. There is the love between man and woman, sacred and profane. There is christian love, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self." And there is the love of God" ("Phoenix," p. 153). That is why love between man and woman, and friendship are the two important

aspects of the central theme in a Lawrence novel: they exist not in isolation but in conjunction. Since they are complementary to each other, to over-emphasize the importance of man-woman love to the exclusion of friendship theme is to give an incomplete and truncated picture of his world-view.

Now let us assess the contribution of love to the process of self-realization or self-fulfilment which itself, according to Lawrence, makes life purposive. He thinks that we are so constituted by nature that in separation from each other man and woman are incomplete and self-ignorant. For "if the man, as thinker and doer, is active, or positive, and the woman negative, then, on the other hand, as the initiator of emotion, of feeling, and of sympathetic understanding the woman is positive, the man negative" ("Fantasia", p. 94). Hence only coming in contact with each other man and woman become complete and whole. Lovers are the holes in the walls of their respective self enclosures. To fall in love is to enter into another circle of existence, to be baptised to a new life. Only after a man has experienced sensual and passionate love, he discovers his unique self. For prior to this in his adolescence, a man exists in terms of his relationships with the parents, brothers and sisters. In puberty love impels him to emerge from this sea of anonymity and to assert himself. Under the influence of love this previous relationships and attachments are almost superseded by a set of new ones with his lovers and friends. Though love is indispensable to the completion and self-fulfilment of man, yet love and life are at loggerheads with each other. The contra-

dictory claims of love and life set up a tension which extends to the very delicate and complex relationship between the lovers. The functional character of love becomes explicit when Lawrence asserts that the first allegiance of a man is to Life, and not to Love. Life is fulfilment, requires isolation and privacy, Love intimacy. Proclaiming the priority of life over love Lawrence exclaims: "It is not woman who claims the highest in man. It is a man's own religious soul that drives him on beyond woman, to his supreme activity. For his highest, man is responsible to God alone. He may not pause to remember that he has a life to lose, or a wife and children to leave. He must carry forward the banner of life, though seven worlds perish, with all the wives and children in them" ("Fantasia" pp. 97-98).

Since Lawrence does not look upon men and women as static beings, he conceives the lovers in terms of two flowing rivers, often criss-crossing their courses but never standing still. There are two sides to this love between man and woman, sacred and profane, and they are diametrically opposed to each other. While sacred love is self-obliterating, profane love is self-asserting. The sacred lover effaces himself to the point of merging his identity into that of his counterpart; conversely, the profane lover dominates his counterpart so much so that he ends up by stamping his own image on her. Undoubtedly, there is a streak of narcissism in the latter type of lovers. But the whole love between man and woman is sacred and profane at once. And the ideal relationship between the lovers, as visualised by

Lawrence, is not one of confusion but of complete polarisation: "they must be two complete in opposition, neither one partaking of the other, but each single in its own stead" ("Phoenix" p. 153). What Lawrence seems to imply, is that even at the most climatic moments lovers retain their respective autonomy; the walls of their individual cells are impregnable. These moments of soul transforming experience are also the moments of self-transcendence when the lovers are liberated from their normal bondage to time and space on the one hand and from perpetual self-imprisonment, on the other. At the moment of coition the passionate convulsion that runs through them reduces the lovers to impersonal instincts, and robbed of self-consciousness and sensitivity, they become almost insentient. Made impersonal by the very profundity of passion, they become an integral part of the phenomenal world surrounding them. But this world of nature is just a half-way house in course of their journey to the Infinite. Untrammelled, the two instincts to which the lovers are reduced, or the two flames emanating from them, travel separately heavenwards and ultimately soar beyond the ken of time and space. It is then that they experience a sort of beatific vision, when they get a glimpse of the Infinite or God and 'create a knowledge of Eternity in the flux of time' ("The Rainbow". p. 492). So, the lovers of Lawrence exist on more than one plane of being and the successful ones possess the resilience to run the whole gamut of experiences ranging from the sensual and temporal to the spiritual and eternal. And unless they are capable of journeying from one plane to

another with considerable ease, if they remain confined to one plane exclusively and the nature of the plane is quite beside the point, in Lawrence's eyes they are absolute failures.

The ultimate relationship in which the Laurentian lovers stand to each other is exceedingly elusive, to the least. It is almost a Herculean task to unravel the mystery that envelops it. Birkin in "Women in Love" tries to define precisely this highly intricate, and at times baffling, relationship at considerable length and his hieratic tone prompts us to thrust on him the role of his creator's spokesman. He would have us understand that after the lovers have passed through the fire of love, have exposed themselves to the impersonalizing influences of intense passion and have consequently undergone a sort of sea-change, they become "two stark, unknown beings, two utterly strange creatures." He wants to have with his lady-love "a strange conjunction," and not "meeting and mingling" "but an equilibrium, a pure balance of two single beings as the stars balance each other" ("Women in Love", pp. 137-38). Up to this point Birkin's exposition of his conception of love and the lovers seems unexceptionable. But a few pages hence where he appears to modify substantially the point of view elaborated here, the contours get a trifle blurred, unless, of course, we accept his description of the ideal relationship between the lovers as one of perfect equilibrium as the penultimate stage in the process of transformation wrought by love on the lovers. He thinks that when the lovers are fully consummated they not only cease to exist and love individually but

also transcend the state of equilibrium. Presumably they find a confluence in a third thing where they get inextricably fused into each other. Words are inadequate to express this ineffable mystic state; nevertheless, Birkin tries to express the inexpressible: "In the new, superfine bliss, a peace superseding knowledge, there was, no I and you, there was only the third, unrealised wonder, the wonder of existing not as oneself, but in consummation of being and of her being in a new one, a new paradisaal unit regained from the duality . . . We are caught up and transcended into a new oneness where every thing is silent, because there is nothing to answer, all is perfect and at one. Speech travels between the separate parts. But in the perfect One there is perfect silence of bliss" ("Women in Love", p. 361).

The fresh energy that a man acquires through coition gets itself expressed in the creative actions that he undertakes singly and collectively. As a result, to complete himself a Lawrence hero has invariably a lady-love as well as a friend, and in a typical Lawrence novel the love motive is of as much importance as the friendship motive.

Lawrence is, at bottom, a worshipper of life and an aggressive individualist. To develop our "ontological being" to its utmost capacity the Laurentian recipe is that we should make our mind a thoroughfare to multifarious life-experiences and in tackling the problems of human existence we should set more store by our "blood" than by our "Brain". Moreover, at all costs, we must preserve our individual autonomy and should not surrender it even to our lover. At the same time we have to develop a complex network of relationships with our lady-love,

friends, the natural world and ultimately with God or the Infinite. Then, and then only we consummate our "Holy Ghost": "Mind, and conservative psyche, and the incalculable soul, these three are a trinity of powers in every human being. But there is

something even beyond these. It is the individual in his pure singleness, in his totality of consciousness, in his oneness of being: the Holy Ghost which is with us after our Pentecost, and which we may not deny" ("Fantasia", p. 130).

THE THEATRE OF THE ABSURD

N.N. BANERJI

"The Theatre of the Absurd has become a catch phrase much used and much abused. What does it stand for? And how can such a label be justified?"¹ "Few spectacles in the history of theater have been more amusing than the current Babel raised upon the grounds of absurdist drama", says William I. Oliver. There are two different approaches to this Theatre of Absurd, one that of Martin Esslin³ Richard Coe⁴ and the other that of William I. Oliver. The first two give greater importance to the stylistic breed without stressing the philosophical genus; and the last merely on the subject matter of these new dramatists. According to Oliver The Theatre of Absurd is whatever it is because of its subject and not their craft. The subject of these dramatists in a way distinguishes them and at the same time relates them to the stream of world drama. William Oliver connects the modern absurdists with Greek tragedians and farceurs as well as the great dramatists of the English renaissance (including Shakespeare). He defines absurdity as the belief that our existence is absurd. Man is born without his asking and similarly he dies without his seeking death. We live between birth and death trapped within our body and our reason unable to think of a time when we were not or of a time when we will not be because nothingness is very much like

infinity: something we perceive only as far we cannot experience it. Thrust into life armed with our senses, will and reason, we feel ourselves as potent beings. Yet our senses give the lie to our thought and our thought defies our senses. We work hard to achieve distinction and permanence only to find that our assessments are perspectively incomplete and therefore never wholly effective. All our creations are doomed to decay as we ourselves are doomed to death. We create in order to identify ourselves but the moment, we create our creations become autonomous facts. Therefore the more we strive for permanence and satisfaction the more absurd we are. Yet the only value we can affirm with certainty is a self-defeating complex that we do not understand our life. If in despair of ever achieving a sense of permanence, we contemplate suicide we are in the absurd situation of sacrificing our only concrete value of life. Again if in despair we turn to religion or illusion of any sort, we betray and deny means of perception of our reason, and take the shelter of ecstasy be it mystical or sensuous. It is impossible for us to act with complete efficacy, to perceive with complete accuracy, to create anything definite and lasting that expresses exactly our intentions, we must also remember that it is impossible for us to cease acting as long as we live. This then is the condition of man that we of

the twentieth century call "Absurd." It is the same state of being that Aristotle labelled as ignorance! It is this complex of selfdefeating paradoxes, this even check and balance of power and impotence, knowledge and ignorance, attunement and alienation that is the subject of the absurd playwrights of all ages according to William I. Oliver, no matter what form or style they may have chosen to express it. Let us now study a few of those which are called the absurd plays and then we can see what they do stylistically or technically to be lumped together under the same label.

January 5, 1953 at the Theatre de Babylone or the Paris Left Bank became a milestone in the history of the contemporary drama. Many other authors had preceded Beckett with plays in a similar vein (Ionesco with *the Bald Prima Donna* and Arthur Adamov with *L' Invasion*) but the eventual triumph of *Waiting for Godot*, constituted the breakthrough into the public consciousness of drama, which for want of a better term, has been vaguely labelled with the tentative generic term of the 'Theatre of the Absurd'. *Waiting for Godot*, written and originally performed in French, has since been translated into some twenty languages and having been performed from Finland to Argentine, from Ireland to Japan; has become a contemporary classic.

The most astonishing fact about the success of this play and others in the same convention of writing—is undoubtedly the circumstance that by all the established canons of drama, it is not a play at all and should therefore not be capable of achieving any effect on any audience: for if a good play, according to all the accepted canons of drama must have a beginning in which the characters are presented and the plot gives its exposition, a middle in which the plot is unravelled up and an end in which it is neatly unravelled, this play has no exposition, no middle, and no end: the final situation is exactly the same as the opening when the curtain falls. A well made play gives deep psychological insights into the thought and feelings of the characters, this, if anything, obscures them. This play doesn't excel

in witty dialogue and brilliant repartee and nor does this play have the truth and consistency of character drawing. On all accounts this play should have failed by all established touchstones of critical judgment, had on the contrary, as an empirical fact amused, intrigued, annoyed, but also immensely moved large audiences, not only on the stage but also television and radio.

What then if it lacks all the criteria of established dramatic excellence, does *Waiting for Godot* give its audience?

The play is in two acts, each of which follows almost exactly the same pattern. On an empty stage representing a country road, bare, but for a single sickly tree, two men dressed in tattered clothes and ancient bowler hats are trying to keep an appointment. They are not too sure whether this is the place or the time that had been agreed. Nor are they too sure with whom the appointment is to be and what its purpose is. The two men, Vladimir and Estragon (but we are never sure that these are their names: Vladimir is at times called Mr. Albert and Estragon, when asked says his name is Catullus) are in some ways complementary natures: Estragon is emotional and a poet, Vladimir more rational and down to earth. They are dependent on each other and yet want to get away from each other; and above all they are convinced of the desirability of doing away with themselves. But each time they attempt to commit suicide, they fail through sheer incompetence. In each of the two acts Vladimir and Estragon meet another pair of characters: Pozzo and Lucky. Pozzo is fat and opulent; Lucky thin, bedraggled and old, is Pozzo's slave, driven by him with a whip and with a halter round his neck, the only development is that in the second act Pozzo is stricken with blindness and now Lucky's halter serves as the blind man's lead The two pairs of characters meet in each act; try to communicate, fail and part: Vladimir and Estragon remain waiting, Pozzo and Lucky resume their wanderings. At the end of each act a little boy appears, he brings a message from Godot: Godot cannot come today, but he will come without fail—tomorrow..

And what do Estragon and Vladimir, Pozzo and Lucky have to say to each other? While they wait, Estragon and Vladimir try to pass their time by starting some sort of conversation; various topics recur in a seemingly haphazard fashion: the two thieves on the crosses next to that of the Saviour and why one of them was saved and the other was damned, the leaves falling and the transitoriness of life in times; suicide; the mysterious way in which Estragon's shoes sometimes fit him and sometimes are far too tight.... Pozzo boasts. Lucky who as he says, taught him all he knows, is silent except for a performance he gives at his master's bidding. He is told to think and produces an endless and almost wholly nonsensical speech which parodies scientific and philosophical argument. In the second act, when Pozzo has gone blind, Lucky has been struck dumb.

What are we to make of it all? I think that already from an attempt to give an account of the contents of the play certain conclusions emerge. In the case of most other plays one would convey their quality by telling their story. In this case I started off by telling you something about the pattern, the repetitive construction of the play. Moreover I was unable to say anything definite about the characters or the situation. In fact I ended up by leaving both characters and situation open by asking questions about them rather than making statements. So that we say that in *Waiting for Godot*, the narrative, story telling plot making element of drama is missing and so is the touch of certainty with which a dramatic author usually presents his characters. If we follow a play by Ibsen—or Rattigan—attentively we should know what kind of people we are confronted with. Here we are made to wonder whether they are people at all or merely fleeting apparitions of an author's wayward imagination. If in the well made play the core of the drama is action, happening here, the very purpose of the play is to say that nothing happens in human life. *Waiting for Godot* is thus living paradox, a drama—and drama means action—of inaction.

"A pattern of uncertainties and questions,

an action demonstrating the absence of action—here we have the essence of Beckett's play."³ And if we look at it a little closely and without any preconceived notions of what drama ought to be, we can see quite clearly what Beckett wants to express: human beings waiting for the arrival of someone or something with whom they may or may not have an appointment. Are we not all born into this world without knowing what our purpose is, are we not all, now that we are here, assuming that perhaps we have a purpose and that the next day will bring the moment of revelation—and then night falls and we are told to try again tomorrow and so on for ever after? Are we not all, whether we just hang round waiting like to tramps, or rush madly about like Pozzo, trying to give our life some purpose; trying to while away the time in some fashion knowing full well that final knowledge about what we are here for, all our activities are merely futile antics? And are we not all, like Pozzo and Lucky, subject to the most sudden reversals of our fortunes, hale and hearty one day, blind and helpless the next day? Are not all our most clever attempts at thinking and theorising, like Lucky, ultimately reducible to an empty rush of meaningless words, and shall we not all in the end, like Lucky, be struck dumb? Are we not social beings, irrevocably tied to each other however much we might loathe each other's company simply because one human being can never live in isolation and yet all contact between human beings inevitably produces friction—as between Vladimir and Estragon—or dominance and subjection—as between Pozzo and Lucky.

These are only a few of the themes of *Waiting for Godot* which I am trying to pick out from the intricate pattern of images of the human condition which Beckett has here intertwined with great art and complexity, in the same way in which the musical themes of a symphony are interwoven in an infinitely complex pattern of statement and counter statement, consonance and contrast. Complex patterns of this kind are the hall mark of music and poetry. Thus we see that *Waiting for Godot* and the other plays in

his convention are not like the conventional well made plays—reenacted stories, but complex poetic images. In a conventional play the movement unrolls itself in a linear pattern from point A to B but in this kind of play we discover the unrolling of a static pattern. Thus these two different type of plays have two different types of suspense. In a conventional play we want to know what is going to happen next and in this kind of play we ask; what is happening? Thus we find that the same kind of absence of story, characterization and dialogue which we generally associate with traditional drama marks these modern plays which we can call absurd drama.

Let us look at another of the plays in this tradition: Ionesco's *Amedee*. A middle aged husband and wife are shown in a situation which is clearly not taken from real life. They have not left their flat for years. The wife earns her living by operating some sort of telephone switchboard; the husband is writing a play, but has never got beyond the first few lines. In the bedroom is a corpse. It has been there for many years. It may be the body of the wife's lover whom the husband killed when he found them together, but this is by no means certain; it may also have been a burglar, or a stray visitor. But the oddest thing about it, is that it keeps growing larger and larger; it is suffering from 'geometric progression'! the incurable disease of the dead. And in the course of the play it grows so large that eventually an enormous foot bursts from the bedroom into the living room, threatening to drive Amedee and his wife out. All this wildly fantastic, yet it is not altogether unfamiliar, for it is not unlike situations most of us have experienced at one time or another in dreams and nightmares.

Ionesco has in fact put a dream situation on to the stage, and in a dream quite clearly the rules of realistic theatre no longer apply. Dreams do not develop logically; they develop by association. Dreams do not communicate ideas; they communicate images. And indeed the growing corpse in *Amedee* can best be understood as a poetic image. It is in the nature both of

dreams and of poetic imagery that they are ambiguous and carry a multitude of meanings at one and the same time. On the one hand one can say that the corpse might evoke the growing power of past mistakes or past guilt, perhaps the waning of love or the death of affection—some evil in any case that festers and grows worse with time. The image can stand for any and all of these ideas, and its ability to embrace them all gives it the poetic power it undoubtedly possesses. Not all the plays of the Theatre of the Absurd can be defined as dreams (although Adamov's *Professor Taranne* in the Penguin Volume of Absurd Drama) actually came to Adamov as a dream. Albee (the well known, only American dramatist in this convention whose film version of *Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf* became quite popular in India) in *Zoo story* is far more clearly anchored in reality. In any case there is no denying the fact that most of the plays of the Theatre of the Absurd lack in movement in the traditional sense and they are static. They however have a different kind of movement, the movement for instance of *Amedee* is relentless, lying as it does in the pressure of the ever growing corpse. But the situation of the play remains static; the movement we see is that of the unfolding of the poetic image. The more complex and ambiguous that image, the more intricate and intriguing will be the process of revealing it. That is why a play like *Waiting for Godot* can generate considerable suspense and dramatic tension in spite of being a play in which literally nothing happens, a play designed to show that nothing can ever happen in human life. It is not only when the last lines have been spoken and the curtain has fallen that we are in a position to grasp the total pattern of the complex poetic image we have been confronted with.

Let us now once again briefly discuss the two approaches to the absurd drama—one from the point of view of subject matter that of William Oliver and from the point of view of technique that of Martin Esslin. William I. Oliver thus links it with world drama and "it defines the condition of man today, in the past and

the future". For him thus the style of Absurdist Drama will change many times but the content will remain very much the same until man ceases to be man by becoming God. For him the absurdist drama is as old as tragedy and farce—for farce and tragedy are indeed the double mask of absurdity. There is no doubt that Oliver is very right that the absurdist drama does "present the metaphysical anguish at the absurdity of the human condition" but broadly speaking the theme of the work of dramatists like Giraudoux, Anouilh, Salacrou, Sartre and Camus himself is all 'this irrationality of the human condition' in the form of highly lucid and logically constructed reasoning, "while the theatre of the Absurd strives to express its sense of the senselessness of the human condition and the inadequacy of the human approach by the abandonment of rational devices and discursive thought." Thus we can say that the Theatre of the Absurd has found a fusion and synthesis between the form and the content of the vision and the reality which they try to present in their highly patterned and significant drama. Thus we see that there is not much of a conflict in these two approaches to the Theatre of the Absurd. Ofcourse we can find plenty of explanation for the shift in emphasis in modern drama from traditional forms towards images which, complex, lack the final clarity of definition. The modern dramatist is chiefly concerned with expressing a sense of wonder, of incomprehension and at times despair, at the lack of cohesion and meaning that they find in the world. There can be little doubt that such a sense of disillusionment, such collapse of all previously held firm beliefs is a characteristic feature of our own times. The social and spiritual reasons for such a sense of loss of meaning are manifold and complex: the waning of religious faith, the breakdown of the liberal faith in inevitable social progress; the disillusionment with the hopes of radical social revolution as predicted by Marx after Stalin had turned the Soviet Union into a totalitarian tyranny; the relapse into barbarism mass murder and genocide in the course of Hitler's brief rule

over Europe during the Second World War; and the spread of spiritual emptiness after the Second War specially in the outwardly prosperous and affluent societies of Western Europe and the United States. There can be no doubt that for many intelligent and sensitive human beings the world of the mid twentieth century has lost its meaning and simply ceased to make sense. Previously held certainties have dissolved, the firmest foundations for hope and optimism have collapsed. Suddenly man sees himself faced with a universe that is both frightening and illogical—in a word, absurd. All assurances of hope, all explanations of ultimate meaning have suddenly been unmasked as nonsensical illusions, empty chatter, whistling in the dark. If we try to imagine such a situation in ordinary life, this might amount to our suddenly ceasing to understand the conversation in a room full of people: what made sense at one moment has, at the next, become an obscure babble of voices in a foreign language.

This sense of loss of meaning has led to these dramatists questioning even the efficacy of the recognised instrument for the communication of meaning: language. As a result of this the Theatre of the Absurd is a very concerned critique of language. This in many ways reflects the preoccupation of the contemporary philosophy with language, its effort to disentangle language as a genuine instrument for logic and discovery of reality, from the welter of emotive, illogical usages, the grammatical conventions that have, in the past, often been confused with genuine logical relationships. And equally in its emphasis on the basic absurdity of the human condition, on the bankruptcy of all closed systems of thought which claim to provide a total explanation of reality the Theatre of the Absurd has much in common with the existential philosophy of Heidegger, Sartre and Camus. It was in fact Camus who coined the concept of Absurd in the sense in which it is used here. We should however not be misled in thinking that the dramatists of the Absurd are trying to translate contemporary philosophy into drama. It is merely that philosophers

and spiritual situation depicted here reflect the same pre-occupations. Again this preoccupation with language these absurdists say make them more accurate reproducers of reality. These people attack the fossilized forms of language which have become devoid of meaning. The conversation at the party which at one moment seemed to be an exchange of information about the weather, or new books, or the respective health of the participants, is suddenly revealed as an exchange of mere meaningless banalities. The people talking about the weather had no intention whatever of really exchanging meaningful information on the subject; they were merely using language to fill the emptiness between them to conceal the fact that they had no desire to tell each other anything at all. In other words, from being a noble instrument of genuine communication language has become a kind of ballast filling empty spaces. And equally, in a universe that seems to be drained of meaning the pompous and the laborious attempts at explanation that we call philosophy or politics must appear as empty chatter. In *Waiting for Godot* for example Beckett parodies and mocks the language of philosophy and science in Lucky's famous speech. Harold Pinter whose uncanny accuracy in the reproduction of real conversation among English people has earned him the reputation of having 'a tape-recorded built into his memory', reveals that the bulk of everyday conversation is largely devoid of logic and sense, is in fact nonsensical. It is here that the Theatre of the Absurd actually presents the highest degree of realism. As we see that the real talk of people has become devoid of logic then the polished logical dialogue of the well made play that is unrealistic while the absurdist play may well be "tape-recorded reproduction of reality." Or in a world that has become absurd, the Theatre of the Absurd is the most realistic comment or the most accurate reproduction of reality."

The Theatre of the Absurd appears to be very contemporary but it is by no means the revolutionary novelty as some of its champions and bitterest critics tend to represent. The present Theatre of the Absurd can really be understood

as a new combination of a number of ancient, even archaic traditions of literature and drama. The ancient traditions combined in this new form are the tradition of miming and clowning that goes back to the mimes of Greece and Rome, the *commedia dell'arte* of Renaissance Italy, and such popular forms of the theatre as pantomime or the music hall in Britain; the equally ancient tradition of nonsense poetry; the tradition of dream and nightmare literature; the Morality Plays; and the old tradition of fools and made scenes in drama of which Shakespeare provides the best example. It is against this background that we must see the movement which culminates in Beckett, Ionesco or Genet. Its immediate forbears are dramatists like Strindberg who developed from photographic naturalism to more and more expressionist representations of dreams, nightmares or obsessions, and novelists like James Joyce and Kafka. It has also drawn inspiration from the silent cinema. Charles Chaplin's *Little Man* and Buster Keaton's stonefaced stoic are the openly acknowledged influences. The clowning of the talking cinema of Marx brothers, W.C. Fields, of Laurel and Hardy are also part of the tradition which leads on to the Theatre of the Absurd.... Another direct and accepted influence is that of the Dadaists, the surrealists and the Parisian avantgarde of writers like Alfred Jarry (1873-1907) Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) and also Artand with his theories of the Theatre of Cruelty.

In the present form the Theatre of the Absurd is a postwar phenomenon. Genet's *Maid* had its first performance in Paris in 1947; with Ionesco and Adamov's plays being performed in 1950, and Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* in 1952. All these performances took place in Paris and Paris is certainly the fountain head of the Theatre of the Absurd. Again it is equally strange and significant that the playwrights themselves are largely exiles from other countries domiciled in Paris: Beckett an Anglo-Irish who writes in French; Ionesco half-French and half Rumanian; Adamov a Russo-Armenian. Only Genet is a Frenchman born and bred, but then he is an exile

in a different sense, an exile from society, a child abandoned by his mother brought up by foster parents and being put in various juvenile delinquency camps. Edward Albee is one of the few American exponents of the Theatre of the Absurd. An adopted child he shares with Genet the orphan's sense of loneliness in an alien world.

The theatre of the Absurd in general presents a disillusioned harsh and stark picture of the world; though this picture is often couched in the form of extravagant fantasies but they are nevertheless realistic, in the sense that they never shirk the realities of the human mind with its despair, fear and loneliness in an alien and hostile universe. The realism of these plays is psychological and inner realism; they explore the human situation in depth. It is also wrong to think that these plays deeply pessimistic as they are, are nothing but an expression of despair. It is true that basically the Theatre of the Absurd attacks the comfortable certainties of religious and political orthodoxy. It no doubt aims to shock the audience out of complacency, to bring it face to face with the harsh realities of the human condition as these dramatists see

it, in all its mystery and absurdity. There are no easy solutions to the mysteries of existence, because ultimately man is alone in a meaningless world. The shedding of easy solutions, of comforting and comfortable illusions, may be painful but it leaves behind it a sense of freedom and relief. And "in last resort, the Theatre of the Absurd does not provoke tears of despair but the laughter of liberation"⁸

1. Martin Esslin, Introduction to the Penguin Edition of Absurd Drama.

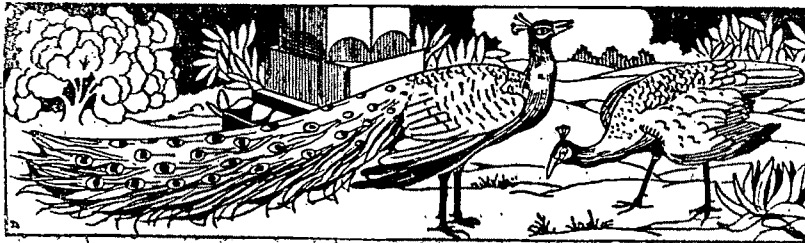
2. William I. Oliver—Between Absurdity and the Playwright. Modern Drama, Essays in Criticism Edited by Travis Bogard & William I. Oliver OUP

3. Martin Esslin, The Theatre of the Absurd (Eyre and Spottiswoode London, 1962)

4. Richard Coe, Eugene Ionesco (Edinburgh, Scotland, 1961)

5. Willaim A. Armstrong—General Editor —Experimental Drama. (G. Bell & Sons Ltd; London, 1963)

6. Martin Esslin—Absurd Drama, Penguin Edition.



THE MITTANI INVOCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

A LAWYER

The Mittani invocation of Vedic Gods in their treaty with the Hittites (B. C. 1380) came as a great surprise to those in India who adhere to the conventional beliefs about the Vedas and the Vedic tradition. These beliefs and concepts about Vedic culture are exclusively centred in the land of the Seven Rivers. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine the invocation and its major implications from the Vedic point of view.

The Kassiss, we are told, were an Indo-European nation who set up their kingdom at Babylon in the sixteenth century B. C., driving away the First Dynasty of Babylon which succeeded Hammurabi. Their monarchs had Indo-European names. They ruled there for about five hundred years. On the north-west side of this Kassite Kingdom were the Mittani people around the Khabur river who held the whole of Syria. Their names appear in the correspondence between the El Amarna rulers of Egypt and the Hittites of Bogaz Kui in Asia Minor. The treaty in question was made between the Hittite king Sabiluliuma or Suppiluliyuma and the Mittanian king Mathiuaza, son of Dusrutta in B. C. 1380, in which the Mittanian king invokes his gods thus -

ILANI MI-IT-TRA-AS-SI-IL

ILANI U-RU-O-NA-AS-SI-IL

ILU IN-DA-RA

ILANI NA-SA-AT-TI-IA-AN-NA

According to the usage of the scribe

who wrote the treaty, each successive sound is expressed by repeating the preceding vowel and consonant. Ignoring this—this redundancy we get -I lani Mitrasil, I lani Uruonasil, I lu Indara, I lani Nasatiana. This in Sanskrit—should be—

Veerani, Mitrasur, Varunasur

Veera Indra, Veerani Nasattyah

Or alternatively it would be—

Eelenyah Mitrasur Varunasur

Eelya Indra, Eelenyah Nasattyah

It is obvious that the second I lani before Uruonasil is repetitive and unnecessary according to our modern usage where there is a cumulative reference to two persons. Similarly I lani must be the plural or dual of Ilu. If I lani is the plural or dual of ilu in the neut. and yet is the same as the word veera which is masculine, such a use in the neuter would be completely un-Sanskrit. The words Ilu and Ilani may or may not be in the vocative. That would depend on the form of invocation adopted. The vocative of veera is veera and veerah, and its accu. is veeram and veeran.

The words Ilu, Ilani and Asil are used with reference to the four gods. They should therefore be epithets or adjective of the gods. They are used in reference to the Vedic gods. It is therefore permissible to find their equivalents amongst Vedic epithets and adjectives of these gods in the text of the Rigveda. Before doing so, we

may pile up a few words used in like manner and having a similar sound and meaning from the languages of ancient nations. There can be many of them but the following should suffice—

1. Veera, in Sanskrit, means a brave heroic warrior but not a god or demi-god.

2. Yiro, in later Prakrit and Pali, the modified form of veera.

3. Vir, in Latin, a male person, not necessarily valiant.

4. Hero, in Greek the same as veera above but had some times also the meaning of a demi-god.

5. Aule or vel, In Etruscan, placed before personal names (probably of commoners and as distinct from lars used for noblemen) just like lord reverend, Sir or Mr.

6. Elohim and Ilahi, the Hebrew and Arabic words for God, perhaps appearing Micha—El, Gabri—El. etc.

7. Ilu and Ilani, in the Mittani treaty placed before the names of Vedic gods.

If we write all these words either with or for every 1 and vice-versa, their sound resemblance becomes more remarkable. The other pile would be—

1. Asura, in Sanskrit, the word for the sky-god as well as for some gods individually.

2. Ahura (Mazda) in Zoroastrian, the good spirit in the universe, the Almighty.

3. Assur, in ancient Assyrian. the word for God as well as for the people and the capital city. The word occurs in the Bible as Ashur.

4. Aesar in Etruscan, the word for God.

5. Osiris in ancient Egyptian, the

river-god. The word is in Greek shape and might really be Asair or Usair.

6. Usil, in Etruscan, a name for Apul. Apollo.

In finding equivalents for the three words in the treaty we may emphasize the fact that they were used in a treaty by parties both of whom were Indo-Europeans, and the words would therefore be from some Aryan language. Secondly, the gods invoked are Vedic, and the words used with reference to them would rather be traceable in the text of the Rigveda wherein these gods are worshipped. Since it is impossible to trace the words etymologically, we can merely have circumstantial explanations for them. We should therefore explore the circumstantial aspect in as much detail as is possible.

In my opinion, the word Asil or Assil in the treaty is the same as the Sanskrit word Asura. The word asura occurs in the Rigveda for over hundred times in different contexts. Judging by the mere number of such references, the word is primarily an epithet of the gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Agni and Rudra individually. In this use it means a powerful and glorious deity. Varuna is the foremost asura, being five times so called. Together with Mitra he is—collectively so called for six times. Secondly the word is used five times in the meaning of the sky-god Dyaus (Zeus) The exact meaning of this word in this meaning is identical with the meaning of the Greek word Ouranos, i. e. the deity presiding over or pervading the vault of Heaven or Firmament. Mitra Varuna and Indra are called Asurasya, veerah i.e. warriors of heaven. In other places, they are also called (Asurasya need

ayah, the nestling of Heaven. Thus the Vedic text amply refers to the three gods as Asuras. Mitrasil and Varunasil should therefore be the same as Mitrasur and Varunasur,

The reason for putting Mitra and Varuna together and in the plural or dual as ilani and Indra separately as ilu is also traceable in the Vedic text. Mitra Varuna and Aryama were a triad often referred to collectively. Aryama having become obsolete even in those days, Mitra and Varuna are more frequently found referred to as a pair. The Vedic triad probably corresponds with Zeus, Poseidon and Hades of the Greeks. The triad seems to have been part of some anterior scheme in Indo-European theogony. The Vedic text gives the clear impression that during the actual Vedic period these gods had somewhat receded into the back ground. Indra, Agni, Soma, the Maruts and the Ashwins became more prominent. Mitra and Varuna came to be coupled together. That is why we find them referred to together as Ilani, while Indra is separately referred to as ilu. In fact, this distinction in reference reflects the Vedic tradition, and can by itself become a proof of the fact that the Mitani were a Vedic people.

Simultaneously with the use of the word asura in the meanings of the sky-god as well as the gods individually, there had already developed a bad meaning for that word. This is a circumstance of a far-reaching historical significance. In this bad sense the word meant the Asura, the racial enemy of the Devas, i. e. of the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans. So the gods are praised as the killers of the Asuras. A distinction

was made that Mitra and Varuna were Asuras from amongst the Devas, i. e. siding with them. The bad meaning gradually became dominant and it alone survived the Vedic period, the good meaning having completely disappeared there after. The later Vedic tradition says that the Asuras were the elders and the Devas were the youngsters, and that the youngsters could not withstand the elders and were often vanquished by them. The later Pauranic and classical Sanskrit literature is replete with a sort of an academic but deep racial hatred for the Asuras as the enemies of the Devas. The hatred was rather academic because there were no Asuras anywhere around in these later times. This shift in the meaning of the word asura reflects a historical situation. In my opinion, it clearly indicates that the ancestors or the Vedic Aryans must have dwelt in the upper valley of the Euphrates in the days of "Asshur", that they lived there in amicable intercourse with some powerful nation whose God and people were called Assur, that the word was adopted into Sanskrit in the good meanings during that period and finally that they came into a mortal conflict with that nation which resulted in their migration from those regions. These Asuras are of course not the same as the later Assyrians of the Bible, nor even those who succeeded the Sumerians. They must have been a hoary pre-Sumerian people about whom no record exists except the references to them in the Rigveda. Ethnically speaking it is an even chance that they were Indo-Europeans or otherwise. They might have been an Aryan aristocracy heading Caucasian tribes who are

broadly classed as Turanians. Their language in that case should be akin to Sanskrit, if not Sanskrit itself.

Apart from the gods, the word *Asura* was used in the *Rigveda* for mighty individuals also. *Namuchi* and *Pipru*, for example, are referred to as the ancient enemy—*Asuras*, who might therefore well have been rulers in ancient “*Asshur*.” *Bhavys* and *Ram* were contemporary and friendly *Asuras*. These references manifestly point to a racial distinction. The word, however, has in no case been added on, in the Vedic text, as a termination, into the name itself. This was profusely done in the later *Pauranik* works. *Mitrasil* and *Varunasil* is such a use. The names of the later Assyri chaldi kings may be noted in this connection. *Assur Nasir Pal*, and *Assur Bani Pal* put the word initially and separately, while *Pileasar* and *Essarhaddon* put it into the name itself probably as its inflected derivative. The Chaldian names show the same derivatives as a termination in the names *Nabopolassar* and *Nabuchadnezzar*. This—*assar* or—*azzar* seems to be derivative from *Assur*, as *aasura* is from the Sanskrit word *assura*. The Etruscan word for God, *aesar*, may be taken to be identical with *Assur*, on the ground that the meaning and the sound are unmistakably alike. We may even build up a factitious analogy in inflections and say that if the name *Caesar* could come from *Cisra* (The Etruscan place-name which might give the personal name), then *Aesar* may as well come from *Isra*—(EI). In either case however it would be an inflection in the Semitic mode.

Lastly, we may consider the Egyptian god-name *Osiris*. It is in Greek shape.

Bereft of that shape, it might be something like *Asair* or *Usair*. The legends about this river-god are well-known. They are akin to those numerous pre-Christian myths which speak about resurrection in the legendary way. It may be that the Osirian legends are later versions of an ancient original now unknown. The Egyptian trinity *Osiris-Issis-Horus* equates well with the Sanskrit *Asura-Usha-Soora*. The Vedic legend goes that the sky-god fell in love with his own daughter *Usha* (Dawn) and begot the child *Soora* (the Sun). The legend is contained in the Vedic epithet ‘*Duhitus Jaaras*’—lover of the daughter. According to a later version, the head of the god was cut off for this offence. This is something like *Apollo* (*Usil*) pursuing *Daphne* but without losing his head and even getting a laurel for it. This legendary account about the daily phenomenon of Sun-rise is no doubt a far-cry from the Osirian legends. But the resemblance of *Asura* with *Osiris*, of *Usha* with *Issis* and of *Soora* with *Horus* is striking.

If ever these words *Asura*, *Assur*, *Asshur*, *Ahura*, *Aesar* and *Osiris* are really identical in origin, we may conclude that the word had spread far and wide in the two-fold cradle of human civilization, the valleys of the *Euphrates* and the *Nile*. The vowel shift which the words disclose may be taken as merely reflecting the phonetic instincts of those people respectively. So far as the Vedic Aryans are concerned this was one of the few words by which they addressed or referred to the Almighty, as distinct from the numerous gods of their polytheistic worship. (The others were *Dyaus-Zeus*,

Pita Nah-Pater Noster and Janita-Generatori. It is remarkable that the word Asura is not traceable in the languages of the Greeks, Italians and the northern Europeans. This is a weighty circumstance for holding that the word may not be Aryan in origin at all. If the Etruscan word Aesar is really the same as Assur, this should in my opinion, be regarded as a pointer to their regional or ethnic origins or some of their ethnic strains.

The Sanskrit word Asura is usually derived from the verb *as*, to be (eimi sum). The verb gives *asu*, the life element, the soul or breath. Asura can mean the life element that throbs in the vault of Heaven. Alternatively it can come from the same verb *as*, to throw, to shoot (Gr. *aisso*). It gives *aasah*, the four directions or quarters spread out into space and *astaa*, a hitter, a shooter of the thunderbolt, or it could mean something spread out far and wide. If however the word was in origin the national name of a foreign people and their god, it would be absurd to derive it from Sanskrit verbs. We have already noted that the word is not traceable in the Aryan language of the West. The word, even in Sanskrit, is so ancient that it is impossible to say whether it was originally an Aryan word or adopted into Sanskrit from the people of Asshur. Nor can it be affirmed that the word is Asura and not Assur, which would make a lot of difference of etymology. The Etruscan word Aesar is said to be perhaps from Aisa, fate, and related to Aisoi, which was the Etruscan word for the gods.

From this much circumstantial and rambling approach to the word Asil, or Assil we may conclude that it is the same as

the Sanskrit word Asura for the only and the simple reason that was the well-settled epithet of the particular gods referred to. It would be right to read the word as Asir or Assir.

The other word in the treaty is *ilu* with its plural or dual *ilani*. It can be equated either with *veera* a hero, or with *eelenya* i.e. one to whom worship is due, a god. It has to be noted that the word *veera* is never used for the gods and the word has no such meaning as a demi-god. It can be accepted solely on the ground that the three gods Mitra, Varun and Indra are indicated by the expression *Asurasya veerah*, the heroes of heaven, in the Vedic text, and they are referred to in the treaty as *ilani*. The heroes amongst the Greeks were demi gods. Amongst the Scandinavians the heroes slain in the wars of the gods gathered a sort of divinity and found their place in Valhalla. Taken on the human plane, the expression *Asurasya veerah* could mean Defenders of "Asshur". Having become a common and familiar idiom it might have been used for the gods also...

The word *veera* (*vi-er*) would be from the verb *eer*, to enliven, to raise, to invigorate, as in *Sam-eera*, *pra-err* and *ud-er*. In that case it would ultimately come from the root *ri* which also gives the word—Arya. In that case it should also be radically same as the Greek words *Arren*, *Ares*, *Aristos* etc. If however we accept that *veera* is the same as Gr. *hero* and L. *vir*, the assumption will be that they all include an initial prefix *vi*.—It may be noted that *yiro*, the Prakrit—form of *veera*, is close in sound to *ilue*, which if written as *elue* would be closer to *veera*.

Alternatively, the word *ilu* could be eelya of eelenya. It comes from the verb *eel*, to propitiate to worship, being the familiar verb with which the text of the *Rigveda* begins (*Agnim eele—I propitiate Agni*). This verb is the same as the Greek verb *ilaskomai*, to propitiate, which gives *ilaos* or *ileos*, a god, the propitious or gracious one. In Sanskrit, the verb *eel* does not give any familiar noun-forms except *eelenya*. We have our current Marathi verb *aalav-ne*, with an identical meaning. It may be noted that the Greek word *ileos* is very close to the word *ilu* in meaning as well as sound.

It is already stated that the Mittani treaty was between Indo-European rulers and that therefore the words they used would be from an Aryan language. We may, however note that the word *ilu* has a remarkable resemblance with the major semitic words *Eloh* and *Liahi* which mean God. It is said that the place-name *Babylon* contains the word *ilu* because the name in fact is *Bab-ilu*, i.e. the gate of God. The name as traced in an ancient work, the *Buddha Jatakas*, is *Babh-iru*, a place to which certain Indian merchants had gone for trading. On the other hand, we may also point out place names like *Barcelona*, *Cephalonia*, *Vetulonia* and several others. These include; *lune* as indicative of a harbour or coastal place, and the name *Babylon* may also be of the same kind. It may not therefore be certain that the name is *Bab-ilu* or that the Mittani word is traceable in that place name. We have already referred to *Namuchi* and *Pipru* above. They were enemical *Asuras*, ancient with reference to the authors of the *Vedic hymns*. We have indicated above that they might well have

been rulers in ancient *Asshur*. Max Muller has suggested that *Nemuchi* may be *Amukos* of the Greek legend. *Amukos* was the king of the *Bebrukes*. Considering the facts of the legend, it appears that *Jason*, the the Argonaut, went to *Colchis* while on his way, he encountered *Amukos*. *Babylon* in that case could not be on his way and the word *Bebrukes* would not be radically the same as the word *Babylon*. If, however, *Amukos* is in fact the same word as *Namuchi* and the place or people called *Bebrukes* are the same as *Babhiru* of the *Buddha Jatakas* and *Bab-ilu* (*Babylon*) of later times, then the latter name cannot contain any separate word *ilu* so as to be the same as *ilahi* or *Eloh*. Incidentally we may observe that *Eloh* (er *Ilahi*) completely resembles the Greek word *Ilaos* both in sound as well as in meaning which, to say the least, is a curious circumstance.

We may consider another ancient word current in these regions possibly even before the name *Babylon* came into existence. In North-east of *Syria*, the *Sumerian* people held the regions of the upper *Euphrates* for long centuries. They are supposed to have been Indo-Europeans and it has even been suggested that they might have been Indians i.e. *Vedic Aryans*, or having an ethnic affinity with them. These *Sumerians* worshipped *Enlil*. This god-name in that case should be from an Aryan language. If we break up the word and read it as *Enl-il* and use *r* for *l*, we get *Enr-ir* which sounds like *Indra-vir*. The word *Indra* can possibly come only from the verb *in*, to rule over, to dominate, with the suffix *ra*. It is the same verb as the Greek verb—*anasso* and has same meaning. The Greek verb gives such words as *Anax*, *anaktor*, a king, a ruler, this being an epithet of *Apollo*. It also gives *Anaktes*, the kings, an epithet of the *Dioskouroi*. *Anakes* is the same as the Sanskrit *Inasas*, pl. of *Inas*, a king. The verb *in* would therefore give the name *In-ra*, as the

correct noun-form. We know that *n* followed by *r* often acquires a *d* in between, for the facility of expression, as in *ganr-gander*, *aner-andros*. So the suggestion can be that *Enl* is *Enr* or *Inr*, and it is *ir* or *vir*. This is fanciful no doubt but it has its own logic.

Lastly, we may consider the word *ilu* on the analogy of the Etruscan word *aule* or *vel* which was usually placed before personal names, but not before god-names.. It was probably used in the same manner as Reverend or Lord or Mr., a mode of honourific address or title. It is not known whether *El*, similarly placed before or after personal and place names amongst the Hebrews and Arabs, is a mere article or is related in such a use to *Eloh*, as in *Micha-el*, *Gabriel* etc. If it is the same as *Eloh*, we may concede that *El* would be the nearest and most appropriate equivalent for *ilu*. Further we find the word *vali* placed before some Arabic names, meaning a protector, an elder. It comes from *vald* or *valeed*, father or an elder, and resembles the Anglo-Saxon words *eld*, *eald* and *elder*. It gives *avlad*, progeny, and Etruscan word *aule* could perhaps have some meaning indicating decent.

None of these words gives any satisfactory equivalent for the word *ilu*, as being close in sound and appropriate in use. We should therefore give due weight to the circumstance that Indo-European rulers would use Aryan words and conclude that *ilu* is not related to *Eloh* or *Ilahi*. Further, we should give due weight to the circumstance that the party using the word invoked Vedic gods, and as such, would necessarily preface the reference to these gods with epithets or adjectives which are in complete linguistic and religious affinity. Epithets and adjectives of gods, amongst any people whatever, tend to become settled, or give rise to a traditional use. It is for this reason that we have to seek these words from the treaty in the Vedic text. In this way, the Sanskrit word *eelya*, with its Greek equivalent *ilaos* or *ileos* is an appropriate equivalent for the word *Ilu* in all possible ways. Alternatively, the expression *Asurasya veerah*, the heroes of heaven, being a epithet for

the gods invoked, would yield *veera* as an equally cogent equivalent for that word. This would of course depend on the circumstance that the Mittani were a Vedic people. Why do we say that they were Vedic?

The Mittani king invokes four gods in the treaty, three of whom, were worshipped on the Aegean coasts and in Asia Minor. *Mitra* or *Mithra* was worshipped in Persia and the *Pontus*. *Ouranos* or *Uranus* was worshipped in Greece and Italy. The *Dioskouroi* were worshipped in most of these places. It is only the name and god *Indra* that is not traceable in any of those places. What is the full implication of this fact? Can it not be that *Indra* was a subsequently constituted national god of the Vedic Aryans, subsequently to their migration from those regions? The only Western word with which the word *Indra* could be compared is the Greek word *aner-andros*. Both are extensively used as parts of personal names like *Deva-indra*, *Nara-indra*, and *Alex-andros*, *Andromachos* etc. This word *aner-andros* is completely identical in meaning with the Sanskrit word *nri-narah*, but they cannot be shown to be radically related unless it were in some highly irregular archaic manner. Ordinarily in Sanskrit, an initial—consonant, however soft, can never permit the sort of inflection that we require, i.e. *aanra* or *inra* from *nri*. It might be that the Greek word *aner* consists of *aa-nri*, i.e. *nri* with the prefix *aa*—. There is the temptation to regard such names as *Androcles*, *Andrew*, *Anderson*, and *Henry*, *Henderson* as radical equivalents of the name *Indra*. For our immediate purpose, it is enough to be certain that there was no god worshipped in the West under the name *Indra*, and that it was purely a Vedic name and that he was purely a Vedic god.

Similarly the name *Nasatya* mentioned in the treaty is not traceable in the West. The *Dioskouroi* were a favourite pair of gods both in the East as well as in the west. They had several well-settled epithets on both sides. Yet we do not find any epithet of theirs in the West which would correspond with the word *Nasatya*. This word itself cannot be satisfactorily explained. On a

plain facial reading it is na-a-satya, i.e. not-untrue. If this were its real structure, it should correspond with the Greek word *eteos* with two negatives prefixed. No such god name or epithet is traceable amongst the Greeks. The *Dioskouroi* were primarily the deities of the Sea and of Sailors in the West.. In this context we may compare the Greek word *Nasiotes* or *Nesiotes*, islanders, with *Nasatya*. But the vedic tradition does not regard them as islanders, nor as *Naiades*, water-deities, nor *Nautes*, *Nautiloi*, Sailors. Greek verb *Naio*, to dwell, gives such words as *naos*, a temple, a meta-nastes, a migrant. etc. None of these or any other words in Greek give any equivalent for *Nasatya*. We may therefore conclude that this Sanskrit name of the *Dioskouroi* is purely Vedic.

The full implication of this fact that *Nasatya* is purely a vedic name for the *Dioskouroi* and that *Indra* is purely a Vedic name and a Vedic god, is that the Mittani people who worshipped these gods under these particular names were purely a Vedic people. This is the foundation of our whole thesis.

The names of the kings who concluded this treaty are no doubt Indo-European, and in any case they are bound to be so in view of their gods and their worship. The single name *Dusrutta* is enough for so holding. It is the same as *Dash-ratha*, i.e. one who has ten chariots. It is not only a current name in India even today, but being the name of the father of the hero of one of our epics, it happens to have an unmistakable identity for us. The epic attributes the name to the ruler or the kingdom of *Ayodhya*. This kingdom adjoined the kingdoms of *Kashi*, *Mithila*, and many others. These kingdoms had formed almost immediately after the Vedic period. They were far more ancient than the kingdom of *Troy*. We might visualise the possibility that the *Kassites* who ruled in *Babylon* in about B.C. 1500 might have been the tribal nation of the *Kashis*. The name *Kassite*, admittedly Indo-European, might also be compared with such Vedic names, as *Kusha*, an important Vedic tribe, or *Kutsa*, the most celebrated name

amongst Vedic kings, or the tribe of *Kashus* (Rig. 8-5-37) etc. West of the *Kassites* were the *Neiri* or the *Neherim* people. They might have been the *Naryas* (Rig. 8-24-29). The name *Mittani* might be the same as *Maitrani*, a major sect of Vedic Brahmins. It could as well be *Mithil*, or from *Mehatnu*, a Vedic river name.

The king who made the treaty in question was *Mattiage*. This could be read as *Amitouja*, i.e. *Amita-ojas*, he of immeasurable lustre or vigour. There can be little doubt that the latter part of the name *uaza* is either *wajas* as in *Bharad-waja* or *ojas*, which is radically the same. The part *Matti* might be *Mati*—intellect, being the same as Gr. *metis*. The name might also be compared with *Maitryosha*.

The other party to the treaty was the Hittite king *Sabiluuma* or *Suppilulyma*. Such a name may contain *aryama*, the god-name, for *uliuma* or *orulyuma*. Alternatively it may also be *loman*, hair. *Shubhraloman* would mean silver-haired while *Shyava-loman* would mean dark or—dusky-haired. *Shyava* in current Marathi is *Savala*, while in classical Sanskrit it is *Shyamal* and not *Shyaval*. The whole name could also be read as *Suvirvarma* or *Suvir-aryama*.

There could be a supervening objection to all this discussion, which also has to be taken into consideration. If the treaty was between Indo-European parties, it is a question why their scribe was using the letter *l* for the letter *r*. The letter *r* was at his disposal. If the treaty was dictated, as it must have been, the person dictating could not have pronounced the word *asura* as *asil*, or the word *veera* as *ilu*. What explanation can there be for these "lapses"? There can of course be no satisfactory explanation. For one thing we may explain that by B.C. 1380 Sanskrit was fast disappearing as a spoken language even in India. Prakrit languages were taking shape in different regions. They indicate a universal tendency to substitute *l* for *r*. This might have happened in the regions

of Syria and northern Iraq also, where the Mittani people might have developed a Prakrit of their own. Philologists have noted that in these very regions of the Euphrates the Prakritisation of ancient Persian words into Pehlavi uniformly discloses the use of *l* for *r*. This is not barbarian corruption. It is a well-known feature of all spoken languages, which tend to make pronunciation facile by sliding into these softer phonetics. The objection is not as forceful as it appears on a superficial view, but yet retains much of its force.

Upon the major historical implication of such an invocation of Vedic gods in the regions of Syria and Asia Minor and its bearing on the question of Vedic migration to India, we may observe that the matter depends on its time factor. The Mittani treaty dates in B.C. 1380. The Vedic text was already in existence in the Punjab in B.C. 2500, though not compiled as a chapter and verse text or an indexed anthology. If then, the Vedic Aryans had entered into India before B.C. 2500, the invocation can have no bearing on the question of the time when they migrated, though it may have some bearing on the question of the direction or the region from which they had migrated. By B.C. 1380, the numberless tribal groups whom we collectively know by the general name of the Vedic Aryans, had spread out all over north India and become well-settled as separate kingdoms which are exhaustively listed in the epics and the Puranas. The Puranic account says that of the five major groups of Aryans of the lunar descent, one, the Anus, migrated beyond the Indus and eventually became barbarians (Mlechchas). Even apart from this account, we can well conceive that the fluid mass of numberless migratory tribes might have individually floated away in any direction as time and circumstance demanded, and not necessarily in the same direction. We can conceive that the Kassites and the Mittani and the Neiri and others might have had a long sojourn in India (B.C. 2500-1700) before they appeared in the regions of the Euphrates and Syria. These regions were held by the Amorites and the Chaldeans for long periods.

The sudden emergence of the Kassites and others as rulers there indicates that they had come from else-where. They came worshipping Indra and the Nasatyas, and mitra and Varuna. I think that is sufficient to show that they came from India.

These conjectures can be pushed forward on the basis of the same time factor, so as to give very extra-ordinary conclusions. Just as the Kassites and the Mittani people suddenly emerged in the said region in about B.C 1700, there seem to have emerged equally suddenly other people on the Aegean coasts at about the same time. These are known as the Greek or the Hellenic-people, chiefly consisting of four major tribes namely the Ionians, the Aeoleans, the Dorians and the Achaeans. They worshipped Zeus (Dyaus), Ouranos (Varuna) the Dioskouroi (the Ashwins) Triton (Trita), Orpheus (Ribhu) and so many other Vedic gods. They also might have been part of a vast migratory wave from India which took the Kassites to Babylon, and the Neiri and the Mittani to Syria and Armenia. The Greeks took over the Aegean regions from their previous occupants who were known as the Aegean people with their principal stronghold in the cities of Mycenae, Troy and Tiryns. In the case of the Greeks, as distinct from the Kassites, we have a further corroboration in their tribal names. If the identity which we are pointing out, of their names with the names of certain Indian or Vedic tribes is correct, it would constitute one of the most extraordinary and most decisive proofs that history can afford for determining the origin of the Greek people and the civilization which they gave to the world.

This would require some acquaintance with the tribal names of the Vedic people. Here it would be enough to state that of the very numerous Vedic tribes, one group consisted of five tribes, with more mutual affinity than the rest. They were the Yadus, Turwasoos, Anus, Drihyoos and the Purus. Even amongst these, the Yadus and Turwasoos are so closely related, and mentioned together in such a way that we can infer that they were one and the same tribe with a very slight

distinction. The epic Mahabharata (Adiparva) states this about them— “..... the descendants of Turwasoo are remembered as Yavanas (i.e. Ionians).... and those of Anu as the barbarian castes”. The epic also states that the Anus had migrated beyond the Indus (into Asia) where they lost their caste and became barbarians.

Some of the Aegeans had built a great city on the Aegean coast called Troia. Its founder was king Troos, and its people were called Troioi. This name, we may point out is the same as Turwasoo. Turwasoos, who were almost identical with the cognate tribe of the Yadus, became Ionians (Yavanas) according to the account given in our epic. The name Yadu is close to Ias, Iades, the fem. form of the word Ion, an Ionian. Similarly the Dorieoos (Dorians) closely sound like the Drihyoos. There is, further, the decisive identity of Phrux, Phrugos, (the Phrygians) with Bhrigu, this being the name of a celebrated Vedic priest-clan. The Achaeans were ruled by the house of Atreus. This name equates with Atri, another celebrated name of a Vedic priest clan. The Bhrigus are some times spoken of together with Ourwa. The latter name might be identical with the name Aeolean. Argos was the name of several Greek cities, which corresponds with the place-name and river name Rigeeka or Argeek from the Rigvead. Many such instances can be pointed out but these should suffice. All these resemblances have a look of startling accuracy. The names on either side are of important major tribes. Their respective phonetic intimation is unmistakably reassuring. In my opinion these five identities are absolutely correct namely, Bhrigu-Phruges, Tuwasoo-Troos, Drihyoo-Dorieoos, Argika, Argos, and Atri-Atrius. This leads to the extraordinary conclusion that the celebrated Hellenic people who gave Greek civilization to the world were none but Vedic tribes, or Indian people.

The inference in short is built up thus. We find people having these Sanskrit names in north India since B. C. 3000-2500. Then we find people having these same names, traceable in Greek shape, suddenly emerging

on the Aegean coasts from “somewhere.” They worshipped Vedic gods, had similar myths and rituals. and a great linguistic affinity. If at all they came from somewhere the most plausible inference upon the facts indicated should be that they came from India.

It has to be borne in mind that of the Greek people mentioned above, the Dorians alone were Greek while the Trojans, Phrygians, Argives, and Atreids would be counted as Aegeans. According to the historical account, there is a long gap between the arrival of the Aegeans and the Greeks upon those coasts. The two are regarded as distinct people, representing distinct civilizations. This would be inconsistent with our hypothesis that they all of them were a joint group of migratory tribes who simultaneously occupied different parts of those coasts. From the Vedic point of view, the Drihyoos (Dorians) could scarcely be said to be culturally different from the Yadus Turwasoos and others.

The general belief that the Greeks and Indians came to know each other only after Alexander's invasion is an over simplification of the matter. Their contact prior to Alexander seems to have been continuous through the centuries, induced as it must have been by tribal consanguinity. In fact, the regions east of Asia minor had perpetually been the circuit or field for the migratory activity of all Caucasian tribes. We need not exclude the Vedic Aryans from this age old characteristic of all Caucasians. They had the same yearnings, the same attitudes and the same opportunities for selecting their habitat from age to age. It is only the paucity or absence of information which

disables us from knowing anything about their movements in those ancient periods.

Fortunately the Mittani treaty has enabled us for the first time to assert confidently what prior to its discovery we could merely guess. We need not pretend that the suggestion herein made is the only possible inference that can be drawn from the invocatory recital in the treaty. The question truly posed by that document is this: were the Mittani people in Syria (B. C. 1380) a group of re-migrants from India, or were they a lingering group that had not gone forward towards India in about B.C. 3000 together with the migrating Vedic Aryans of whom they were originally a member group? When vast nations migrate, it cannot be said that they migrate unto the very last man. Some people are bound to linger behind and remain where they were. The Mittani group might as well have been a lingering group that did not go forward. This could be said of the Hellenic tribes also. A splinter group from a major tribe may go forward while the tribe remained in its place. In the result we could trace the same tribal name in two places.

This can be illustrated by our own argu-

ment used in relation to the Mittani people.

If the Hellenic tribes were Vedic emigrants from India, we ought to find them worshipping the all-important Vedic god Indra and also the Nasatyas under that name, but we do not. That can therefore at the most mean that the Hellenic people were groups that had not gone forward to India at an earlier stage.

No hasty or haphazard answers to these questions can serve any purpose. We may be content with an over-all conclusion that the Mittani document does not materially affect our conventional beliefs and concepts about Vedic culture, centred as they are in the land of the Seven Rivers. It is a post-Vedic document and that fact alone is enough to shift and shape all manner of considerations regarding its implications so as to make them conform to that circumstance. Apart from the implications and inferences discussed above, the document gives a broad impression that there must have been a big emigration of some of the Vedic tribes from India towards the West in the second millenium B. C. The sort of invocation that we have in the treaty could hardly be satisfactorily explained in any other way.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

Dr. Karan Singh writing in the University Review of the Kashmir Division of the University of Jammu and Kashmir says :

The youth of a nation should be its main reservoir of idealism and dedication, for upon it will depend the future of all that we hold dear in our nation including our very independence itself. Why is that in India there is widespread frustration among the young, and that instead of becoming a positive force in nation-building they are getting increasingly alienated and resentful ?

I will not here attempt to analyse the various factors that contribute towards student indiscipline, such as the rising cost of living that presses down heavily upon the student community, the inadequate teaching facilities in our educational institutions, the overcrowding in class-rooms and the grievous shortage of opportunities for sports and extra-curricular activities, the generally low standards of teaching, the unimaginativeness, corruption and sheer inefficiency that are often encountered in educational administration. These have been analysed time and again by experts, the latest study being in the voluminous report of the Education Commission published recently. It is also hardly necessary to deprecate the tendency of political parties to fish in the troubled waters of student grievances. It is true that

in the national freedom struggle students played a valuable political role, but with the attainment of our independence the justification for active student participation in politics disappeared, and it is sincerely to be hoped that our political parties will accept and implement a self-denying ordinance whereby they will cease to exploit students for political purposes.

APPOINTMENT AND DISMISSAL OF THE CHIEF MINISTERS

J. R. Siwach, writing in the *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, published by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi, discusses the question of the Constitutionality of appointments and dismissals of Chief Ministers of the States in a convincing manner. We are quoting certain important passages from his article.

According to the Constitution "the Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor." It may, however, be asked as to how far is it possible for the Governor to appoint such a person as a Chief Minister who is not a member of the State Legislature ? According to one school of thought it is not obligatory on the part of the Governor to

appoint a Chief Minister from the members of the State Legislature alone. Any person can be appointed as a Chief Minister for six months provided he is likely to carry the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly with him. If however, the Chief Minister who is not a member of the State Legislature wants to continue in office for more than six months, he will have to be its member because "a minister who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Legislature of the State shall at the expiration of the period cease to be a minister."

According to the other school, the Governor cannot appoint any person as a Chief Minister unless he is a member of the State Legislature. This is the opinion of the Advocate-General of Bihar, on the basis of which the Governor Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar wrote the following letter to Mr. B. P. Mandal who requested him as a chief Minister :

I have since obtained the opinion of the Advocate-General regarding your claim to become the Chief Minister or even a Minister. He states that you are not qualified to be a minister without becoming a member of the Legislature. In view of the constitutional position explained in my letter and the opinion of the Advocate-General, I feel it difficult to accede to your request to form the Government in the State.

This letter of the Government of Bihar has raised a point of great constitutional importance, that is, as to how far is it constitutional for the Governor to appoint such a person as a Chief Minister, who is not a member of the State Legislature? It is very difficult to understand how could the Advocate-General or the Governor say that Mr. B. P.

Mandal was not qualified "to become...even a minister" without becoming a member of the State Legislature particularly when Mr. Mandal was a minister a few days before, without being the member of the State Legislature. So far as the ministers are concerned there is absolutely no doubt that at the time of their appointment it is not necessary that they should be members of the State Legislature. It is significant to note that the expressions "Ministers" in article 163 (3) "the Ministers" and "of Ministers" in clauses (1) and (5) of article 164, means ministers including the Chief Minister. The non-acceptance of this interpretation would mean that :

- (1) the Chief Minister does not hold office during the pleasure of the Governor,
- (2) the advice given by the Chief Minister can be inquired into in any court, and
- (3) there is no provision for the fixation of the salaries of the Chief Minister in the Constitution.

Hence, the expressions "Ministers", "the Ministers" and "of Ministers" used in articles 163 and 164 include the Chief Minister. But what does the expression "A Minister" as used in clause (4) of article 164 mean? Does it cover the Chief Minister? If this expression includes the Chief Minister, then there should be no difficulty in appointing such a person as a Chief Minister who is not a member of the State Legislature. It appears that clause (4) of article 164 applies to all the Ministers including the Chief Minister. This is so because the same expression "A Minister" as used in clause (3) of the same article undoubtedly includes the Chief Minister. Had this expression not included the Chief Minister, there would have been a separate provision in the Cons-

titution for administering the oath of office and secrecy to him. This proves that even for the Chief Minister it is not necessary that he should be a member of the State Legislature at the time of his appointment. This is also the opinion of Col. Joginder Singh Mann, the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. While giving a judgement on the legality of Mr. Gill's Government in Punjab, he for instance said "theoretically speaking it is conceivable that the Governor may appoint the Chief Minister as well as his colleagues from outside the House for a specific period." Hence, it can be said that the opinion of the Advocate-General of Bihar does not seem to be sound from constitutional point of view.

Ordinarily, however, it is expected that the Chief Minister would be the member of the State Legislature. It is significant to note that it is not only the member of the Legislative Assembly who can be appointed as a Chief Minister but also a member of the Legislative Council too can be appointed. In fact, there are examples where the leaders from the Legislative Council have headed the State Ministers. For instance, Mr. Morarji Desai in Bombay (1952) and Mr. C. B. Gupta in U. P. (1952).

It should also be noted in this connection that besides the elected members of the Legislative Council, even the nominated members can also be appointed as Chief Ministers.

It may, however, be asked as to how far has the Governor a discretion in the appointment of the Chief Minister? So long as one

of the political parties has a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly, and it also has a clearly recognised leader, the Governor may not have much say in the appointment of the Chief Minister. But whenever none of the political parties has a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly, the Governor may play quite an important part in the appointment of the Chief Minister. While doing so, he may even refuse to invite a leader sponsored by various political parties as their candidate and thereby may prevent them from forming a coalition Government. This is exactly what the Governors of Madras and Rajasthan have done in 1952 and 1967 respectively. In Madras when all the opposition parties with 166 members joined and approached the Governor Shri Sri Prakasa, he said :

I am not going to recognise the combination of groups. I am going to call that party which in the elections emerged as the largest single party, if not the absolute majority party, the biggest party.

The Congress at that time had a strength of 155 in a house of 321, but its leader Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who was a nominated member of Legislative Council was appointed as a Chief Minister. Similarly, in February 1966, Dr. Sampurnanda the then Governor of Rajasthan refused to invite Maharawal Lakshman Singh, the leader of the United Front to form the Government, in spite of the fact that the United Front had a clear majority in the Legislative Assembly. He summoned Mr. Sukhadia, the leader of the Congress party to form the Government irrespective of the fact that the Congress party had a strength of 88 out of 183.

Foreign Periodicals

CHILD CARE AND THE TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

The following are excerpts from the British Information Services Survey, Vol. 1 No. 18 :

The second triennial report of the children's Department of the Home Office gives an account of the work of the department for the period 1964-66 (HMSO, 6s. 6d.). It reviews the services concerned with child care, the training of child care officers and residential staff, adoption, delinquency and the treatment of young offenders and outlines research being undertaken in these fields. The introduction to the report points out that services for children and young people and their families are provided by a partnership embracing statutory and voluntary bodies, and local and central government: the report comments on the services as a whole.

CHILDREN IN CARE

The report gives statistics of the number of children in care in March 1963 and March 1966 with an analysis of the circumstances in which children came into the care of local authorities. In March 1966 there were 69,157 children in the care of local authorities in England and Wales, which represented 5.3 per 1,000 of the estimated population under the age of 18 (compared with 5.1 per 1,000 in 1959).

The report points out, however, that the rise in the number of children in local authority care since 1959 has been accompanied by a substantial fall in the numbers of children in the care of voluntary organisations. These have fallen from 17,068 in 1959 to 10,839 in 1966. Thus between 1959 and 1966 the total number of children in the care of local authorities and voluntary organisations in England and Wales rose from 78,648 which represents a fall from 6.5 to 6.1 per 1,000 of the estimated population under the age of 18. In the year ended March 1966 half the children who came into care did so on account of their mother's confinement or because of the short-term illness of of their parents.

The report gives information about the foster care of children—just over half of those in care are boarded out—and about the numbers in residential homes. It notes an increase in the number of children living in homes accommodating less than 12 children during the period under review. Increasingly successful efforts are being made to see that children in residential accommodation freely join in activities of all kinds outside the home.

The report outlines the work of voluntary organisations in the child care service and points out that, despite the growth of statutory services, they continue to flourish and expand. It draws attention to the work of the National Bureau for Co-operation

in Child Care, which is concerned with all aspects of the care of children. It says that the bureau is establishing itself as an important part of the total child care services, in particular by disseminating information through its publications and conferences and by the research it undertakes.

ADOPTION

The report shows that in the six years from 1959 to 1965 the number of adoptions rose from 14,109 to 21,032 an increase of nearly 50 per cent. There are now about 70 registered adoption societies in England and Wales and about 70 local authorities act in a similar capacity. The number of adoptions resulting from local authority placings has risen steadily in recent years and is now about 3,000 a year. About half of these children had been in the care of local authorities.

The Government Social Survey and the Home Office Research Unit are undertaking a statistical investigation into the workings of the Adoption Act 1958. It is expected that this and other research projects will provide information as a basis for improvements in adoption practice and may point the way to changes in the law.

DELINQUENCY AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

The number of young people under the age of 17 found guilty of indictable offences increased during the period under review but at a lower rate than in preceding years. The rise in the number of girls found guilty of indictable offences is largely due to an increase in shoplifting, which

accounted for more than half of the offences committed by girls under 17. The report gives detailed statistics of offences committed by boys and girls of different age groups. Information about remand homes and approved schools is also given. The report says that the need for more remand home accommodation is a direct result of the increase in the number of delinquents over the past ten years. The waiting period in remand homes for accommodation in approved schools, which was sometimes necessary, has become much shorter, however, largely because of the provision of many more places in approved schools. (There was a net increase of 1,066 places in approved schools in the period 1961-66 and five new schools were opened during the years 1964-66.) Plans to increase accommodation in remand homes are well advanced and arrangements for boys and girls on remand to be accommodated with private families have been made in several parts of the country. The difficulty of recruiting suitable staff for both remand homes and approved schools is discussed.

RESEARCH

The report gives accounts of research projects being undertaken by the Home Office Research Unit or by the National Bureau for Co-operation in Child Care, by universities and local authorities with financial support from the Home Office.

These can be broadly divided into three groups: (1) general studies of the development of children; (2) studies into the causes of prevention of juvenile delinquency and the treatment of young offenders; and (3) studies into child care and adoption.

BRITAIN'S TRADE BY AIR

The following is reproduced from the British Information Service Survey: A substantially greater proportion of United Kingdom trade was carried by air in 1966 than in 1965. Final figures for the year, published in the BOARD OF TRADE JOURNAL for 14th April 1967, show that imports carried by air in 1966 accounted for 9 per cent by value of total United Kingdom compared with 7.5 per cent in 1965. The proportion of United Kingdom exports carried by air rose to 9.5 per cent in 1966 from under 8 per cent in 1965, while for the first time one-third or total re-exports were carried

by air in 1966. The values of imports, exports and re-exports carried by air in 1966 at £546 million, £483 million and £65 million respectively, showed increase of 25,30 and 18 per cent over 1965.

The divisions in which the greatest proportions of trade are carried by air are, for exports, clothing (46 per cent), professional and scientific instruments (38 per cent), leather manufactures (28 per cent) and medicinal and pharmaceutical products (28 per cent); for imports, electrical machinery (54 per cent), scientific instruments (53 per cent) and medicinal and pharmaceutical products (41 per cent).

Major Groups of Commodities Exported and Imported by Air in 1966.

Selected division	Exports			Imports		
	Total UK exports £m f.o.b.	Exports by air £m f.o.b.	Proportion of total exports %	Total UK imports £m c.i.f.	Imports by air £m c.i.f.	Proportion of total imports %
Leather manufactures	33.0	9.2	28	29.0	4.1	14
Chemical elements and compounds	110.8	6.3	6	122.9	14.6	12
Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	73.1	20.8	28	14.6	6.0	41
Textile yarn, fabrics, made-up articles	260.7	13.9	7	158.8	22.3	14
Non-ferrous metals	191.4	29.7	16	421.8	12.5	3
Machinery, other than electric	1,040.7	128.0	12	429.7	126.8	29
Electrical machinery, apparatus and appliances	346.0	53.4	15	150.4	80.5	54
Transport equipment	721.2	46.4	6	97.6	18.2	19
Clothing	52.7	24.0	46	68.7	20.7	30
Professional and scientific instruments	113.7	42.8	38	78.2	41.4	53
Total*	4,728.0	483.1	10	5,954.0	545.9	9

*Including other items not specified above.

A large part of United Kingdom trade carried by air is with Western Europe and North America. In 1966 Western Europe accounted for 44 per cent of imports, 46 per cent of exports, and 61 per cent of re-exports carried by air, and North America accounted for 32, 27 and 26 per cent of imports, exports and re-exports, respectively, carried by air. The individual countries with the largest shares of this trade are the United States, France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

New pensions legislation in Rumania

A new Employed Persons' Pensions Act, which came into force on 1 January 1967, repeals the previous legislation on the subject. Its purpose is to adapt the level of pensions to economic progress and to help to increase material incentives for employed persons to contribute to the country's economic development.....

Any person who has been employed for the qualifying period of 25 years (20 years for women) and has reached the age of 60 (55 for women) is entitled to an old-age pension, the actual expression used in the Act being "superannuation pension". With effect from 1 January 1967, however, the worker may continue in employment and the undertaking may not require his retirement before the age of 62 (57 for women), this limit being raised to 65 years (60 in the case of women) for university teachers and certain other categories of scientific and research workers.

For workers who have been employed in "highly harmful, highly arduous or highly hazardous occupations" (first category) or in "harmful, arduous or hazardous occupations" (second category) the age limit is reduced by six months and three months respectively for each year's work performed in such occupations, subject to a minimum age of 50 years. The required period of employment is reduced in same proportions.

Employed women who have brought up three or more children until the age of 10 may claim an old-age pension before reaching the standard age of eligibility. The age limit is reduced

by one year in respect of three children, by two years in respect of four children and by three years in respect of five or more children. This provision is without prejudice to the right of women workers to remain in employment until reaching the normal age limit.

Special age limits are laid down for civilian flying personnel and for certain categories of performing artists.

The basic old-age pension, which may be increased in accordance with the duration and continuity of employment, is calculated in proportion to the monthly reference wage. For workers in the first category it ranges from 70 per cent. of a wage above 2,800 lei to 100 per cent. of a wage below 800 lei, the corresponding figures being 65 to 95 per cent. for workers in the second category and 60 to 90 per cent. for workers in the third category. The percentages laid down for workers in the first and second categories apply to persons who have performed work corresponding to those categories for not less than 20 years.

For each year of employment beyond the minimum qualifying period the workers in the various categories are entitled to a pension supplement representing 1 per cent. of the reference wage. Long continuity of employment provides follows: 4 per cent. of the pension for 10 to 15 years' continuity of employment, 7 per cent. for 15 to 20 years and 10 per cent. for over 20 years. The total pension may not, however, exceed the reference wage.

Persons who have not completed the prescribed employment period for entitlement to old-age pension are, nevertheless, entitled to a reduced old-age pension if they have been employed for not less than ten years and have reached the age of 62 (57 for women). The pension is calculated in proportion to the number of years of employment.

INVALIDITY PENSIONS

The qualifying period for entitlement to an invalidity pension varies according to the age of the beneficiary. It ranges from one year (up

to the age of 20) to 22 years (above the age of 60) and from one year to 17 years for women. If invalidity is due to an accident at work, an occupational disease or tuberculosis no qualifying period is required.

The basic invalidity pension rate is established in accordance with the previous wage and the degree of invalidity (grade I, where the person concerned is totally incapacitated for work and requires the constant attendance of another person; grade II, where the person concerned is totally incapacitated for work but does not require the attendance of another person; grade III, where the person concerned is partially incapacitated for work).

In the case of grade I invalidity the basic rate ranges from 35 per cent. of a monthly wage above 2,800 lei to 65 per cent. of a wage below 300 lei. The pension is increased by 1 per cent. of the reference wage in respect of each year of employment. In the case of grade II invalidity the pension rate is 75 per cent., and for grade III invalidity 60 per cent., of the pension rate for grade I.

When invalidity is due to an accident at work, occupational disease or tuberculosis the pension rate is increased. In addition, persons who are in receipt of an invalidity pension or an old-age pension and who are affected by grade I invalidity are entitled to additional benefit for the assistance of another person at a standard rate of 300 lei per month.

SURVIVORS' PENSIONS

Subject to conditions laid down in the Act the following classes of persons are entitled to a survivor's pension: the children, spouse, parents and brothers and sisters of the deceased. The pension is fixed in accordance with the following percentages of the pension to which the deceased was or would have been entitled: 100 per cent. if there are not less than three survivors, 75 per cent. if there are two survivors, and 50 per cent. if there is only one survivor. A spouse who does not satisfy the prescribed conditions is entitled to a survivor's pension until

taking up employment, subject to a limit of six months following the decease of the breadwinner.

SOCIAL ALLOWANCE

Persons having no means of subsistence and failing to satisfy the employment conditions laid down for entitlement to an old-age or invalidity pension are entitled to a periodic social allowance payable by the state social insurance fund if they have reached the age of 62 (57 for women) and have been employed for not less than five years or if they are disabled and have been employed for not less than a quarter of the qualifying period laid down for invalidity pension eligibility.

The surviving spouse and the children of a deceased breadwinner who did not meet the conditions laid down for invalidity or old-age pension eligibility are entitled to a survivor's social allowance if they lack means of subsistence and themselves satisfy the conditions for receipt of a survivor's pension.

The rates for social allowances are fixed by decision of the Council of Ministers, which also determines other categories of persons to whom social allowances may be paid, as appropriate.

SUPPLEMENTARY PENSIONS

The compulsory scheme of supplementary pensions for employed persons came into force on 1 January 1967. The resources required for payment of pensions under this scheme will be provided by employed persons' contributions fixed at 2 per cent. of their wages (other pensions are financed by contributions from undertakings and by state subsidies).

The supplementary pension will be calculated on the basis of the period during which contributions have been paid. It will represent 5 per cent. of the reference wage in respect of one to two years' contributions, 7 per cent. for two to five years, 10 per cent. for five to eight years, 12 per cent. for eight to ten years, 14 per cent. for ten to 20 years and 16 per cent. for over 20 years.

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Book Reviews

"History of the Freedom Movement in India" (Vol. II) by Dr. Tara Chand, Published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broad Casting, and Printed by the Govt. of India Press, Faridabad. (Price Rs. 13.50).

The second volume of Dr. Tara Chand's interesting historical interpretations of the Freedom Movement in India, discusses the period 1800 to 1905. Whereas the First Volume discussed the establishment of British power in India between 1750 and 1856, the second discusses the important years when Indian Nationalism developed as a result of India's confrontation with western power and culture. This Nationalism was the culmination of great movements in the Social, Religious and Political spheres, and grew as a result of a struggle of the Middle classes in their efforts to forge Political, Economic and Cultural unity. Dr. Tara Chand is of the opinion that three forces primarily shaped the history of the freedom movement in the latter part of this period, namely a foreign Government, exploiting the people and country, a vast mass of impoverished and ignorant people and a small intellectual elite, conscious of the weakness within the nation, and determined to remove these through self-Government.

Dr. Tara Chand's treatment of the various great Religious and Social reforms draw our attention to the problems which Indians faced within the boundaries of

their own traditions and culture at that time, while the Giants of that Era such as Ram Mohon Roy are portrayed as outstanding personalities, who influenced fundamentally the growth of Modern India. Furthermore his emphasis on the role of the Indian Middle Class in connection with the development of political consciousness in India is also note worthy.

Throughout the author discusses his ideas with objective clarity, and thus, this book should interest all sections of educated society in India to-day.

—L.C.

DETAILED ANNUAL REPORT 1966-67 : Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department. The report deals with all aspects of the work of the Department e.g. general ramifications, finances, administration, staff welfare, Postal and Railway Mail Service, Telegraphs, Telephones, Wireless, Stores and Workshops, Development and expansion of Telecommunications, Research etc. etc. There are 47 appendices, 14 plates, 5 charts and numerous statistical tables.

REPORT : 1967-68 of the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation. The Report deals with Civil Aviation, India Meteorological Department, Railway safety, Tourism, Air Corporations and other matters. There are seven appendices.

REPORT 1967-68 (Activities) Indian Posts and Telegraphs ; Published by the Department of Communications, Posts and Telegraphs Board. The Report gives much

valuable information about matters connected with the Department's work.

INDUSTRIAL RECESSION by Dr. S. D. Sing Chouhan, published by Sahitya Bhawan : Agra—3 as a booklet in their 'Economic and Commercial series ; Re 1/,—1968. It explains the intricacies of industrial recessions in a clear and practical manner.

OMBUDSMAN FOR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT :

Edited by Stanley V. Anderson. Printed and Published by the American Assembly, Columbia University—USA. (Price \$ 1.95 paper bound & \$ 4.95 Cloth bound).

The authors are concerned with the problems of Government losing touch with the individual citizen in the USA. Bureaucracy is growing so vast and remote that a public official is required urgently to protect citizens against negligence and abuse by other officials. The Ombudsman is such an official, being a novel & uniquely appropriate institution for dealing with the average citizen's complaints about unfair administrative action.

The Ombudsman has been described as "an independent, high-level officer who receives complaints, who pursues inquiries into the matters involved, and who makes recommendations for suitable action. He may also investigate on his own motion. He makes periodic public reports. His

remedial weapons are persuasion, criticism, & publicity. He cannot as a matter of law reverse administrative actions !

The use of this office is Scandinavian in origin, and has been a very successful one in those countries in all fields of public life. But whether this institution will solve the American administrative, deadlocks requires much thought since a basically foreign institution may not solve what are fundamentally American problems, and in fact may hinder the legitimate function of Government. Furthermore, the size of the state, the variety in size, form and structure of local institutions, as well as the nature of the federal constitution will have to be thought of in relation to this idea; and therefore the sponsors by the 32nd American Assembly conclude that Ombudsman offices be established in American local and State Governments. They do not recommend the establishment of a single office of Ombudsman for the entire federal Government, but were of the opinion that applications of the concept be undertaken at the federal level. And thus by looking at the Ombudsman as one of many tools of good government, and not a panacea of all social problems, good relations between the individual and the State could be considerably improved & forwarded.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

NORTH-SOUTH VIETNAM

The ancient history of the lands now known as North and South Vietnam show that North Vietnam was named Tonkin and was ruled by the Han Emperors of China during the first millenium of the Christian era. It became independent in 939 A.D. but had acknowledged Chinese suzerainty at subsequent periods. During the next several centuries the Vietnamese conquered the Kingdom of Champa in Annam and Cochin-China which is now called South Vietnam and was Cambodian territory in the past. The French began to send missionaries to this area in the 16th century and later help the Annamite Emperor Gia-Long to establish a unified Vietnam known as the Empire of Annam. In 1885 the French made a treaty with China by which the Chinese gave up all political claims of overlordship in Tonkin and Annam. The

French established a protectorate over these countries and created a colony in Cochin-China. In 1863 the French protectorate was extended to Cambodia and in 1899 to Laos. The Japanese, during the second World War occupied Vietnam. In 1941 the Vietnam League, a Communist organisation was formed. On March 9, 1945 the Japanese interned all French people in Indo-China and proclaimed the independence of the country. In September 1945 the French siezed power again in Indo-China. In the mean time the Vietminh had become quite powerful and the French had to recognise the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a free State within the Indo-Chinese Federation. There were intensive efforts made by the Vietminh to include Cochin-China in the Federation. The French could not arrive at any settlement as to the territorial rights of the

different groups in the so-called Indo-China region of South East Asia. Cessation of hostilities was arranged in 1954 in the Geneva Conference in which the signatories were the French and the Peoples Army of Vietnam. The government of Vietnam did not sign the agreement. The Conference agreed to hold a general election in 1956, which was not held and the country remained divided into North and South Vietnam States.

Generally examined the people of the two States are quite similar, in a manner of speaking, if one considered their racial and linguistic characteristics. Yet, they also differ widely in so far as the North Vietnamese consist of large minority groups of Tays, Nungs, Muongs, Thais and Mees; and the South Vietnamese minorities belong to Bahnar, Rhade, Jarai and other races. The various political and military parties are quite distinct too and hands of China and Russia in North Vietnam show up in extreme contrast against the hands of the Western Euro-Americans in South Vietnam. There are no reasons for assuming that the two countries wish to become one or that they can unite on an ideological basis. There are on the other hand very strong reasons to believe that the two States can never unite. One is the current war between the two States. Almost every family in the two States has had some of its members killed in this war. Soldiers of the North and the soldiers of the South have been killing each other mercilessly out of a hatred born of animosities which have now taken a permanent shape. The North or the South may occupy the whole

region by military force; but even that cannot unite the peoples of the two States. People may say that outside influence has brought about this feeling of antipathy and once the outsiders are removed the inhabitants of North and South Vietnam will unite and live peacefully as members of one nation. But once the peoples of the two States have been taught to hate one another and have learnt to attack and destroy each others homes, they can never again revert to their lost feeling of friendship and brotherly outlook. The people of India and Pakistan have been taught to dislike one another by foreigners too. But they have now acquired a state of mind in which they can never think themselves to be members of the same nation. North and South Vietnam can remove all Russians, Chinese and Americans from their soil; but a great deal of the hatred created between the peoples of the two sectors will continue to torment the souls of the two peoples. It is therefore wise to separate the two Vietnamese States and to so arrange matters as would enable the peoples of the two States to live peacefully and amicably without encroaching upon the territories of each other. They should also mutually keep out of each other politics.

PARTY PROMISES

The political parties of India are now busy concocting hopes and promises for attracting votes. If we are returned to power, they are telling the voters, we shall do this and that and remove all kinds of undesirable conditions that now exist. The promises are all one sided in the sense

that all offenders are being offered reprieves but no victims are being assured that criminals will be punished. Irrespective of the causes leading to strikes all strikers will be given whatever they ask for. Students will be permitted to cease attending educational institutions, do what they like in examination halls and demand whatever "freedoms" they can think of. Whether job holders have any real and productive work to do or not their wages will be doubled, prices of commodities will be halved, house rents quartered and so on and so forth. False promises, like Baron Munchausens travel adventures have no walls of reality to enclose them within the limits of possibilities. The more impossible the promises made by politicians are, the more progressive the promise makers are considered to be. And there is competition among them to excel each other in the size of their lies. The voters are naturally ill equipped intellectually to verify what can or cannot be. Individually they are all great believers in earning very high wages by doing as little work as possible. They also hope to be employed in their millions without any provision for productive work. The students want to learn a few easy lessons and then to qualify for technocratically difficult jobs. Nobody is willing to pay high prices, reasonable rents, railway or bus fares or taxes in any shape or form. The politicians will have to concentrate on the evolution of an economy in which the majority of the voters will live in grand style at the expense of a small minority whose earnings have their origin in productive work done in the past. If one says that is not possible and that all persons will

have a standard of living commensurate with the productive work they do, one is likely to become unpopular. Be that as it may, prices of commodities cannot fall if the producers want high wages and the distributors demand high rates of commission or profits. The students cannot get doctorates by *gheraoing* examiners. Work and study cannot be abolished nor even modified to please the workers and the students. Ten thousand spade full of earth cannot be removed without moving the spades. Ten thousand bricks cannot be laid either without handling the ten thousand pieces. Transportation of goods cannot be made possible without loading, unloading and movement of goods vehicles. Science, philosophy or mathematics have to be learnt and mastered in order to be used as mental aids of usefulness. Agitation is no substitute for work.

~ CALCUTTA

The left bank of the Bhagirathi, also known as the Hooghly or the Ganges, was not very suitable for human habitation at the places where Calcutta now stands; in the days of Job Charnock who laid the foundation of this great city in order to put the river between the British and the French Settlements on the other bank. The site of Calcutta had small scattered villages here and there separated by the salty marshes some of which still remain in the outskirts of Calcutta. This city therefore was built out of political necessity on its unfavourable site and being situated on low marshy lands had to face difficult problems of drainage, conservancy

and water supply since its foundation. But when the British gained ascendancy in India and made Calcutta their capital, all Rajahs, Maharajahs, Seths and seekers after jobs began to converge on this long, narrow, semi-military settlement which slowly developed into a great port by reason of the commercial pre-occupation of the Nation of Shopkeepers. The Seths and the landlords built numerous big buildings in the city which were designed by British architects of doubtful artistic discrimination resulting in an architectural medley which earned Calcutta its descriptive name, the City of Palaces. The bustees which separated the palaces were many as also were the menials who served as hewers of wood and carriers of water. Being the capital of India and the greatest port too, Calcutta attracted all the unemployed as well as the criminal types from the adjoining territories. Calcutta therefore always had a large population of vagrants and seekers after unskilled work, who had no proper dwellings nor clothes or utensils suitable for civilised living. These people always lived in bunches on pavements, parapets, terraces, verandahs or steps of houses without ever worrying about encroaching or trespassing and sanitation or hygiene. These people were by and large immigrants from Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Andhradesh the ugly and dirty set up created by them always gave the city a bad name for no fault of its own. The people who reside in Calcutta permanently also cannot be accused of creating dirt and filth or overcrowding the pavements or parapets. One section of the permanent population, however, have their own ideas about a way

of life. These are the trades people who live in the various bazars including the Big Bazar. In the earlier days of Calcutta, the Bengalis were the tradespeople. But affluence soon reduced the Bengalis to a lordly condition of luxury and leisure in which trade or commerce played a very unimportant part. The Khetries of the Punjab and the Rajasthanis followed the Bengalis and later on the tradesmen of Gujerat also appeared in the Bazars in considerable numbers. These trading people employed large retinues of salesmen, servants, clerks, coolies and transport workers whose way of life made the Bazars extremely unwholesome in point of sanitation, hygiene and outward appearance. In fact Calcutta has not only been a great Port, an important political Centre and an outstanding seat of learning and cultural pursuits; but it has also been a great place of pilgrimage on account of the Kālīghat and Dakshineswar temples, the presence of the original Ganges as well as the Bhagirathi leading down to the Sagar islands which attract millions of ritualistic bathers annually. The pilgrim population of Calcutta at any time would be quite substantial and the habits of pilgrims could never be anything but derogatory to the appearance of a great centre of population.

When Independence came in 1947 with the Congress sponsored partition of India, the refugees from West Pakistan were scattered all over North India, but those from East Pakistan concentrated mainly on Calcutta. These people numbering hundreds of thousands came into Calcutta and squatted anywhere in any manner that was

humanly possible. This reduced the pavements, parks and all open spaces in Calcutta to a condition comparable to Puri during the Chariot Festival of Jagannath. Most places where the people of Calcutta went for their morning and evening walks became unrecognisable due to the structures put up by the refugees. The City which was overcrowded normally became utterly filthy and noxious. The Government of India who were responsible for the rehabilitation of the refugees did next to nothing to relieve the situation, and Calcutta continued to hear more and more about her dirty streets and lack of sanitation from persons who had been directly and indirectly responsible for her peculiar position. The British and the Americans too were behind all that happened in 1947 and their criticism of Calcutta's sanitary condition, therefore, should be thrown back at them to some extent.

Calcutta has always been and still is a great centre of learning and culture. Indian civilisation from the dawn of history to 1968 can be more advantageously studied in Calcutta than elsewhere, because this city has perhaps the largest number of scholars, connoisseurs, collectors and persons who are knowledgeable and intelligently interested in history, archaeology, philosophy, social manners and customs, painting, sculpture, music, dancing etc. etc. in the whole of India. Side by side with their interest in India of the past, Indian culture and civilisation, the Calcutta intellectuals can handle matters of modern science, current opinion, world trends in social philosophy and problems of economics, history and human progress in a capable

manner. It is therefore an adorable place which people with any praiseworthy outlook can appreciate. If someone condemned the Latin Quarter of Paris and showed an intellectual preference for the Paris that Haussmann built, he should be compared to those who condemn Calcutta for its lack of frills and its dirty crowds and striking students.

THE CONGRESS SOFTENING UP ANTI-PARTIES

During its twenty years of political supremacy over all other political parties of India, the Congress had mixed business with fads and ideology with ideosyncrasy to such an extent that it had become quite ridiculous to all thinking men. Added to this the leaders of the Congress had progressively deteriorated in quality as well as in integrity and corruption had crept in everywhere and become rampant in a fearsome manner. This had reduced the prestige of the Congress to a very low state and all antiparties of the Congress began to take advantage of the state of affairs and preached the removal of the Congress from political power with some success. In the 1967 elections the bad name earned by the Congress yielded a dividend to those who opposed it and the Congress lost many seats in many states. Power was snatched from the Congress in several States and Governments were set up by many coalitions of anti-Congress parties. But the expectations of the people that these new Governments will manage the affairs of the nation in a much more steady, practical and clean manner were not realised. The anti-Congress groups proved to be as obsessed with fads and fancies

as the Congressmen had been and the standards of ethical conduct in the new organisations did not in anyway excel those that the Congress had achieved. The anti-Congress groups further had no loyalty among themselves and defections became a new political disease in the legislatures. The various non-Congress governments therefore began to break up and President's rule was imposed in some States. Whether this happened due to any machinations of the Congress is anybody's guess; but the general belief was that the Congress did try to create breaches in the ranks of the anti-Congress forces. If they had, one cannot hold that against them in so far as many Congressmen too had defected due to the propaganda and other efforts made by the non-Congress groups. It has now become obvious that the Congress is preparing for a large scale counter attack on the parties that oppose it. The softening up of the forces arrayed against the Congress has now been achieved to a great extent. People have now realised that the difference between all political parties can be described as negligible. In the circumstances people can vote for any party without much hope of improving the Government of India or the States.

ROADS OF INDIA

India had never been in a very happy position about her roads compared to her needs for the same. In the past the great Kings and Emperors who had a sound economic and military outlook had roads built to suit their requirements. The British built some military roads and railways, but

their ideas did not deal with the general economic development of the country. They rather restricted their activities for the realisation of their aims of exploiting India for the benefit of the British and their Commonwealth of white partners. When independence came we had about twenty per cent. of the roads that would have given us more or less complete means of communication with all our cities, towns, villages and industrial centres. The Plans always included road development as a priority subject; but considering the fact that we have not yet come anywhere within fifty per cent. of our full requirements of roads in twenty years, we cannot say that the priority was actually kept in a very forward position. The 1967-68 Report of the Ministry of transport and shipping of the Government of India gives us a summary of the developments in Road Transport, which can be cited for the enlightenment of the reading public.

"Major problems facing the road transport industry have been taken up, for review. The report of the Road Transport Taxation Enquiry Committee (Dr. Keskar Committee) as well as the Study Group on Road Finances have been received and are under examination. The report of the study group of viable units is expected shortly.

"In view of the continuing constraint on resources, hardly any new National Highway works could be taken up during the year. With the result that the objective that the National Highway System should be left with no missing roads (340 miles) and no major unbridged river crossing except the Panban crossing will not be achieved by 1970-71.

Within the limited financial resources, it was possible to complete the construction of only 35 new major bridges. During the year the IDA assisted programme for the development of national highways costing Rs. 60 crores for the construction of 650 miles of roads and 17 major bridges, was completed. The only new national highway link sanctioned during the year related to the road connecting the post of Haldia with NH No 6 (Calcutta-Bombay road) at an estimated cost of Rs. 4 crores.

"To facilitate the planned development of rural roads and to suggest the broad principles for the preparation of a phased programme for their development a one man Committee consisting of Shri H. P. Sinha, has been appointed to submit a report on the subject for consideration at the next meeting of the Transport Development Council.

"Another committee has been set up to make an on the spot assessment of the surplus stocks of road bridge making machinery, examine the arrangements for their proper accounting and maintenance and suggest measure for their disposal or optimum utilisation as the case may be.

The language of the last two paragraphs quoted above suggest that rural road development is still being contemplated in a loose and conjectural manner. As these are the most needed roads for the development of our poorest regions, we have to admit that the economic planners of India have neither proved to be fast and efficient workers nor have they realised the relative urgencies that stand out clearly in our complex pattern of wants.

LABOUR DISPUTE

Labour disputes in India are generally prevalent in the more prosperous and high-wage paying establishments. The reason for this is that labour unions are more easily formed in such establishments than in the less affluent units. The workers are more conscious of wage and hours, rates and other terms and conditions of work in these highly productive factories than they are in others in which the entrepreneurs somehow manage to carry on. Disputes also arise more frequently in times of expanding production and sales than when the markets experience trade slumps. This happens because labour leaders believe that the entrepreneurs will always agree to their demands when business looks up. The employers on their side become obdurate and hard bargainers when business slackens and costs appear to go up. When circumstances demand cost reduction, the workers, if ill advised, resist the economy moves made by the employers and thereby precipitate things to lead to strikes and lockouts. In India the Government officers dealing with labour matters do not always go into the economic details of disputes, but try to make settlements without reference to factors which determine employment, production, wages, prices etc. etc. The result is that no settlements, ever really put things on an economically sound basis, and the same troubles arise again after some time with the same misunderstandings and illogical wranglings arising over the same or similar differences of points of view.

The Government Departments dealing with the labour disputes usually put their

faith in tripartite conferences participated in by the Employees, the Employers and the officials. If these conferences fail to achieve their objectives of conciliation, then the matters are dumped in the lap of Tribunals which try to have the necessary hearings according to procedure and thereafter deliver judgement. These awards usually order the payment of compensations, the reinstatement of discharged or suspended workers and similar things affecting the Employers and the Employees to their advantage or otherwise as the case may be. But no Tribunal Award would go beyond the terms of reference made to the Judges. Tribunal hearing and awards, therefore can-

not effect a solution of economic imbalances or of deep seated controversies which are, quite often, stimulated by political leaders acting as labour union officials. These mixtures of issues of an economic type with those of a political kind always complicate matters. If the question of an increase in dearness allowance of the worker of a cotton mill is mixed up with the ambition of a political party to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat or an effective initial move in a social revolution, one can hardly settle such a "dispute" without recourse to civil war. It may even require the beginning of the IIIrd War to settle that dispute in the cotton mill.

One of the Seven was wont to say ;
'That laws were like cobwebs ; where the
small flies were caught, and the great brake
through.'

—Francis Bacon, *Apothegms*

Nothing doth more hurt in a State than
that cunning men pass for wise.

—Bacon

Neither will it be, that a people overlaid
with taxes should ever become valiant
and martial.

—Bacon

When bad men combine, the good must
associate ; else they will fall, one by one,

an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible
struggle.

—Burke

Corrupt influence, which is itself the
perennial spring of all prodigality and of
all disorder ; which loads us, more than
millions of debt ; which takes away vigour
from our arms, wisdom from our councils,
and every shadow of authority and credit
from the most venerable parts of our
constitution.

—Burke

The people never give up their liberties
but under some delusion.

—Burke

ECONOMICS OF MINERAL RESOURCES

C. B. MAMORIA

The satisfaction of human needs with respect to food and clothing are met by man's use of plants and animals, but for most of his other basic needs—tools and implements, weapons, dwellings, fuel and lubricants, medicines and synthetic fabrics besides gems, fertilisers etc.—he relies upon the materials of the earth's crust to a very large extent. For many thousands of years mineral materials have been of direct significance to man; so much so that he has described his cultural development in pre-history and subsequent historical times in terms of the mineral resources at his command: "the Stone Age", "the Bronze Age," "the Iron Age," the "Steel Age," "the Oil Age". The present day world is on the threshold of "the Aluminium-Titanium or Uranium Age". Such terms attest, quite clearly, the tremendous direct importance of mineral resources in man's cultural evolution. They also indicate that man has gone through a progressive development associated with the discovery, development, and utilisation of different kinds of mineral resources. The search for and winning of, mineral wealth have carried men to the ends of the earth. The Phoenicians went in search of tin, the Conquistadores in search of gold, and the twentieth century man has gone in search of oil. As time passed by, man placed economic value on many additional minerals. Some of these are located in relatively few places, they lend considerable geographic distinctiveness to their localities. Few examples may be cited: the lead and zinc mines of Upper Silesia; the tin mines of Malaya, Indonesia and Bolivia which together account for 66 percent of the world total; the Broken Hill district of Australia which can boast of the richest lead and zinc ores on earth; the silver mining belt that runs from Mexico to Br. Columbia; the famous Whitwatersand of S. Africa which produces much of the world's gold; and the Rustenberg district of S. Africa where a substantial share of the earth's platinum is extracted.

The story of human use of mineral resources runs roughly thus: In the beginning man made use of such minerals as were readily at hand, the common rocks; subsequently he came to use the more common metals, such as copper and iron, which sometimes occurred native; later still he came to use the mineral fuels, the more complex metallic minerals, and other rarer metals. In the twentieth century, some minerals, although of comparatively rare occurrence have come into prominence out of all proportion to the amount consumed. Radio-active minerals exemplify this remarkably well, but there are many others which occupy a key position, for the reason that very small amounts of metals or nonmetals which they yield have a profound effect when added to other metals.¹ Minerals like vermiculite, nepheline, those of the sillimanite group, and others which were almost unknown formerly and were regarded almost as scientific curiosities, are now finding extensive utilisation in industry and their number is continually increasing. Almost all minerals are employed in the service of man.

Modern machine civilisation is unthinkable without coal and iron. They are the twin pillars of industrial development.² For its higher development, machine civilisation requires additional materials. "Printing presses need antimony; high-speed automatic machine tools depend on tungsten, vanadium and chromium; without molybdenum, which gives steel the power to resist endlessly repeated shocks, automobiles would be less reliable; the electrical industry is unthinkable without copper, as is the canning industry without tin; catalysis calls for such agents as platinum or nickel; batteries require lead; no brass without zinc, no kodak films without silver; aeroplanes need aluminium, fountain-pens call for iridium; aluminium

reduction depends on carbon and cryolite, and so on, almost *ad infinitum*. If we consider electricity, gasoline and aviation as essential features of our modern civilisation, we would have to add copper, petroleum, and aluminum as indispensable prerequisites."³

It may be interesting to know that of all the raw materials required in the manufacture of a telephone, the following minerals are essential: Copper, iron (soft iron for magnets); platinum (in switch board lamps; gold silver, platinum) a combination of these three goes into contact springs; lead (in cable and fuse wires); antimony (in the protective sheath covering cables and in condensers); tin (in solder, a lead and tin alloy); nickel (for plating to protect delicate parts against atmosphere, and for springs); zinc (for galvanising iron to protect from moisture and rust, and in brass); coal (granular carbon in transmitter is made from selected coal that must not exceed 1/100 cc. in size); aluminium (diaphragm); mica (as insulation in the transmitter); and asphalt (as a finishing on the transmitter and in cable terminals). No less than fourteen minerals are used in telephone making alone.⁴

It is interesting to know that there are about 2000 species of known minerals in the world and of these about 200 are of direct use in man's pursuits. Two developments have greatly affected the increasing use of minerals. First, the progressive discovery, development and utilisation of different mineral resources ranging from the more common and simpler types to the more rare and the more complex kinds. Second, to the development of man's scientific knowledge and technological skill for upon these depended his ability to recognise, isolate, mine and process the various minerals.

Classification Of Minerals

The whole of the earth's crust is, of course, composed of mineral matter and no parts of the

crust are entirely deficient in mineral matter which are of value at the present time. There are 32 elements of which the crust is composed of, as evidenced from the table given below:⁵

Content of the Crust of the Earth, including the Percentage)

Lithosphere and the Hydrosphere.

Silicon	27.720
Aluminium	8.130
Iron	5.010
Calcium	3.630
Sodium	2.850
Potassium	2.600
Magnesium	2.090
Titanium	0.630
Manganese	0.100
Barium	0.050
Chromium	0.037
Zirconium	0.026
Niobium	0.020
Vanadium	0.017
Germanium	
Yttrium	0.015
Copper	0.010
Tungsten	0.005
Lithium	0.004
Zinc	0.004
Columbian and	
Tantalum	0.003
	0.003
Hafnium	
Lead	0.002
Cobalt	0.001
Boron	0.001
Beryllium	0.001
Arsenic	0.0001
Molybdenum	0.0001
Tin	0.0001
Mercury	0.00001
Silver	0.000001
Selenium	0.000001
Gold	0.0000001*

*This is equivalent to 24, 500,000,000 tons of gold.

It should be remembered that a mineral resource, like any other resource, is only of potential value until man finds a way of extracting it and a use for it. Although mineral substances are widely spread throughout the crust, in general, comparatively few are found in sufficiently large and concentrate quantities to justify their economic exploitation. Thus, compared with the resources of agriculture, minerals are highly localised in occurrence and of strictly limited availability. Minerals are mined profitably only where these conditions are favourable: *First*, the ore is of rich grade so that it could be extracted at low cost, and that it lies accessible to concentration mills and smelters and is favoured by efficient and economical transportation facilities to markets. *Second*, the size of reserves is significant. *Third*, fuel and power are easily available. *Fourth*, labour is plentifully available and that it is cheap. *Fifth*, large capital is imperative for modern mining development. Able management, in both engineering and business, is there. *Lastly*, ore of extremely low metallic content may be mined profitably provided several of the above factors are favourable.

Mining applies to all endeavours by which minerals or other resources, whether solid or liquid, are extracted from the bowels of the earth regardless of method, whether through shafts, open pits, quarries, or any other technique. Mines are only pin points on the earth's surface, for most of them are small holes in the ground through which men descend to the harvest realms below. Mining is carried on in the high latitudes north of the Arctic Circle, in the mid-latitudes, and in the tropics; in mountains and in plains; in hot countries and in cold; in dry land and in wet; in densely populated areas and in sparsely populated ones; in regions of advanced cultures and in regions of culture which the advance people consider backward.⁶ Hence, regions of mining are rather difficult to visualise.

A mineral is a naturally occurring chemical

compound either constant in its composition or varying within narrow limits.⁷ It may be defined as "a naturally occurring substance that has a distinctive set of physical properties and a composition expressible by a chemical formula."⁸ On the other hand, an ore is a mineral aggregate from which one or more minerals can be extracted at a profit. In fact, it is a deposit of metallic minerals sufficiently rich to permit its profitable exploitation. Whether a given deposit constitutes ore or not may depend upon the concentration of the mineral in the rock, its price, proximity to transport facilities, cost of labour and other factors.⁹

Mineral resources of the world are classified into three distinct classes: i) Non-metallic minerals; (ii) metallic minerals, and (iii) Mineral fuels.

(i) *Non-metallic minerals* are those which are used for structural purposes, chemical and various other industries. They usually fall into four broad categories: *First, Building Materials*, such as sand, chalk, marble, sandstone, lime and lime stone, gravel, Kaolin, China Clay and Cement material. *Second, Mineral Chemicals*, like salt, sulphur, pyrites, graphite, mica, asbestos, gypsum, etc., *Third, minor minerals*, comprising magnesite, fluorite, borax, dolomite, barytes, soda, cryolite and barytes. *Fourth, Mineral fertilisers*, such as nitrate, potash, phosphate i.e., fertiliser trio.

(ii) *Metallic minerals*, are those which contain metals, both of general utility and alloy and precious metals. Such minerals are usually divided into three categories: *First, Metals* such as iron, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, tin, aluminium, magnesium, titanium and mercury. *Second, Ferro-alloys*, such as cobalt, chromium, nickel, molybdenum, manganese, zirconium, beryllium, uranium, vanadium, tungsten. *Third, Precious metals*, like silver, gold, platinum, palladium.

(iii) *Mineral Fuels*, comprising coal, petroleum, natural gas, shale and nuclear power.

Under each of the above three groups, the

individual minerals may be further classified as either "Commercial" or "sub-marginal" minerals. *Commercial minerals* are regarded as those which are available under present technological practices and economic conditions. As they are usually found in rare quantities, they have the international importance. On the other hand, *sub-marginal minerals* are those minerals that are economically unavailable i.e., they cannot be profitably worked either because the deposits are of too small size, are of low grade, are remotely situated or the techniques in use are too inefficient.

Basic And Contributory Minerals

Functionally, minerals may be divided into *basic* and *contributory minerals*. The three basic minerals are coal, "the reducer and energizer", iron, "the harnesser and magnetizer", and copper, "the conductor of electrical energy". These three, "by combining and coordinating their peculiar properties lay the foundations of human control of the forces of Nature."¹⁰ They are star performers, behind which stands a strong supporting cast, the contributory minerals. Petroleum and natural gas tend to supplement coal as the chief source of energy; the ferro-alloys improve the quality of steel; and platinum as a catalyst is indispensable in chemical synthesis.

Expendable And Nonexpendable Minerals

Minerals can also be classified as *expendable* and *non-expendable* minerals. Expendable minerals are those which are not abundant and which sooner or later will be gone: coal, petroleum, and natural gas are examples. Non-expendable minerals are those which do not disappear in use such as iron ore, copper and clay, proof of which is their existence in relics representing the earliest cultures of man.¹¹ Expendable minerals are definitely fund resources. Re-used minerals may be called revolving fund resources; they resemble flow resources.

Strategic, Critical And Essential Minerals

From the point of view of the defence requirements minerals are classified into three categories, *Strategic*, *critical* and *essential*. *Strategic minerals* are those which are regarded essential for war purposes, for which the supply must be secured wholly or partly from the sources outside the country, such as Antimony, nickel, quartz crystal, tin, and tungsten. *Critical minerals* are those essential for war, the procurement problems of which are less difficult than for the strategic ones either because they are less essential or are obtainable in more abundant quantities in the country. Aluminium, graphite, asbestos, platinum and vanadium are such minerals. *Essential minerals* are those most vital to industry and which are produced in sufficient amounts to have normally an exportable surplus. Such minerals are coal, copper ore, iron ore, molybdenum, petroleum and zinc.

Chief Peculiarities Of minerals

Peculiarities of mineral resources may be set forth as below:

1. Although mineral substances are widely spread throughout the crust, in general, comparatively few are found in sufficiently concentrated quantities to justify their commercial exploitation. For this reason, compared with the resources of agriculture, minerals are highly localized in occurrence and of strictly limited availability.
2. Owing to the "hidden" nature of most minerals, their discovery is largely unpredictable. This more than anything else gives mining enterprises a speculative character. The risk is especially great in the case of the so-called fugitive minerals like oil and gas. Uncertainty besets the discovery of new-supplementary or rival-deposits as

the extent and persistence of known deposits.

3. All mineral deposits are exhaustible and continued exploitation is very nearly always accompanied by increased difficulties in production. Improved technology may result in temporary improvement.
4. Most metals are durable and hence re-useable. Thus scrap plays an important part in the conservation of iron ore, copper, aluminium, and some other metals. It has been estimated that 40 to 60 percent of the open hearth furnace consists of scrap.
5. Mineral resources are fixed in quantity in the bowels of earth. As such their supply cannot be increased or decreased at the will of the man. Their accumulation takes millions of years but exploitation, if unplanned, takes only a few decades to dry up these. Therefore, every country tries to adopt preservation and conservation practices. Many political agreements and undertakings in the international sphere are motivated by the assurance of access to mineral supplies.
6. There is an inter-dependence to a large extent between Western and Eastern hemisphere, in respect of many minerals. For tin, cobalt, chromium, manganese, industrial diamond, Western hemisphere depends on Eastern hemisphere to the extent of 85 % of its needs. Similarly Eastern hemisphere, obtains 85 % of its requirements for nickel, sulphur, industrial salt, vanadium from the Western hemisphere. Some 70 to 80 percent of the minerals are known to enter into international trade.

Minerals And Geological Formations

It would be interesting to know a few of the fundamentals of the relations of geological

conditions to the formation and deposition of minerals.¹²

"The metallic ores, the non-metallic deposits of economic value and the mineral fuels that are basic requisites for modern civilization occur under certain well-defined geological conditions. Their distribution is by no means haphazard or unpredictable. For such an understanding, the rocks of the earth's surface are grouped into three categories. First, there are the very old and generally much contorted or compressed rocks of the basement complex or Pre-Cambrian terrance. These include vast bodies of granite and other igneous rocks, many of them intensely metamorphosed, as well as sedimentary rocks like wise have been greatly altered by heat and pressure during the many vicissitudes of crustal movement and volcanic eruption that have affected them throughout the long ages of geologic time. These ancient rocks contain many rich bodies of metallic ores, such as those yielding gold silver, copper, nickel and iron. Nowhere do they contain coal, petroleum or the ores of such metals as aluminium and magnesium.

"There are extensive areas of Pre-Cambrian rocks in every continent, and no large unit of these rocks, when adequately prospected, has thus far failed to yield essential metals. The Canadian Shield surrounding Hudson Bay (in N. America) and extending southward into the U.S.A., in the Lake Superior region is matched by the Scandanavian Shield of northwestern Europe and the Angara shield of north-central Siberia (in Asia). In the Southern hemisphere, the Brazilian Shield of S. America is matched by the extensive bodies of Pre-Cambrian rock in South and central Africa, Deccan plateau of India and the basement complex of Australia.

"The second group of rocks in this very loose classification includes the sedimentary formations of Cambrian and Post-Cambrian age. These may be flat-lying beds beneath the plains and in plateaus or they may be wrinkled into mountains like the Appalachian or the

Aravallis. It is from these that world's resources of coal and petroleum are secured, as well as much of the potash and magnesium and some of the iron and non-ferrous metals. Here, too, it is evident that every continent has its share. The wide spread basin of the Mississippi Valley is matched by the extensive area of sedimentary rocks in central Europe between the Alps and the Scandanavian highlands. The vast lowland of the Amazon finds its structural counterpart in the interior basin of Australia and broad plains of north-central Asia.

"The third major type of geologic structure is that resulting from and associated with volcanic activity, which comprise the outpoured lavas and erupted cinders, ash and bombs of volcanic cones and plateaus, and also the intruded masses of igneous rock that crystallized in the conduits leading to volcanic vents or spread out in sheets or domeshaped bodies in the upper part of earth's crust without ever breaking through to the surface. Some of the world's most important reserves of precious metals, of copper, lead and zinc and of tungsten, vanadium and manganese are all found in association with such rocks, especially those of Tertiary Age. The volcanic terrenes of North America's western mountains have their equivalent in the Andes, the festooned arcs of the mountain systems in eastern and southern Asia, the plateaus and cones of central Africa.

Thus it will be seen that every continent displays almost the entire gamut of possible geological structures and therefore may be expected to contain extensive deposits of almost every kind of mineral resources that might be useful as a raw material of industry."

Mineral Regions of the World

We can discern several regions of concentration of mining activity in the world, such as :

- i) In the Western Hemisphere a wide zone spans the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and extends from southern Canada to central Mexico.

- ii) A second region runs like a ribbon from Nicaragua to Chile ; there are outlying clusters in northern Venezuela, the Guianas, the south-eastern Brazil.
- iii) In the Eastern Hemisphere, a broad region that begins at the Atlantic coast of Europe runs eastward into southern U.S.S.R and southward through the Balkan Peninsula into Arabia and Iran.
- iv) The Ural Hills stand out conspicuously as a north-south mining belt. A narrow band also runs east-west through the interior of Asia.
- v) In south-eastern Asia mining is found all the way from Japan and Manchuria on the east through southern China to India on the west. Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia can be included in this region.
- vi) Australia, like South America, is almost encircled with a peripheral pattern of mining.
- vii) Africa has a long and wide zone that extends from South Africa to Ethiopia, with a secondary section along the Guinea Coast.
- viii) Elsewhere, there are scattered mining operations, though they are small in scale.

Thus, commercial mining appears on every continent, but mostly in the mine-latitudes, primarily in those of the Northern Hemisphere.

Reserves of Specific Minerals

The term "Reserve means something different to the man interested in a commodity such as aluminium, in which the exhaustibility or inexhaustibility of the reserve depends upon the ingenuity of our technologists, from what it does to the man interested in copper, lead or zinc of which our known supply is more measurably finite ; and it means something still different to the man interested in tin or nickel, of which we have essentially none, or to the man interested in such by-product metals as cadmium, bismuth or selenium."¹³

The Reserves may be Measured, Indicated and Inferred reserves. *Measured reserves* are those for which tonnage is computed from dimensions revealed in outcrops, trenches, working and drill holes and for which the grade is computed from the results of detailed sampling. The sites for inspection, sampling and measurement are spaced so closely and the geologic character is so well defined that size, shape, and mineral content are well established.

Indicated reserves are those for which tonnage and grade are computed partly from specific measurements, samples or production data and partly from projection for a reasonable distance on geologic evidence. The sites available for inspection, measurement, sampling are too widely or otherwise inappropriately spaced to permit the mineral bodies to be outlined completely or the grade established throughout.

Inferred reserves are those for which quantitative estimates are based largely on broad knowledge of geologic character of the deposit and for which there are few, if any samples or measurements. The measurements are based on an assumed continuity or repetition, of which there is geologic evidence. The statement of inferred reserves includes a statement of the special limits within which the inferred material may lie.¹⁴

Unfortunately, we lack sufficient data for accurate mapping of world reserves of different minerals either by quantity or quality. However, stray efforts have been made to estimate the probable reserves of some important minerals in the world and they are given below : ¹⁵

Coal : Anthracite, Bitumenous and sub-bitumenous.....4, 155 bill. m. tons.

Lignite Brown coal...851 bill. m. tons.

Total 5,009 million metric tons.

Water power potential.....657 million horse power.

Petroleum.....266,249 million barrels.

Iron Ore : Economically exploitable.....60 billion tons.

Potential and marginal iron ore

150 b. tons.

Potash ... 5 b. tons.

Phosphates ... 34 b. tons.

Aluminium ... 15,000 million tons.

Copper ... 110.8 million tons.

Lead ... very insignificant quantity

Manganese ... 400 m. tons.

MINERALS IN HISTORY

The use of minerals; particularly goes back to the earliest days of recorded history. Superior knowledge of metals and better control over their supplies were at all times major factors in determining the course of history. ¹⁶ Because of their usefulness, beauty or scarcity, metals-particularly the precious ones—have at all times aroused the cupidity of man. Further, because of their durability, they often encouraged the accumulation of wealth beyond current needs and thus promoted an interest in private property. There is a close connection between the use of minerals, especially metals, and pleonexy, the desire for more for its own sake.¹⁸

While the use of minerals is as old as human civilisation, the way in which they are used in modern times and the magnitude of this use are absolutely novel. The INDUSTRIAL MECHANICAL REVO-

LUTION is completely bound up with the use of minerals. Ancient uses of minerals were largely confined to the manufacture of tools, weapons, and utensils, road building, and the construction of buildings, aqueducts, sewer systems. All these uses continue today, but they constitute only a part of the total use of minerals. Today the bulk of minerals goes to the making and operation of power-driven machine which emancipates man from drudgery, put wheels under him and, by raising his productivity, hold out a promise of security and comfort." The burst of industrialisation now sweeping the world is calling for mineral

supplies on a scale without precedent in history. Mechanised world wars are making equally great demands. It has been estimated that if the rest of the world were to become industrialised on the scale of the United States, world requirements for minerals would be multiplied seven times."

The most obvious aspect of modern mineral development is the pace at which men in parts of the world drawing upon the mineral endowment of the earth. The following table shows world production of some important metals and minerals in the World:

World Production of Some Important Metals and Minerals.

<i>Metals ;</i>	Unit	1800	1929	1948	1963
Gold	000 kgs.	...	...	698	1,203
Silver	000 m. tons	...	...	5	73
Lead ore	Do	30	20	19.40	20.40
Copper	Do	20	21,00	22.50	40,50
Zinc Ore	Do	...	16,00	25.60	31,30
Manganese ore	Do	...	...	21,00	60,00
Tin concentrates	Do	...	...	180.00	168.90
Iron Ore	Do	...	...	103,700	250,600
<i>Mineral : Coal</i>	million tons	...	...	1,406	1,929
Crude Petroleum	000 m. tons	...	...	468,600	1405,895

The data of mining employment reveal considerable variation in the proportion of jobs in mining. In most political units, mining accounts for less than 10 percent of the total employment. The only exceptions are Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. Highly industrialised nations are at first glance paradoxical with such low percentages as 2% in the U. S. A and Japan, 3 in France, 4 in Germany, 5 in England, and 7 in

Belgium and Scotland. Yet these are all countries with high absolute employment in mining. This paradox may be explained thus. Regions with an expanding mining economy go through two stages : in the first stage, mining provides a large proportion of jobs ; in second, the proportion sinks as other secondary and tertiary activities expand more rapidly.

Mining Employment in important countries.²¹

Countries	Thousands of mining Employees.	Percentage of total Employment
U. S. A.	945	2
W. Germany	583	4
Union of S. Africa	499	14
England and Wales	746	5
Japan	485	2
E. Germany	416	9
France	374	3
Belgium	188	7
Yugoslavia	106	2
Chile	99	6
Bolivia	39	8

CONSERVATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES

Mineral resources are not only not renewable but also exhaustible. Some economically important minerals (e. g. coal) are so abundant that the supply will last for hundreds of years. But others like copper are rationed in small measures. This scarcity assumes political significance because the reserves of these minerals are unequally parcelled out among the nations. The rapid depletion of mineral resources necessitates their conservation. Usually three methods of conservation are followed: *First, Preservation*, which means sealing up the reserves and buying them from other countries when need arises, withholding the country's own resources until a day when she may be unable to import. *Second, Conservation*, under which policy mineral resources are extracted with the least possible waste, they are processed carefully and the products are used fully, and what remains after is salvaged. *Third* policy of what is *best* for today, ignoring the obligations of present generation to the future.

1. "Less than one per cent of vanadium suffices to impart beneficial properties to steel rendering it suitable for uses involving strain and by alloying the soft metal, lead, with as little as one—twentieth of one percent of tellurium, the lead offers increased resistance to frost when employed for water-pipes..... Less than two tons of tungsten metal is required to supply filaments for 100 million electric lamps." --Jones, W.R., MINERALS IN INDUSTRY, A Pelican Book, London, 1955, p. 19.

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16. "Egypt became a world power coincident with the acquisition of the Maghara copper deposits of the Senai Peninsula about 4,000 B.C.".. Adams B, **THE NEW EMPIRE**, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1912, p. 4.
- "The knowledge of the source of tin," said to have been carefully guarded for more than 260 years, and the monopoly in the trade so acquired by the Phoenicians, materially aided in building up their supremacy and in part enable the Carthaginians to control the tin commerce of the world." ... Smith, G, **THE CASSITERIDES**, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1863.
- "The Roman empire reached its supremacy after it attained political and industrial control of the mineral resources of Spain.".. Furness, J.W, **MINERAL RAW MATERIALS**, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U.S. Deptt., of Commerce, Trade Promotion Series, p. 76, 1929.
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FUTURE OF ENGINEERS IN INDIA

MOHIT K. RAY

I am not a prophet : nor do I pretend to be one. I am concerned at present with the recent trends and implications involved. Future of the present engineers also does not fall within our purview, for we are directly concerned with the student engineers only. A student in an engineering college has to spend a lot on his education, perhaps much more than what his friends spend in other degree colleges. It is only natural that he would expect his money's worth. But what is the prospect really ? Time has come when we must face this question boldly.

WHY WE NEEDED ENGINEERS ?

Traditionally India has been an agricultural country. But after the independence the leaders of our country felt that if India were to prosper and restore her lost glory she must be modernised. But how can this modernisation be brought about ? The modernisation would call for a rapid industrialisation. This was so because the entire West is industrially highly developed. Today prosperity for a country practically means industrial prosperity. Since the industrial revolution the world has progressed very fast. The industrial revolution ushered in the era of science and our old values began to lose their significance. India with its spiritualism and occultism became a sorry figure before the world. The only way out, it appeared, was to industrialize the country

fast and to bring it near if not at par with the developed countries.

To industrialize the country we needed engineers. It is the engineers who can help promote an industry and boost up the country's economy. So there was a hectic growth of engineering colleges, the total number at present being 133, almost triple the number we had in 1947. The total annual output is about 25 thousand. The figure will go up still higher because many newly built colleges will begin to contribute their numbers within a few years.

THE BEGINNING

The beginning was good. We opened a number of steel plants and a large number of industries came up. During the whole of the Second Five Year Plan (1957-1962) there was a constant dearth of engineers. The supply of engineers fell much short of the actual need. Since 1962 the trend is changing. The curve has taken an ominous turn. Even as early as in 1962 we came across some stray cases where some fresh graduates had to wait (an unusual phenomenon) for some time till they were suitably employed.

THE PRESENT POSITION

How the situation deteriorated during the last five years is borne out by the concern that the people at the highest offices feel today. Dr. Triguna Sen, Minister of Education, Government of India, said a few days back : "Our fresh engineering graduates often

have a hard time in finding suitable jobs, which gave them good remuneration and side by side adequate opportunities for professional growth." This acknowledgment from the highest office offers a glimpse of the grim picture that emerges.

The total number of unemployed engineers in India now is seventy five thousand according to an unofficial information. Officially it is a little more than 8,000. What is the actual figure is anybody's imagination.

WHY THIS SET BACK ;

The set back is largely due to the failure of industry to play its assigned role and the fate of the engineers is inextricably linked up with the fate of industries. The reasons why the industries failed in general are many and varied. We must try to ascertain these reasons in order to find out the exact nature of the malady.

AGRICULTURE A CONSTANT HEADACHE

In our first Five Year Plan we put emphasis on agriculture and self sufficiency in food grains was one of our aims. But unfortunately that has remained an unrealized dream. Our dams have given way (if not broken down) and our lands have been either flooded or drought stricken. And even when there are good crops, the production falls much short of the need. The gap between food and population appears increasingly unbridgeable.

So every year we have to import food grains from abroad. The massive drain of our foreign exchange resources on this account has become a major cause of our economic malaise. This has seriously affected the demand of industrial products. The steep rise in agricultural prices has drained

off the spendable surpluses with consumers. This has inevitably led to a situation of deep recession in demand. And to follow the process further economic recession has led to lay-offs, short working and even retrenchment as it is not possible for any company to carry the load of idle labour for indefinite periods.

EFFECTS OF DEVALUATION

Devaluation of money was made with a view to boosting up India's export and improving India's foreign exchange position. These high hopes have unfortunately been believed by the export figure for the first complete year since devaluation (June 1966 to May 1967). During this period the value of exports totalled \$1505 million as against \$1711 million in the preceding twelve months. What seems particularly disquieting is the fact that no upward trend is visible in the value of exports. The curve records a steady decline. The export figure for May 1967, for example, totalled \$108 million as compared to \$187 million in May 1966.

Though the benefits of devaluation are still not in evidence, some of the apprehension of the opponents of devaluation seem to have materialized. All the industrial concerns—whether in the stage of formation, construction or production—suffered a bad jolt. "The devaluation has resulted in higher capital costs of new projects as also in increasing the operating costs of existing projects, because of the increase in the cost of import of capital goods, raw materials and stores. Not only has the profitability of the existing concerns been affected but several of the projects still to take shape, had also to be abandoned."¹

SLUMP IN THE MARKET

Engineering industry usually depends on a derived demand. The industry manufactures products to satisfy a derived demand induced by other units in the economy. Unfortunately there has been a sharp fall in orders and the installed capacity of most of the industries are rendered idle and they will be idle even to larger extent when the orders in hand run out. It, therefore, follows that unless the other sectors first show an improvement no material improvement can be expected in the engineering industry. Unless the country's economy has been revived, industries cannot look up. And, what are the consequences? Let us hear what the people who are immediately concerned say. "Many industries are at present working only at 49% of the total capacity and are fast nearing the day when they will have to consider closure."² Sir Biren Mookerjee corroborates the opinion and offers a picture of unrelieved gloom. "Whatever may be the economic factors responsible and whatever the term—recession or slump—may be utilized to describe the situation, there is no doubt that it is difficult for the steel industry in India to dispose of its entire production at any where near the installed capacity,³ Steel, in fact, has a very stiff world market, because the steel industry the world over is operating well below capacity. Even the export markets secured with much effort and in the face of tough world competition are at stake, because in the present industrial climate governed by political, economic and social factors, it is becoming increasingly difficult to adhere rigidly to the terms of contract regarding specification. Special conditions

such as surface finish and the scheduled programme of delivery.

DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES

The result is large scale lay off and retrenchment. Of course, if the people are convinced that there is a genuine shortage of work, the psychological fact remains that they will accept retrenchment and lay off as long as the overwhelming majority remain employed. Consequently only a small section (the lucky few who have either sources or exceptionally brilliant career) of the huge bulk of fresh engineers will get full employment while most of them remain underemployed. The public sector also cannot extend much scope because the Government itself is passing through a stringent financial crisis.

WHY THIS IMBROGLIO ?

Why this difficult imbroglio has come about! We wanted to make up with other countries in a few long bold strides. But how is it that in twenty post-independence years our giant industries have become sick, per capita loan has scarily increased and we have cut a sorry figure before the world? Of course wars and population explosion were there. But is that all? The answers are not convincing. The agonising question still hovers in mind. Why our dreams have not been realized?

Perhaps the dreams were too beautiful. They were not to be realized. In a developing country like ours, the first step should not be to overtax people but to make plenty of consumers' products which can be produced by using indigenous and imported equipment. The production of the heavy machines should be undertaken next and last of all should

come the programme of supplementing the steel making capacity. In U. S. A. basic industries have shifted with time from agriculture to the consumer's goods industries and later to the heavy industries.

But here we started with the heavy and heavy has been our penalty. We undertook projects with long gestation periods during which price index has risen steadily and has finally come to the point where the whole economy of the country is on the verge of collapse.

THE POSSIBLE REMEDIES

If our diagnosis is right then what are the possible remedies. Perhaps it is not too late when we can still employ remedial measures and get over the crisis.

First, the intake of students in engineering college, must be considerably reduced without any further delay. The Government (because the ultimate responsibility of employing the engineers certainly lies with the Government) should send directives to the different engineering colleges as early as possible.

Secondly, a large number of consumer's goods' industries should be set up, for which there is always a ready market. The Government should extend necessary facilities at the primary stage.

Thirdly, industries should appoint sales engineers instead of salesmen. In certain cases salesman can be replaced by sales

engineers as well, because an engineer with his intimate technical knowledge of the things is likely to prove a better salesman.

Fourthly, some efforts should be made to improve the industrial climate. The foreign market can be secured only by honesty and sincerity—two rare virtues these days. At home front the labour unrest must be satisfactorily resolved to make the factory atmosphere congenial for producing quality goods.

Fifthly, the time has come clearly when some drastic measures are needed to increase the volume of export. This can partly be done by exploring the foreign market possibilities with new commodities.

If all these can be done, and there is no reason to believe that they cannot be, the future of engineers can be improved, otherwise the spectre of unemployment will always stare at our students from a measurable distance.

"We train our boys at Engineering School,
To be adept at using the sliding rules,
But there education will be nil,
Of no use to India until

... We teach them how to beg."

—Leonora

1. Chairman, Industrial Finance Corporation in the Statesman dated 29. 9. 1967
2. Chairman, Jessop & Co., Ltd., in the Statesman dated 1. 5. 1967.
3. Sir Biren Mukherjee, Chairman, Indian Iron & Steel Co., in the Statesman dated 21. 8. 1967.

DEVALUATION AND THE PRICE-LINE

R. C. UKIL

A welter of controversy is going on round the question of devaluation of the Indian Rupee and public imagination seems to have reached almost the breaking point. In the contemporary Indian life, no event could stir up so much emotion and excitement, contempt and self-pity, anger and resentment like devaluation. Now that some time has passed by, a fruitful and objective study of its efficacy as an instrument for correcting the present economic malaise can be profitably undertaken.

Undoubtedly the main purpose of devaluation is to help boost exports. In India we have tried various measures for export promotion but all these failed to achieve the desired objective. Fiscal incentives and tax concessions of various descriptions have been given, many institutions have been set up and several direct and indirect benefits have been baited. On the other hand, imports also have been much restricted and reduced. But the overall picture as reflected in the balance of payments position of the country still continues to be alarming. To a country which is facing a continuous adverse balance of payments devaluation seems to be very attractive as it stimulates exports by making the domestic goods cheaper to the foreigners and restricts imports to the absolute minimum. When the normal economic channel for export-booster has been fully explored and exploited, some artificial stimulus to the economy

may be administered by way of exchange depreciation. Further more, as it makes imports costlier, imports will necessarily be restricted to the irreducible minimum. Thus devaluation is sometimes thought of as a panacea for correcting an adverse balance of payments. It brings home the fact that imports have got to be restricted, if not shunned and thus paves the way for a self-reliant economy and kindles among the people of the country what is known as swadeshi spirit. In case the normal balance of payments position cannot be improved by the normal economic mechanism of export promotion and import curtailment, some sort of authoritarianism is required to restore the economic balance and devaluation is considered as a right weapon.

But theoretical reasoning alone cannot explain the whole truth of devaluation drama in India and there are weighty pragmatic considerations too. No less formidable reason for devaluation seems to be to attract foreign aid. When the aid-giving nations were found reticent in extending aids to India and were rather insisting, as pre-condition, on the viability of the Rupee, for the resumption of aid, India had no other course open other than devaluation to attract the necessary amount of foreign assistance. They, it is stated, advised India to announce a cut in the external value of the Rupee in order to bring the same at par with the falling internal value as the unofficial rate of exchange was found much higher than the

official rate of exchange and a huge amount of black transactions were taking place on that score. Compared to price-levels in other countries of the world, the value of Indian currency depreciated more; this fact must be admitted by India in respect of her international dealings and the official rate must not be allowed to depart widely from the unofficial rate. All these considerations will lead us to believe the decision of devaluation has been well-calculated and meaningful.

But opponents to devaluation would mention that because of this desperate measure our indebtedness to the aid-giving countries will go up in volume and this spirit in foreign debts will have to be borne by the present generation and those still unborn.

The main contention of the anti-devaluationists is that the big sized fourth five year plan of 23,750 crores and foreign exchange equivalent in that plan of 4,000 crores at pre-devaluation price, have much to do with the policy of devaluation. Foreign exchange to this tune can be earned either by export-promotion or foreign assistance and to meet both ends, devaluation has been regarded as golden means.

But supporters of devaluation would point out that in the event we could boost our export trade by this polished instrument we could cut our dependence on foreign aid which at times became highly uncertain and more oftener likely to be coloured by political considerations and also affects the self-respect of the nation. So at least by the end of the fourth plan we must pave the way for a self-reliant economy, when we contemplated of reaching such a stage by the third plan. Thus any step designed to lead our economy that way must be heartily

cheered. There is, however, much room for scepticism and doubts here. It is hardly realistic when the horizon of our external dependence is widening, to entertain the belief that devaluation like a magic wand will change the economic outlook overnight. When, plan after plan, our dependence on foreign aid is enlarging, it will take much more time than envisaged to usher a completely self-sustaining growth in this land,

The main purpose of devaluation may be presumed to attract the needed amount of foreign aid to arrange for an outlay of Rs. 1600 crores in public sector and a higher projection of investment of Rs. 7750 crores in the private sector in the Fourth plan. These figures must have been worked out to maintain the rate of growth attained in India. There should be a symmetry in the ratios of investment in the different plans so that the rates of growth achieved in the earlier plans may not suffer any reduction. Moreover the industrial edifice that has been assiduously built up and the agricultural base diligently created must not be allowed to crumble. This point is of vital consideration. It means that the tempo of economic activity must be sustained, that is, the level of production and investment must be maintained, otherwise the features of a deflationary economy will make their appearance in India. If public investment is allowed to degenerate, private investment will invariably follow suit and the volume of spending being low, depressionary phase of the economy will set in. In India, we must go in at the present moment for a disinflationary economy and not for deflationary economy which swells the volume of unemployment. Thus to sustain the height

of economic progress achieved by India so far an ambitious Fourth Five Year Plan has been drawn up and devaluation has been expected to play a great role in attracting the necessary external credit on which depends much the success of the plan.

But even a rose has its thorns and whatever may be the advantages, the evil portents of devaluation must be borne in mind especially in an underdeveloped country like India where price of daily necessities of life are soaring high, tone and temper of business morality are of a low order, black money exists on wide scale and obstacles to a growth more-production programme are formidable indeed.

Devaluation and inflation are inseparably connected and the former may be regarded both as a cause and consequence of the latter. When a country faces a chronic adverse balance of payments, under-valuation or quoting a lower exchange rate for the domestic currency is prescribed to neutralize the effects of a continuously rising internal price-level. The comparative weak bargaining power of a country has been sought to be matched by undervaluing it to improve its balance of payment's position. Thus devaluation which aims to correct the fundamental structural imbalance of an economy arising mainly out of the inflationary pressure, is caused greatly by inflation. But once it is evoked there are bold reasons to believe that it will aggravate the inflationary forces in the economy and in that event devaluation will be the cause of *inflation*. Leaving aside the above points which create a vicious circle, the following analysis will show that devaluation will positively accentuate the inflationary spiral in India.

1. Devaluation will increase the cost of our imports as the value of the foreign money has been appreciated in terms of the domestic currency which means more payments for the same quantity of goods. As the demand for imports, especially of food grains, is inelastic there is little scope for curtailment in this respect. Again in an underdeveloped country the propensity to consume being more than a unity, the prices of food grains determine greatly the general price-trend of the economy.
2. In the industrial field as we still depend on others for raw materials, intermediate products, stores and equipments of various descriptions, the cost of production will increase.
3. In our day to day life, we use many foreign articles either for consumption purposes and workers in factories and workshops use capital goods of various engineering sorts. All these being of much superior quality and precision have helped considerably to increase our efficiency and indigenous goods even if they are available, cannot be compared in quality and fineness with their foreign substitutes.
4. Labourers because of diminution in their real income on account of the price-rise will demand more wages which will lead to further rise in prices. Also industrialists on account of a rise in the cost of inputs will demand more price for their products and in this way a vicious circle will be created and cost-push type of inflation will make its appearance in the economy.
5. Speculative elements which become

very active in times of rising prices will try to exploit the situation and a psychology of black-marketing and profiteering, hoarding, etc., pervade the economy

6. The ostensible purpose of devaluation is to stimulate exports and this can be accomplished provided enough exportable surplus has been created, which in turn means that a part of the home production will then be diverted to foreign consumption, making the internal availability of goods shorter and thus widening the inflationary gap already present in the economy.
7. Devaluation will involve stimulation of exports to the tune of 36.5% more in order to compensate the enforced cut in the external value of the Rupee. It means that if in the fourth plan we fix Rs. 1000 crores annually as our export target, before devaluation, to realize the same target we should now arrange exports for Rs. 1365 crores to compensate the loss.
8. It has been stated in the Commerce Ministry's annual report for 1965-66 that "About 80 to 82% of our export commodities move at almost the international prices. Therefore only about 18 to 20% of our total annual exports require substantial assistance in the form of import entitlement or cost subsidy." So the argument that to restore the viability of the Rupee devaluation was resorted to, loses much of its edge.
9. An increase in foreign exchange earning requires two conditions: bigger total shipments and favourable world

prices. On neither score there does seem scope for optimism. Total production of the world has gone up substantially, which means greater competition for Indian exports and fall in world prices. Again chances of more shipments of Indian goods are limited by factors like exportable surplus at home world demand and economic crisis in a country like Britain with whom we have a major share of trade.

The above arguments go to show that devaluation decision was taken not so much for correcting the adverse balance of payments, but to arrange for the massive foreign aid needed to implement the Rs. 23,750 crore-fourth-plan.

The most pertinent question that arises in this connection, in view of the difficulties and imponderables encountered by the Indian economy in the previous plans, viz., food shortages, a continuously rising price-level and foreign exchange crisis, should we go for a bigger fourth plan with a massive foreign aid programme and devaluation as its concomitant or should a smaller fourth plan be aimed at, drawn in terms of a maximum internal-resource-mobilisation plan. Our Prime Minister, of course, has recently warned us against a small plan and stated: "A small plan would mean freeze on poverty for the poorest and the weakest. They alone would be hurt by a small plan, not those who were well off." But very recently the case for a smaller plan has been vouchsafed by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry. It is the considered view of the Federation that an outlay of Rs. 18,000 crores, i. e., Rs. 10,500 crores in

the public and Rs. 7,500 crores in the private sector will make it possible to achieve on an average, a compound annual rate of growth 5.5 per cent. If that is the case we do not find any strong reason for a bigger plan which increases greatly our dependence on foreign assistance, when we hear that the fourth plan should be more resource-oriented rather than growth-oriented.

The above study will prove that devaluation is highly inflationary and to make the instrument purposive and fruitful, vigorous

anti-inflationary drive should be launched and more attention should be paid on the follow-up measures. If our Finance Minister has shown courage and determination in announcing the viability of the falling Rupee, and a bold bid to bring the external value of the Rupee at par with the internal value, there should now be no hesitation in adopting strict financial discipline in curbing inflation without any further loss of time if the country is to be saved from utter economic desperation and collapse.

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BUDDHISM, BIOLOGY AND EXOBIOLOGY

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The teachings of the Buddha are popularly known as Buddhism, which is one of the World Religions. They are both a religion and a philosophy and are observed as a way of life.

Biology is the science of physical life on earth, dealing with the morphology, physiology, origin and distribution of animals and plants. Exobiology means "outside" biology. It is the study of life forms outside our earth.

Before the scientific revolution which began in the 17th century monotheistic and polytheistic religions believed in a special divine creation of the earth, men and all other phenomena in our world. This mystical assumption was shattered by the advancement of modern sciences like astronomy, anthropology, physical chemistry and by Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.

When considering the influence of Darwin on human thought during the last 100 years, it is worthwhile to distinguish sharply between evolution as a historical fact, on the one

hand, and the development of an operating theory of modification in descent, on the other. It was the first of these that caught the popular imagination and staggered the Victorian Age in the West by its implications for religion, philosophy and in all parts of the world dealt a mortal blow to the traditional and superstitious mythologies with which men of all races have surrounded their ideas about human origin, except, perhaps, the Buddhists. Buddhists believe in an infinite universe with worlds like ours interwoven. Life on planets may appear or disappear depending on the environment.

In the science of biology life processes are studied mainly by observation, experiment and induction. With the advancement of biological sciences like biochemistry, biophysics, genetics, etc. the earlier concepts of a theological world were further upset and it was more definitely affirmed that the world functions in accordance with the law of cause and effect. This is,

indeed; one of the principle tenets of Buddhism.

Especially, the belief that man was specifically created in the image of God has no significance. The rapid advancement of the sciences has dispelled this assumption and has given credence to the fact that life on earth was evolved through millions and millions of years from a single celled organism to the more complex higher forms of life. This is an accepted fact of life today. Of course, the highest form of life on earth is man-*Homo Sapiens*.

On our earth there exists only one basic form of life from the simple virus to the largest whale, the redwood tree or man, and it is based on proteins and nucleic acid. All forms of life make use of vitamins, undergo the same kind of chemical changes and employ the same methods of liberating and utilizing energy. All seem to vary in detail.

It is believed that life on earth began in the sea and was made up of precisely the same chemical elements that were or are common in the sea. Therefore, there are no mysterious ingredients or magical items concocted by the stroke of good fortune or an act of God. Thus, the theistic belief that there is a soul in man which is said to be a part of God, has no validity.

Biologists are aware that higher forms of life, such as the mammals, are, viewed by comparative anatomy and physiology, almost identical. In this respect, man is very close to the primates (lemurs and other types of apes). Primates and man cannot synthesize vitamin C (ascorbic acid) in their bodies and have to acquire it through the consumption of food. Therefore, it is quite impossible for man alone to have a soul, while the primates do not manifest even a primitive form of a soul. A soul in man is a theistic myth without any scientific backing.

There is no soul (*anatta*) in men or animals. According to Buddhism all things animate or inanimate are subject to change. Nothing is permanent, all things came into being and pass away and, hence, there is no permanent entity in

the form of a soul or self existing in man or in anything else.

All life on earth is interdependent and does not function in isolation. Therefore, man and animals are not self-sufficient and all biological phenomena are impermanent and undergo continuous change and are in continuous flux (*anicca*) and each is conditioned by environmental factors. Everywhere we find conflicts, and these conflicts indicate the unsatisfactory nature of life, or, to use a Buddhist technical term, are *dukkha* (suffering, pain and anguish).

The Buddha shows a way of gradually overcoming these conflicts through the Eight-fold Noble Way or Path, which consists of:

1. Right understanding (*samma-ditthi*)
Wisdom group (*panna*)
2. Right thought (*samma-samkappa*)
3. Right speech (*samma vaca*)
4. Right action (*samma-kammanta*)
Virtue group (*sila*)
5. Right livelihood (*samma-aliva*)
6. Right effort (*samma vajana*)
7. Right mindfulness (*samma sati*)
8. Right concentration (*samma samadhi*)

The new field of biology known as molecular biology could affirm the often cited Buddhist word *sunya*, that is the emptiness of all worldly phenomena. When an atom or molecule of organic or inorganic material is destroyed it dissipates into energy. Without energy there can be no life or functioning of the world or the universe.

Karma is a form of energy which we carry from life to life--both *kusala* and *akusala karma*, i.e., both good and bad. When we die our karmic material passes off in the form of energy until it reaches a suitable womb where an ovum and a sperm combine to vitalize it. The father and mother merely furnish material for a new living being. The karmic factor or individual force (*vinna* or rebirth consciousness) is that which conditions a new life. This does not deny the science of genetics whereby a child inherits the characteristics of parents and close relations.

An offspring is also moulded by his social environment, yet all these are conditioned by his *karma*.

In Buddhism there are five distinctive domains of existence and, therefore, possibly five ways of rebirth. They are the animal kingdom, the realm of spirits or ghosts, hell, human existence, and *sakkaloka* or heavens.

Early buddhist literature points to a belief in a cosmos which closely tallies with the modern concept of the universe. Buddhists believed in hundreds of thousands of suns and moons constituting a minor world system and that millions and millions of these constitute a major world system.

Dr. Stephen H. Doyle of Rand Corporation, U.S.A., states in his book *Habitable Planets for Man* that in our galaxy alone there are likely to be some 640,000,000 earthlike life-bearing

planets and that, besides, there are many billions and billions of other galaxies.

Professor Carl Sagan of Harvard University's Observatory thinks that it is a reasonable guess that there may be as many as 1,000,000 planets in our galaxy, which not only bear life, but bear intelligent life and advanced civilizations. He even wonders whether, perhaps intelligent life forms from other worlds have visited the earth in the distant past and cites the ancient Babylonian myth to the effect that civilization was founded by a non-human creature of great learning.

Therefore, we have references to the *Brahma* Devas from other worlds coming down to earth to be of help to those in need, such as the Bodhisattvas. The same Devas visiting the earth to hear the *Buddha Dharma* and paying homage to the Buddha before and after his *parinibbana* are stories accepted as true by Buddhists. The story of the Buddha's visit to Tusita Heaven to preach the Dharma to his mother Mahamaya is equally believable and valid for Buddhists.



THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

BIREN GOSWAMI

In recent times, it is one of the very common pleas of the *ruling clique* of those countries where Parliamentary Government has been overthrown that such a political system is unsuited to the genius and characteristics of the people concerned. From King Mahendra of Nepal to President Ayub of Pakistan, the apology offered to impose an authoritarian regime is the same; that the country's political circumstances demand a strong hand to guide the common folk to attain their destiny. In Pakistan, President Ayub's aversion for western type of Parliamentary Government was not evidenced only on the eve of his taking over of the administration of the state in October 1958; but, earlier than that, his contempt for the parliamentary system had been recorded in a memorandum which he, as the Defense Minister of Pakistan, had prepared himself in 1954. This document revealed not only the then political situation in the country but would also give an idea of the nature of government Ayub liked to see in Pakistan. He was all in favour of a strong central government, preferably a Presidential form, with the curtailment of much of individual freedom. The primary reason adduced by him in 1954 as well as in 1958 was that a Parliamentary government would not work in Pakistan since the level of political maturity that was required from the people to operate such a system was very low and that this had been amply proved by the actual working of this system for a few years in Pakistan. To Ayub, Parliamentary Government was an alien plant that cannot be nurtured in the soil of his own country. But this assessment of Ayub of the working of Parliamentary Government in Pakistan, though very common for a military commander, betrays his utter intellectual inability to under-

stand the history of the development of Parliamentary Government in the West. It is true that twice in less than two decades, the constitutions had to be abrogated due to the acute regional rivalry and political jobbery among some of the Pakistani politicians; but at the same time it should be erroneous to conclude that the people of Pakistan had showed their inherent incapability to work for a sound Parliamentary system. It should always be remembered that the system was never given a fair trial in Pakistan. No national election was held to choose the real representatives of the people; no concrete and genuine methods were undertaken to get the peoples' participation in the process of the administration. There was some violence and chaos perpetrated inside the legislature but in this respect Pakistan was not the single country where these unhappy incidents occurred. In U.K., it took several hundred years to develop a sound democratic system and even that was attained not always without any violence. Therefore, how one can say with certainty that a Parliamentary Government has failed in Pakistan? How one can proclaim, like the voice of a prophet, that such a system will never suit the genius of the people of Pakistan when, in fact, the people has not been given a proper chance to work for it?

In fact, from the very beginning of his emergence into the political scene in Pakistan, Ayub desired a strong authoritarian Government and his personal predilection has got manifested in the Constitution of 1962 which he enacted.² Admittedly, a Constitution Commission was appointed to help him in his task but in shaping the final constitution, he showed no hesitancy to throw away those recommendations of the Commission, which appeared to him as

restrictions to the powers of the President. The present constitution does not follow any constitutional norm that is generally understood by the students of Comparative Governments. This is purely the product of Ayub's idea of a government that Pakistan needs. It is, in the words of a Pakistani political scientist, purely a "constitutional autocracy".³ The constitution has made the President of Pakistan virtually a dictator, or properly it can be said that a dictator has legalised his powers by virtue of a constitution which he himself has framed and imposed on his people. In the words of Prof. K.J. Newman, the Ayub constitution is a document that "bears all the hallmarks of a constitution devised by the Executive, to be imposed through the Executive and for the Executive".⁴

Let us now examine the powers of the President that have made him an autocrat.

The constitution provides for a Presidential form of Government (Article 9). This is, of course, a foregone conclusion. Apart from his recorded personal preference, Ayub was on record to have said, even in the course of framing of the constitution, that the Presidential system was essential and after the announcement of the constitution, he observed that a "bloody revolution" would take place if Pakistan were to revert to a Parliamentary type of Government.⁵ According to the constitution, the President must be a Muslim and over thirty-five years of age. He should also possess the necessary qualifications to become a member of the National Assembly (Article 10). There is no part of the common people in the process of election of the President who shall be elected by an Electoral College formed by not less than 80,000 electors, equally distributed between the two provinces of Pakistan. Normally, his term is for five years but there is provision for re-election subject to a special procedure. The Speaker of the National Assembly will act as President if this office falls vacant temporarily. There is no Vice-President in Pakistan.

In order to make the removal of the President

from his office difficult, the procedure for impeachment of the President has been framed in such a way that the members of the National Assembly will not easily dare to resort to this course however corrupt and inefficient the President may be. Article 13 lays down that a notice of removal of the President, after being signed by not less than one-third of the total members of the Assembly, should be presented to the Speaker, who will transmit it to the President for his information. The resolution for the removal of the President will be effective if it is passed by the Assembly with a majority of not less than three-fourth of the total members of the House. But the most important and at the same time, the discouraging provision is that if the resolution fails to obtain the support of one-half of the total members, the initiators who signed the notice for removal of the President will cease to become members of the Legislature. This has undoubtedly ensured the President's tenure of office but the sinister implication of this provision is this: it would not be difficult for an autocratic President to foil the move of impeachment by offering some spoils to the one-fourth of the total members of the National Assembly. The fate of the initial movers of such a resolution may be sealed by the President, if he so likes, by exercising influence over half of the National Assembly.

Cabinet

The power of appointment of the President varies from the nomination of the Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts to the Supreme Commanders of the defence services. It is not the legislature but the President himself will determine the salaries and the conditions of service of those Commanders. Also the Legislature has got no say over the power of appointment of high officials of the President.

To help the President in the discharge of his functions, it has been laid down in the constitution that there shall be a Council of Ministers but no detail provision has been made as to the

relations between the President and his Council of Ministers. Anybody, possessing the qualifications to become a member of National Assembly, may be appointed as a member of the Cabinet (Article 33). Upon being a member of the Cabinet, the person should give up his seat in the Legislature, if he is already a member of that body. Shortly after the commencement of the constitution, this provision was amended by Ayub to the effect that the members need not resign their seats in the Legislature if they are made Ministers. But this presidential act was declared *ultra vires* by the Judiciary.⁶ The Ministers may take part in the proceedings of the Legislature but do not possess the right to vote.

It is rather astonishing that the law is silent on the point as to what should be the real specific functions of the Ministers. Are they entitled to give advice to the President? Is the President bound to consider that advice? These questions remain unanswered. Moreover, the Ministers are not responsible to the Legislature; their term is solely dependent on the goodwill of the President who can dismiss any Minister at any time "without assigning any reason". In the absence of any clear definition of their powers, it may be taken that the Ministers are President's subordinate officers or at best innocuous advisers. Apart from the power of dismissal, the President is also constitutionally competent to "disqualify" a Minister from public office for a period of five years on the charge of gross misconduct in relation to his duties. The only remedy a Minister enjoys against this arbitrary power of the President is to appeal to a Tribunal which again would be set up by the President himself. In brief, not only the tenure of the Ministers, is dependent on the discretion of the President, but their prestige also rests on the hands of the Executive master who can damage it, at least temporarily, by disqualifying him from public office on the pretext of misconduct. The right of the Minister to appeal to a Tribunal requires a long process to regain his reputation.

To facilitate the smooth working of the governmental business, the constitution empowers the President to appoint some Parliamentary Secretaries from among the members of the National Assembly. Perhaps this has been the result of Ayub's thinking that there must be some link between him and the Legislature which will partly reflect the public feeling regarding the administration (Members of the National Assembly will not be directly elected by the people). It is, therefore, clear that so far as the executive business of the Government is concerned, the President's powers face no restrictions or limitations. Even the procedure for the impeachment will not be easily resorted to on account of the risk involved on the part of the members of the Legislature.

Legislative and Financial Powers

Unlike the American Executive, the President of Pakistan is an integral part of the Central Legislature and his legislative powers can arouse the jealousy of his American counterpart. He can summon and prorogue the Legislature. Of course this power is also shared by the Speaker of the National Assembly, who can also summon and prorogue the Legislature on certain conditions. But this does not minimise the position of the President who can, unlike the Speaker, address and send messages to the Legislature. One interesting thing to note is the power of dissolution of the Legislature by the President. The constitution has undoubtedly put a severe restriction on this particular power of the President. In case of a dissolution of the Legislature, the President himself will have to quit the office and there will be fresh elections of the National Assembly as well as of the President. It is curious why Ayub agreed to insert this provision in the constitution when it greatly cripples his power to mould the recalcitrant Legislature. Moreover, the power of dissolution cannot be exercised by the President when the National Assembly is seized with the question

of President's impeachment. But his effective power lies not in his right to dissolve the Legislature but in the provision of veto. Introduction of a bill concerning Preventive Detention requires his prior sanction. All bills passed by the National Assembly, must be presented to him for his assent which he may give or withhold his assent or he can send back the bill to the Legislature for reconsideration. In case of withholding his assent or of referring the bill to the Legislature, the National Assembly is bound to consider the bill for the second time. Even if the Assembly passes the bill for the second time with two-thirds majority, the bill's fate would still depend on the President who can still refuse to sign it and place the bill to a referendum of the Electoral College consisting of the "basic democrats". Article 24 provides that in case of a conflict between the President and the Legislature, the former can place the issue before an Electoral College (not to the people directly) to ascertain the wishes of the nation. This effective veto power of the President will always place the Legislature in a secondary position because, in a trial of strength between these two organs of the Government, it is always likely that the powerful executive will have more means at its disposal than those of the Legislature to influence the majority members of the electorate. It is easier for a powerful single executive than for a heterogeneous Legislature to present its case coherently and dedicatedly.

Effective control over the national purse by the President is another important feature of the constitution of Pakistan. Besides stipulating that the money bill requires prior sanction of the President before its introduction to the Assembly, the constitution has classified the Expenditure of the state as recurring and non-recurring expenditure—an innovation perhaps not to be seen in any democratic countries of the world. On recurring expenditure, like the charges made on the Consolidated Fund, the Central Legislature has no effective power to cut down the amount demanded. In other words, the National Assembly can control only that part of the Annual Budget which represents new expenditure. It is one of the modern democratic practices that the Legislature should be made powerful in matters of finance because control over the purse is an effective instrument to keep the executive in check. But this simple nominal democratic principle was overthrown when Ayub finally shaped the constitution.

To cap it all, there is the most controversial provision which is known as the "Emergency" power of the President. By virtue of Article 30, the President can, at any time even during the session of the National Assembly, proclaim emergency on grounds of war, external aggression, threatening of the security of state, internal disturbances and dislocation of economic life of the country. The constitution does not require the President to refer the proclamation of emergency to the National Assembly within a fixed period of time; he will only inform the Assembly "as soon as is practicable". It is the President alone who is to judge when it is "practicable" for him to inform the Assembly. Also, during the time of emergency, there is the power of the President to issue ordinance which shall have the effect of law and which cannot be disapproved by the National Assembly. If it so desires, the National Assembly can give a seal of its approval over the ordinance which, then, shall be deemed to have become an act of the Central Legislature. The only limitation over this Presidential power is that the laws or ordinance so proclaimed must be within the legislative competence of the Central Legislature.

Over the provincial administration, the hold of the President is so much effective that the entire structure of the Government of Pakistan presents a picture no better than a strong authoritarian Central Government. The Governors of the provinces are not only his personal nominees but the provincial ministers who appear to be the subordinate officers of the Governors will be appointed and removed from their office by the

Provincial Executive with the consent of the President [Article 119 (2)]. Another strange addition to President's all pervading powers is Article 224 section 3 which authorises him to remove any difficulty that may arise in bringing the constitution into operation.

By any conventional standard, the powers and position of the President of Pakistan cannot be assessed since his relation with the Cabinet and the Legislature has put him in such a position that can be envied by any powerful executive of the world. If one likes to see an autocratic executive head, unfettered by any legislative control, the President of Pakistan may be a case in point. Perhaps Chaudhuri Mohammad Ali, once the Prime Minister of Pakistan has not betrayed his resentment against Ayub when he observed that the Government of Pakistan as has been emerged is "a Government of the President, by the President, and for the President".⁷ Undoubtedly, this is the correct description of the political system prevalent to-day in Pakistan. Before the commencement of the constitution, President Ayub repeatedly said that Pakistan needed a

government that would suit the genius of the people. Does an autocratic government, as it exists to-day, suit the genius of the Pakistani people? It is for the people of Pakistan to answer.

1. For the memorandum, see Karl von Vorys, *Political Development in Pakistan* (Princeton, 1965) 299.

2. The preamble of the Constitution says, "... I, Field Marshall Mohammad Ayub Khan .. do hereby enact this constitution".

3. Khaid B. Sayeed, "Pakistan's Constitutional Autocracy", *Pacific Affairs*, 36 (Winter 1963-64) 366-77.

4. K.J. Newman, "The Constitutional Evolution of Pakistan", *International Affairs*, 38 (July 1962) 362.

5. See Karl von Vorys, *Political Development in Pakistan* (Princeton, 1965) 212; *Dawn*, 8 April 1962.

6. *Dawn*, 6 April and 14 May 1963.

7. *Dawn*, 2 April 1963.



AN INVITATION AND A WARNING

MIHIR SEN

The epoch making judgement handed down by Mr. Justice B. C. Mitra of Calcutta High Court on February 6th in the matter of Lakhan Pal ended the era when assorted politicians could abuse the provisions of our liberal constitution and stretch it to suit their convenience. Now the constitution has at last risen in fury and struck back with an unsuspected vengeance. The word 'pleasure' in Art. 164 (1) will from now on become the source of agonising pain in the political necks throughout the country.

The first reaction to the Calcutta High Court's provocative decision validating Governor Dharam Vira's action is one of reverential reappraisal of that amazingly farsighted man Dr. B. R. Ambedkar—the the father of Indian Constitution. To the chagrin of the petty crowd of political peddlars, it is not the learned Judges, but Dr. Ambedkar who will be having the last laugh now. One can almost hear him smack his lips! That, taking one too many liberties with the seemingly flexible constitution could be a dangerous thing, has been proved. But at a considerable cost. The price democracy paid was in having the wings of the elected representatives clipped, and in transforming the Governor from a constitutional cripple to potential leviathan.

The echoes of Mr. Justice B. C. Mitra's judgement will doubtless be heard in the corridors of history for a very long time to come. It needed both courage and very deep

conviction in the role of law to hand out the decision that he did. When noisy, unscrupulous politicians—disciples of Prince Kropotkin!—elbowed their way to the centre of the stage and held the nation to ransom, Law stopped it quietly with all its majesty and spoke with authority and finality.

Mr. Justice Mitra's judgement lends for dimensions to and opens bold new perspectives or the meaningful and organic, though oft ignored, role of Judiciary in the evolution of an under-developed society caught in the throes of critical transition.

Constitutions are meant to serve man, and not vice versa. It is the historic responsibility of the judge to interpret the constitution to meet the compelling demands of social evolution.

Mr. Justice Mitra could have evaded this solemn duty by merely confining himself to the rejection of the application challenging the validity of Governor Dharam Vira's action in dismissing the Mukherjee cabinet and installing the Ghose Ministry, as he is entitled to do acting under the Article 163 (2). The fact that he went beyond and categorically laid down the interpretation of Article 164—the meaning and the significance of the crucial word 'pleasure'—unmistakably points to the reassuring preparedness of the judiciary to discharge its awesome responsibilities in a Parliamentary Democracy.

Now, the Special Bench of the Kerala

High Court in an equally shattering judgement has convicted, for the first time perhaps in India, an elected Chief Minister of a State—the Communist boss of Kerala Mr. Namboodripad—of contempt of Court. The penalty imposed on the Chief Executive of the state is not a token one either. He has been fined Rs. 1,000/- and sentenced to one month's imprisonment in default. Proof, if any was needed, to demonstrate the dignified but determined role the gentle judicial colossus proposes to play henceforth in building the future India, can be read in the Kerala High Court judgement. The cloistered voice of law and logic now takes on a stern metallic ring.

Coming in the wake of the famous Special Bench Judgement delivered in September last by Chief Justice Mr. D. N. Sinha, when he not only firmly defined the labour laws and mercilessly struck down illegal Government notification but, directly addressed himself to forces of law enforcement as well, this decision of Mr. Justice Mitra and the judgement of Kerala High Court reflect the emerging power of the Judiciary which had so far been overshadowed by the far aggressive and less wise Legislative and Executive arms of the state.

It is not without trepidation that one dares read the far reaching significance of the celebrated judgements, which may be termed as Judicial slaps on our 'tender' democratic visage. Unless reversed or modified by the superior appellate tribunals,—Mr. Justice Mitra's verdict could be taken to mean quantitative diminution in democratic practice in India. There is the danger of Governor's becoming Plato's Guardians and democracy suffering in the process.

But then we perhaps started the great experiment all wrong. The right for which the British, French and others had fought for centuries and waited generations (universal adult franchise extended to British Citizens by Representation of People Act 1918 and in France after World War II) was unmindfully tossed into the hands that had grown weak and feeble after a thousand years of wearing shackles. No period of apprenticeship was thought necessary nor any dynamic relation seen between economic democracy, educational enlightenment and political franchise.

Political democracy is an opportunity in the hands of the informed and the responsible that must grow organically from the soil. Just as a full grown tree cannot be transplanted, similarly sudden wholesale imposition of parliamentary democracy is no substitute for the careful cultivation of the democratic sapling over a number of years. Sooner or later the realities of evolution had to assert themselves. Mr. Justice Mitra's judgement is the first enlightened attempt to put on a curb on the unrestricted licence to which the premature overdose of parliamentarism has degenerated into. This is the precursor to many others which will remorselessly follow in natural order of events.

We have no alternative than to make peace with facts of reality, while there is still time. There are no short cuts in human affairs. Our subjective assumptions in this regard must be thrown overboard. Swallowing our 'democratic' ego, we must begin at the beginning.

Mr. Justice Mitra's judgement is an invitation to the politicians to play their role with responsibility and a warning of the inevitability of sharp executive intervention if they didn't.

GRAMSEBAK MAKHAN LAL DE

DEBENDRA KRISHNA DE

"Gramsebak" is a Bengali word. It means a person who does some service regularly for the welfare of his village. Makhan Lal De was not only an ideal village worker but was also a man of excellent character. The family he was born in was known in ancient time as Dev family of Nilpur. In this family were born two brothers-Gandharba Khan Bahadur Dev Niyogi and Purandar Khan Dev Niyogi. The latter was the ancestor of Shova Bazar Raj family of Calcutta and the former was the ancestor of the Dev Niyogis of Jaragram, a village in the district of Burdwan in West Bengal.

2. About three hundred years ago, during the reign of Emperor Shahjahan or Aurangzeb of Delhi, Shyama Charan and Hari Charan, two sons of Gopal Chandra Dev Niyogi, a descendent of Gandharba Khan came to Jaragram from Bouyai, a village under the Police Station Indas in the district of Bankura. They had got a lease of the area and occupied with the permission of higher authorities the fort which was then at Jaragram. They discharged the duties entrusted to them by the Government. The fort called Garh Bari was built about 1000 years ago by some Hindu Raja in the west of Jaragram. The village is under the Police Station of Jamalpur in the District of Burdwan. Many illustrious sons were born in this Kayastha family. Particulars of achievements of some of them are given below.

(i) Laksminarayan, a son of Shyama Charan, was Dewan of Garh Bari. His duty was to collect revenue of the area and to remit the same to the Government just as the District Magistrates do at present.

(ii) Ratneshwar, grandson of Lakshminarayan was Collector of two Parganas named Habeli and Chatipur during the reign of Nawab Alivardi Khan of Murshidabad. He became very rich and influential. It was he who had brought Kalikanta Tarka Panchanan, forefather of Kulin Brahmins of eastern Jaragram, and also Nityananda Ghosh and Chaitanya Ghosh, forefathers of the Ghoses from Nagan Mayana and settled them all in the village, making a gift of a tract of land sufficient for their maintenance. His other achievements were construction of a temple and a high and covered platform (Dolmancha), new roads and excavation of a big pond named Shanpukur.

(iii) Govinda Ram Dev Niyogi, second son of Ratneshwar had constructed for irrigation of land a canal which is situated on the north of the village. It is called Govinda Khali after his name.

(iv) Makhan Lal De was a descendant of Pitamber Dev Niyogi who was the fourth son of Ratneshwar Dev Niyogi. He made a gift of a few thousand rupees for religious performance and for the benefit of the village. It is through his effort that a library has been established in the village. His other achievements are a lamp-post called Biharilal Dipa-

dkar and a well named Saudamini Paniyodhar. Biharilal was Makhan Lal's father and Saudamini his mother. The library is called Makan Lal Pathagar.

(v) Gostō Bihari De, M. A., B. L. was a descendant of Hari Charan Dev Niyogi. He was a judge in Madhya Pradesh and subsequently became Chief Justice of an Indian state in the province. He settled at Nagpur after his retirement, but contributed a good sum of money towards the construction of a building for the library and Post Office in the village.

(vi) Anil Kumar Sarkar. M.A., PH.D. D. Litt., second son of Sarojini, who was second daughter of Makhan Lal De, was honoured by the Patna University when he was conferred the degrees of Ph. D. and D. Litt. He is now a Professor of Philosophy in California (U.S.A.). Prior to this, he was a Professor in Ceylon for a few years.

(vii) Dharendra Krishna De, M.Sc., was the eldest son of Krishna Lal De, youngest brother of Makhan Lal De. In the M. Sc. examination, Dhendra stood first in First Class. He was Principal at Jaragram and subsequently at Cooch Behar.

3. Makhan Lal was so meritorious and brilliant that had he been ambitious and got necessary facilities he would have attained easily the highest position in any field of work. He also possessed uncommon ability to conquer the heart of every one high or low in position, who ever came in contact with him. All of them admired him. He was a silent worker and had always the welfare of his country at heart. At last he found himself as Head Master of Murshidabad Nawab's English High School.

4. Deshbandhu C. R. Das first of all

preached the slogan "Back to village" but long before him Makhan Lal De was one of the pioneers to realise the necessity of improving the condition of their village and started the work so as to make them habitable.

In the opinion of Makhan Lal, the main reason for the wretched condition of the village was the English educated people who started migrating to other places from the middle of the nineteenth century to serve the English in their nefarious act of draining resources of the country. They lived there more comfortably. The result was that the condition of the poor who were left in the village became more miserable and helpless. Makhan Lal was sure that reaction of the selfish act of the English educated people would set in some day or other when the necessity of protecting the village would be felt. So while working as a Government school teacher instead of going during the summer vacation to a place with a better climate, he came to his village to devote himself to the task of improving its climatic condition.

He was born at Jaragram in 1852. No one in the village then knew how to read and write English. In village school, Bengali literature and elementary Arithmetic of local pattern used to be taught. For the learning of Sanskrit there was a "Tol" in the village. If and when required some of the ancestors of Makhan Lal acted as teacher of Sanskrit. Being crippled financially they accepted from time to time the employment of a junior tax collector under a Zamindar. When the vast property of his forefathers dwindled down because of some portion of it being given away as gifts and

some portion vanished on account of meeting the needs of the villages and expenses of the family, his uncle Kshetra Nath was obliged to accept the post of a junior tax Collector in a Zamindari. For this purpose, he and Makhan Lal's father used to go to Jagathvallavpur turn by turn. The income of a middle class person was not then in excess of double of that of a common man. There was no difference in their food or dress. Where they differed was in respect of their education, manner of talk, behaviour and refinement.

In those days, the taking up of a son in his lap and kissing him was regarded as unbecoming of a respectable father. In infancy or childhood a boy rarely got the affection of his father. Being brought up by his mother in his boyhood Makhan Lal learnt devotion to God, simplicity, hard work and satisfaction with little.

The Indian struggle for independence took place a few years later than the birth of Makhan Lal De. After the rebellion was subdued, a few European Soldiers accompanied with Indian Sepoys surrounded the village. Those who tried to escape were shot down by soldiers. Then they entered the village and hanged many well built innocent Bagdis in the presence of the villagers. This created great terror in the village. Perhaps for this reason, Makhan Lal in his boyhood was of timid nature. There was a rumour that such a cruelty was perpetrated in every village.

After being in the village school for a few days, Makhan Lal became known as a gentle meritorious boy. His teachers and fellow students were all pleased with him for his amiable demeanour. The love he received from them ennobled him and it remained

with him as a companion till his death. After completing his studies in the village school, he became a student of Chakdighi English High School. Here also he was regarded as an ideal student by others coming to the school from the surrounding villages. His reputation for nice appearance and excellent qualities of head and heart spread everywhere in the area. From his boyhood, he showed uncommon intelligence and memory.

Gradually he became studious also. At the age of 15 he passed the Entrance Examination very creditably and was, therefore, awarded a gold medal by noble Zamindar Saroda Prasad Singha Roy of Chakdighi. Besides, the Education Department of Government of Bengal was pleased to grant him a scholarship of Rs. 10- per month for two years. With this money, he somehow managed his expenses while in Hoogli College as an I. Sc. student. Want of sufficient money became an impediment against his further studies in college. The Zamindar of Triol being aware of the merit and intelligence of Makhan Lal came forward with the proposal for having him as his son-in-law and at the same time gave an undertaking that he would help him so that he might go up for higher studies. Being advised by his father, Makhan Lal agreed to the proposal of his marriage in the hope that it would facilitate his further education.

The beautiful daughter of the Zamindar brought up comfortably in the house of her rich father occupied the position of wife of a middle class gentleman, Makhan Lal De. Having been inspired by her husband, not by talk but by the example of his way of life, she gave up all luxuries of

food and dress in her father-in-law's house and began to do cheerfully all household duties including fetching water from a river at some distance, keeping the water-pot on her waist, frying rice for tiffin and breakfast and cooking food daily for lunch and dinner. Her beautiful countenance glowed with hard work. So her husband was pleased to change her name to Sashimukhi which means moon-like appearance. Her another duty was to bring up her husband's youngest little brother Krishna Lal and to serve her father-in-law who was a widower.

After he had passed the B. Sc. Examination, Makhan Lal was instructed by his father to seek some employment and thus he had to give up further studies in college. He then accepted a post of a teacher at Jagathballavpur on Rs. 25 per month. This relieved the pressure of want for the maintenance of the family. With this money all the expenses of the family could be met easily in those days. Later on he served as a teacher on a comparatively higher rate of pay at Howrah, Chaibasa and Ranaghat and continued at the same time to increase the field of his knowledge buying English and Sanskrit books. His thirst for learning was life-long. He was never satisfied without going through the "Bengali" an English newspaper daily. In old age, he preferred reading religious books as the Gita, Puran, etc. He had deep knowledge of all religions.

At Howrah a rich proprietor of a school courteously made room for Makhan Lal to live in his house free of expenses for food and lodging. He was then a teacher in his school. The wealthy gentleman wrote a letter to the father of Makhan Lal proposing

marriage of his fair looking daughter with him and began to put forward all the pressure he could muster on Makhan Lal, finally making the offer that he would inherit all his property in the event of his agreeing to the proposal. On each occasion he informed the rich man that he was married and refused to marry again. Being thus bothered by him continuously he was disgusted to live in his house any longer. He came home at last and submitted a resignation on the advice of his father. However, he was not without employment for a long time. Accepting an offer of a post of a teacher on a better pay he proceeded to Chaibasa shortly afterwards.

Two other incidents in his life are worth mentioning. When at Ranaghat as a teacher on Rs. 75. a month, the famous Zaminder, Surendra Mohan Pal Chowdhury being much impressed with the fine qualities of head and heart of Makhan Lal offered him a post of a home tutor on Rs. 100 per month with free cost of living and lodging in his house. As the bitter experience of living in a rich family flashed in his memory the Tempting offer could not attract him sufficiently. The rich Zemindar wondered at his refusal to accept the offer.

He was again rewarded for resisting his temptation. School Inspector Bhudev Mukherjee was so much pleased with the method of his teaching that he decided that all teachers of English High Schools must have the necessary training. He was selected for the work in Calcutta on Rs. 100. p. m. Thus the system of training of teachers in Bengal was introduced. Better results were obtained with the training of teachers

and for his efficiency in the work he was promoted to Head Master on an enhanced rate of pay. He gradually rose to the maximum pay of his grade, viz Rs. 250'00 P. M.

He never used base language to slight any one, however small he might be in age or low in society. He was not also in favour of using such degrading terms as fool, nonsense, illiterate, etc. While in his village after retirement, whenever a student of a school or collage come to him being in difficulty to understand anything of his text books, he would immediately lay aside the work in hand or stop his own study to make it clear to him.

While in school as a teacher he was in the habit of telling interesting stories of this as well as of foreign countries on different subjects so that the students might increase the area of their knowledge and get desirous to have good character and learn more. Thus the students who were indifferent to their studies were attracted towards him and eagerly listened to him. In course of time, most of them paid more attention to their studies and eventually shaped themselves for the better.

It was against his nature or principle to indulge in useless or harmful talk as criticism of others. None ever heard him using slang language to deprecate a person. Sincere love for every one, profound knowledge of various subjects, devotion to God, unshowy manners, simplicity and honesty; all these good qualities combined to help him to be saint-like. His disposition was so extraordinarily pleasing that his relatives, subordinate teachers, students and co-villagers could not but respect him. The Nawab of

Murshidabad, Raja of Nasipur, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar, many pious and learned men, whoever came in contact with him, were all impressed with his high qualities, and admired him. He, however, avoided contact with rich men as far as possible.

Four or five years before his retirement from service as Head Master, his second brother Mati Lal De, father of the writer of this biography, expired leaving three minor sons and a daughter. When they arrived from Saharanpur where they were living, Makhan Lal gave them shelter in his house at Jaragram and looked after them as much as he and his wife could. His son was then only six years of age. They became worried thinking over the fact how the expenses of the big family would be met after making necessary provision for the marriage of their two daughters, Sarojini and Sushila, for maintenance in old age and for education of their son. Despite all these, he never refrained from making expenses for the welfare of his village.

In 1910 at the age of 56, he retired from service while he was at Murshidabad. He then felt glad to think that he would not have to leave the village again and would have plenty of time to look after it.

His task in the village as imposed by himself was to undertake its welfare and to teach his son. He exerted all his energy for this purpose. The son constantly remained with him. He liked to do so in preference to playing with boys of his age, and received education of some sort or

other from his father. As a result he was able to complete at the age of 11 what he was required to learn to pass the Entrance Examination. The boy then did not like to part company with him. So he started receiving higher education about English, Mathematics and Sanskrit from his father. Although his only son Gunindra was so much attached to him, Makhan Lal did not lose his equanimity even on his death caused by lightning but on the other hand he consoled his wife by saying: "Death occurs to one and all". Thenceforward he devoted more time to his studies, spiritual thinking and work pertaining to his garden and village. Many persons who knew him to be sensible came to him for advice and returned home satisfied with his decision. He was never seen to be sorry or to express sorrow. Uncommon was his forbearance and control of mind. He remained satisfied under all circumstances and never complained.

While in service Makhan Lal De was drawing a fat salary, and yet he never indulged in luxury either in respect of furniture, dress or food. All persons who were not of the same view, failed to make out what he said and did at times. Once when asked he said: "There is no yard-stick for making expenses. Almost all persons follow the example of others in regard to this and thus they make expenses beyond their means or requirement. If the income of a family on an average is four times more than that of the family in the lowest class, not more than half of the income of the former should be spent for house-hold expenses. The rest should be saved for education, medical treatment, ceremonies, building of a house, provision for old

age, and for welfare of the place where they dwell". He never spent more than what was absolutely necessary, nor smoked or drank a cup of tea, nor required a betel to chew after lunch or dinner.

His fast friend was a pious learned Brahmin of Khagra. In his old age, he lived at Kashi (Benares) and communicated with Makhan Lal whom he repeatedly requested to pass the rest of his old age at Kashi, but the latter considered his own village more sacred than Kashi. By no means he could be persuaded to leave the unhealthy climate of his village, since he considered it as an act of ingratitude to do so for his own benefit or emancipation. So, in spite of being ill repeatedly he could neither comply with the special request of his second daughter Sarojini from Ranchi nor go somewhere else where there was a better climate. He used to say: "There comes a time for every one when deterioration of his health comes about and that all get accustomed to the climate of the place where they live". When hard pressed to go to a better climate to save his life he would disgustedly say that his bones would rest at the same place where he grew up.

Makhan Lal held the view that by means of unity in every village there should be public institutions based on scientific grounds for the general welfare of the place, but in each house there should be arrangement for daily prayer, keeping cows, reading of religious books, the Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharat so as to develop the spirit of every member of the family of doing good to others, keeping neat and clean, being courageous enough to uphold good causes and keeping the body fit and strong to protect the

SONS AND LOVERS
Or
THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST

KAMAL ROY

Part II

Gertrude and Walter Morel between themselves dramatize the typical Lawrentian dialectic. Their mutual attraction for each other as well as the subsequent repulsion springs from different orientations towards life. At the outset Lawrence emphasizes the differences in the tastes and temperaments of the couple. A product of, and thoroughly soaked in middle class culture, Gertrude feels constricted in her predominantly intellectual and puritanical milieu. On the other hand, the unruffled countenance of Walter is indicative of his carefree and spontaneous life, and the vitality that he radiates has an irresistible charm of its own. What draws them together is their very differences. In the eyes of Gertrude, Walter, a miner, becomes invested with the mystery and romance of an unknown mode of existence, and she succumbs to the illusory hope of escaping her own ethos through him. Flushed and confused, Walter too, assumes the gallant rescuer of the imprisoned princess of fairy tales.

Undoubtedly, the passion that can level down the cultural and social disparities that exist between the sophisticated daughter of a middle class family and a half-educated miner must have been overwhelming. Yet what balks the couple of self-fulfilment and self-autonomy is their inability to transport

themselves from the plane of passion to that of love. Passion is not love, only the prelude to it. Held captives by passion which only increases their physical enslavement to each other, they can never experience the psychic rebirth brought about by love. That their passion has not culminated in love and in consequence their deeper psychic strata have remained unchanged is revealed in course of a soul-baring conversation between Gertrude and Mr. Heaton, the parson. Speaking for Lawrence he says, "when love enters, the whole spiritual constitution of a man changes, is filled with the Holy Ghost, and almost his form is altered. "And this elicits from her a sarcastic reflection : "Yes, the poor fellow, his young wife is dead ; that is why he makes his love into the Holy Ghost" (Sons And Lovers," P. 33). As the all-consuming passion that once fired and bemused them, begins to dwindle, their incompatibilities rise to the surface and embitter their relationship. But it must be said to their credit that though their passion loses its white-heat intensity, it is never totally extinguished.

In the absence of a private world of her own which, on Lawrence's view, love alone can create, Gertrude harks back to the ready-made values of her class. And with the

indomitable zeal of a missionary she now sets herself the task of winning her husband over to her mechanical way of life. Her attempt is a veritable sacrilege; it is a sin against the "Holy Ghost" as it threatens Walter with the loss of his individual autonomy. Whatever may be the shortcomings of Walter in other respects, at least once in his life he proves himself a man by resisting the design of his wife on him and proclaiming the inviolability of his private self. Having failed to convert her husband Gertrude now turns to the children. She finds William, her first son, sufficiently malleable and docile to inculcate in him her gospel of success and to infect him with her worship of will. Unlike his father, William becomes a fit instrument for giving shape to his mother's image of man. Inspired by a different set of ideas and conforming to a different pattern of existence the children become alienated from the father. As a result, whenever there is any conflict between the parents, they become the allies of the mother. Thus, in his own home, Walter becomes an alien.

Gertrude and Walter with their respective apotheosis of intellect, and intuition and instinct anticipate the Brangwen women and men in "The Rainbow." (The governing passion of Gertrude's life is social-climbing through the accumulation not of money but of knowledge and experience. The rest of "Sons And Lovers" tells the fascinating story of the vicissitudes of Gertrude's mission—her heroic struggle to give the children good education and to raise them in the social hierarchy. She lives for and in the children as they do likewise. Her dream comes true when William rushes home with his school

prize. She has identified herself with her son to such an extent that the achievement of William becomes "the first real tribute to herself. She took it like a queen!" But this inability of the couple to live a life of their own quite independently of each other as well as of the children proves disastrous to both of them and to the children. To get rid of his nerve-racking isolation Walter becomes a heavy drunkard, and his degradation reaches the lowest ebb when he steals money from his wife's purse to buy wine. To escape a similar predicament Gertrude is leading a vicarious existence through the children; quite unaware of their fragility she has made them the props of her peace and happiness. The vulnerability of her position is brought home to her when at the approach of the slightest gust of wind the citadel of her life begins to crumble. She finds a substitute for Walter in William and so long as his sex-consciousness remains dormant, they have the best of times. But tension sets in when she wants to monopolize Walter's love and he, in his turn, tries to find a love-wife of his own. The rude jolt she receives when William tells her bluntly that he prefers a lucrative situation in London to staying at home with her is not sufficient to make her face reality and accept the inevitable. Unnatural love for the son makes her miserable and causes him irreparable damage. The image of mother as the ideal woman becomes indelibly fixed in his memory, and later in life whenever he comes across a woman, he judges her by the mother's standard and invariably finds her incomplete. He betrays this mother-fixation while commenting on his betrothed: "You know, she's

not like you, mother. She's not serious, and she can't think" (Ibid, P. 118). Excessive spiritual love of his mother has compelled him to live constantly on the spiritual plane to the detriment of the physical or sensual one. Consequently, whenever he is trying to have an affair with a woman, he can offer her at best his body, his soul remaining always with the mother. So love, instead of of harmonizing the two planes, dichotomizes his body and soul and sets up serious psychic disturbances which ultimately prove fatal. He has sufficient perspicacity to diagnose his malady and defining the nature of his relationship with his lady-love observes: "I wouldn't call it love...at any rate, it doesn't look much like it" (Ibid, P. 120).

Gertrude has entwined herself with William so much so that only the critical illness of Paul can rouse her from the stupor and numbness that set in her at the death of her first son. She casts Paul for a role not much different from William's; if once William replaced his father, now Paul is going to replace his dead brother. But he is not an exact replica of his elder brother though he resembles him upto a point. William fails completely, Paul fails initially. Ultimately he extricates himself from the share of his mother, though not without a struggle.

There is a family-resemblance between Mrs. Morel and Paul's first girl-friend, Miriam. Like the elder woman, she, too, lives by a set of fixed principles and has an intellectual, hence mechanical, approach to life. Their similarity becomes more pronounced in their almost identical attitude to education. Miriam thinks "she could not be princess by wealth or standing. So she was mad

to have learning whereon to pride herself" (Ibid, P. 143). Naturally enough, what excites her admiration for Paul is the latter's intellectual attainment as if Paul as a young man is almost non-existent in her eyes. It is interesting to observe the variations Lawrence is ringing on the members of the second generation. The younger members repeat their elders upto a certain extent and then develop certain aberrations of their own which make their failure more absolute than that of their predecessors. (Miriam combines in herself all the vices and prejudices of Mrs. Morel and has added to them a contemptuous attitude to the male sex.) The contribution of her perversity to the break-down of affair between herself and Paul is considerable indeed; in the first place, her "sacred love" is not essentially different from Gertrude's "spiritual love" for Paul. Moreover, by professing to envelop his existence in hers and to shield him from troubles, she is arrogating to herself the role of Paul's mother, and not that of his mistress.

What saves Paul from the fate of William is his discovery, before the pernicious influence of his mother has permanently jaundiced his vision, of the deeper truths of life. He tumbles to the notion that "only this simmeriness is the real living. The shape is a dead crust. The simmer is inside really" (Ibid, P. 152) and this indicates his drift towards a vitalistic way of life. A typical Lawrence hero, he begins his love-affair with Miriam and friendship with her brother simultaneously. Initiation to conjugal love is metamorphosing his whole personality and he is entering upon almost a new existence. An authorial comment focuses attention upon the different influ-

ence that the love of the mistress and of the mother is exerting upon him: "In contact with Miriam he gained insight; his vision went deeper. From his mother, he drew the warmth, the strength to produce; Miriam urged this warmth into intensity like a white light." Miriam permeated with the religious-mystical influence of her mother seems to complicate William caught in the whirlpool of the spiritual love of his mother. Victims of constricting influences both fail to forge a harmony between their underdeveloped physical planes and the over-developed spiritual ones. This lop-sided development of their personality renders them incapable of establishing moral relationships with their lovers. Both are afflicted with the same morbidity and both react almost in the same way when confronted with the experience of love. That Miriam's love for Paul is not materially different from the spiritual-possessive love of his mother becomes all the more evident when, discovering her spiritual double in Paul's lover, she becomes panic-stricken. Her analysis of Miriam is virtually an autoanalysis: "She (Miriam) is one of those who will want to suck a man's soul till he has none of his own left," she said to herself; "and he (Paul) is just such a gaby as to let himself be absorbed. She will never let him become a man: she never will" (P. 160). Perhaps, Miriam's Christian upbringing accounts for some of her other abnormalities. She is quite incapable of getting "into human relations with anyone; so her friend, her companion, her lover, was Nature" (P. 165). Moreover, she denies human autonomy and subscribes to the Christian interpretation of human existence. Thus, she will love Paul not for herself or for him but if only "it is 'Thy will

that I should love him, make me love him... As Christ would, who died for the souls of men. Make me love him splendidly, because he is Thy son" (Pp. 172-73).

A Christian ascetic, Miriam equates love with self-sacrifice either in the interest of God or of other people but never looks upon it as a means to self-fulfilment.

Though her contribution to the impasse in her affair with Paul is not inconsiderable, yet Paul, too, cannot be absolved absolutely from his share. Miriam's love presents a challenge to the long-established sway of Gertrude over him and this makes him inordinately self-conscious and self-divided. If not a blessing, this introspection born of emotional conflict is not a bane altogether precisely because "we have to know ourselves pretty thoroughly before we can break the automatism of ideals and convention" (*Fantasia*, P. 64). The self-knowledge that Paul acquires puts him on the road to his redemption; it opens his eyes to the hiatus between his vision of life and the life he has been actually leading. A measure of his critical awareness is his neat summing up of himself and Miriam in terms of the Norman and the Gothic arches respectively. Like him the Norman arch stands for self-assertion; like Miriam the Gothic arch stands for submission. Inhibitions are dropping off from him and he is learning to respond to impulses and instincts without being hamstrung by prejudices and preconceptions. Once being possessed by passion he leaves Miriam in no doubt that he wants to satisfy it with her and is expecting her to reciprocate it. To his utter mortification "she ignored them. She was expecting some

religious state in him" (P. 178). Her unexpected and strange reaction turns his passion into self-contempt and his love for her into hate. ✓

Arthur and Beatrice act as foils to the other pairs: they have been brought in to throw into broad relief the shortcoming of the other couples who act out their disastrous destinies in this novel. In pointed contrast to his elder brothers who are the pets of their mother, Arthur "loved his father from the first" (P. 47): he is quick, careless and impulsive. At puberty when he is about to begin his independent life, he can easily break away from the prison of parental love. He is not going to allow anything to thwart his self-fulfilment. That is why "his father whom he had loved and who had worshipped him, he came to detest" (P. 113).

A sign of his youthful impulsiveness is his running away to the army—a profession which, according to Lawrence, worship the body and makes it, and not the mind, the vehicle of knowledge. To cap everything he loves a woman who is his female counterpart.

The asexual love-affair of Miriam and Paul reaches a breaking point as she persists in refusing: to come down from her high spiritual perch to satisfy the growing sexual urges of her lover. "You make me so spiritual," he lamented. "I don't want to be spiritual" (P. 188). His pent-up passion robs him of all zest for life so much that he looks to death as a welcome escape from his exasperating and humiliating situation. For "recklessness is almost a man's revenge on his woman. He feels he is not valued, so he will risk destroying himself to deprive her

altogether" (P. 190). In spite of so much similarities between the two, where Gertrude scores over Miriam is in her sane attitude to the human body. Young man and woman as they are, Paul and Miriam have never experienced any profound passion together. On the contrary, even though all relations between the husband and wife have ceased to exist, any chance physical contact can send a tremor through Walter and Gertrude: "Morel watched her shyly; he saw again the passion she had for him. It blazed upon her for a moment... Yet again he felt his old glow" (P. 197). This serves as a lesson to Paul and if he requires any more, it is provided by Beatrice, Arthur's betrothed. One evening left to themselves, Paul and Miriam are sitting face to face and are absorbed in the discussion of Paul's paintings. Quite unexpectedly Beatrice puts in an appearance and just like a whirlwind upsets everything. She carries about her an air of spontaneity and even of playful mischief. While teasing and provoking him, she kisses Paul passionately on the lips, and that too in the presence of Miriam, knowing full well the intimate relation between the two. This has an electrifying effect on Paul; he who is normally unusually self-conscious and feels somewhat constricted in the company of Miriam, returns the kiss, becomes completely self-oblivious as he gives himself up entirely to the moment. His momentary self-transcendence is complete to the point of making him forget all about the mandate of his mother to keep a strict watch over the bread on the oven, which meanwhile gets burnt.

And Beatrice remarks puckishly: "This is what comes of the oblivion of love, my

boy" (P. 205), the oblivion for which he pines away and which Miriam can never induce in him.

It does not escape Gertrude's notice that like William before him Paul is drifting away from her and is struggling to live to himself. The full knowledge of the desperate situation she is in coupled with a bid to consolidate her declining hold on him, impels her to appeal to Paul's pity: "And I've never... you know, Paul... I've never had a husband... not really" (P. 213). Just at the moment when Paul is assuring her that he is not going to leave her for any other woman, Walter turns up and the mother sees the peculiar relation with the son in a new light. It is a moment of her self-revelation and of excruciating agony; and her quickly fluctuating moods have been dramatized with a finish. Suddenly it flashes through her that by holding Paul back from Miriam, she is actually ruining him and arresting the full flowering of his personality. She is denying him the satisfaction of the flesh which she herself can never provide him with but can have simply for the asking with her husband. As the full import of this selfishness dawns upon her, she consents to sacrificing him to her rival: "If you want her (Miriam), take her my boy" (P. 213). In this tussle for domination, even possession, Gertrude emerges victorious because she and Miriam offer him the same sort of love. What makes Gertrude's victory decisive is the incompleteness of Miriam as woman and Paul makes no secret about it. Venting his wrath on her he says: "You don't want to love... your eternal and abnormal craving is to be loved. You aren't positive, you're negative. You absorb, absorb, as if you must fill your-

self with love, because you've got a shortage somewhere" (P. 218). Though "she (Gertrude) loved him (Paul) first, he loved her first... yet it was not enough" (P. 222). At the approach of youth when the sexual instincts stir up and clamour for satisfaction, this parental-filial love gives place to conjugal love. Since his mother and Miriam are hindering the satiation of his physical hunger, he has ultimately to fight "against his mother almost as he fought against Miriam" (P. 223). Nevertheless, his intimacy with Miriam has not been a sheer waste because she helps him in self-discovery as well as in the formulation of his life-value: "Miriam was the threshing floor on which he threshed out all his beliefs. She alone helped him towards realization" (P. 227).

At a stage of his spiritual evolution when under the accumulated pressure of surging passions and fresh ideas, all his restraints are melting away, Clara enters into Paul's life and at once Miriam is pushed into the background. With consummate skill Lawrence has devised a situation which lays bare the innermost cores of these three characters. While strolling, they run into a certain Miss Limb who along with her brother lives in a cottage, sealed off from any human intercourse. Their diagnosis of this woman's eccentricity is highly self-revelatory. Standing at the juncture of adolescence and puberty and being a complete isolatee, Paul knows the sting of loneliness. Naturally he attributes her abnormality to maddening isolation. Miriam, always overflowing with altruism, remarks: "It's not the right sort of life for her... I really ought to go and see her more." An aggressive individualist and a

sensualist, Clara thinks "she wants a man" (P. 286). The impressions those characters leave on us here are further strengthened in the flower-gathering scene.

Paul is passing through a period of transition, if not of indecision. There is no doubt about it that Gertrude and Miriam are fading away from his life. Contradicting his previous resolution he tells his mother "I wanted to get married" (P. 243). He compares his relation with Miriam with that between a "mystic monk" and a "mystic nun" and regrets the preponderance of spirit in it. On the other hand, his acquaintance with Clara ripens into intimacy; he cannot bring himself to accept what Clara has to offer him, pleasures of the flesh. Before he can snap all connections with his first love, he is tossed about by the contradictory pulls of Miriam and Clara: "he loved Miriam with his soul. He grew warm at the touch of Clara...yet he did not positively desire her...He believed himself really bound to Miriam" (P. 276). A change is gradually coming over him; his revolt against the soul-stifling middle class values of his mother is gaining momentum until he breaks out in a violent denunciation of them. Tearing to shreds the fabric of Gertrude's life long dream of raising the family to the middle class her rebellious son observes: "the difference between people isn't in their class, but in themselves. Only from the middle class one gets ideas, and from the common people...life itself, warmth. You feel their hates and loves" (P. 256). Life to him is a soul-stirring adventure; so he has nothing but contempt for the placid and sheltered existence of the middle class. He announces his credo in unambiguous terms: "So long as life's full, it doesn't

matter whether it's happy or not. I'm afraid your happiness would bore me" (P. 257). ✓

Before his break with Miriam Paul gets a foretaste of the immortality that passionate sensual love can offer. Once Miriam condescends to desecrate her body by making a gift of it to Paul. At the supreme moment under the impact of violent feelings, he experiences a sort of self-annihilation; his consciousness is completely submerged and he becomes "identified with the great Being" (P. 287). But this release from the tyranny of the self and baptism to a new existence are denied to Miriam because she cannot participate in the sexual congress with her total personality and abandon. While through it Paul is "reaching out to death" (P. 287) "her soul had stood apart, in a sort of terror" (P. 286). Having tasted nectar Paul cannot remain content with the bath-water of Miriam's spiritual love. Their separation is inevitable.

Clara is the direct antithesis of Miriam. If Miriam offers Paul "sacred love", Clara offers him "profane love." If one sacrifices and effaces herself for Paul, the other exploits him for herself. If one is the high priestess of the spirit, the other is the devoted of the flesh. If one is devoid of personality, the other is too full of it. It is the misfortune of Paul that the attributes which should have ideally been combined together in a single woman he finds bifurcated in his two lovers. Miriam and Clara rolled into one should give the complete image of the ideal woman. Lawrence is trying to project. Gertrude is nearer the truth when she remarks "You haven't met the right woman" than her son when he asserts "I never shall meet the right woman while

you love" (P. 361). For "at this period, unknowingly, he resisted his mother's influence" (P. 345) and she has ceased to exert any on the Clara-Paul affair. As in the case of Miriam, it will be more to the point to say that, in the ultimate analysis, the failure springs from the character of the woman concerned and not from any external influence.

Paul has contributed much to "her (Clara's) restoration and her recognition" (P. 339) and in spite of her initial misgivings "she felt she had at last got him for herself" (P. 351). Apparently their affair is a success as they are passionately in love with each other, provided that we ignore the caveat "as far as passion went" (P. 351). This rider strikes a discordant note and presages not complete success but perhaps its reverse. The trouble is that whereas love to Paul is merely an instrument, it engulfs the whole existence of Clara. They have experienced together overwhelming passions—passions that burn them to impersonal instincts. This mystical experience makes Paul complete and self-sufficient; and he is clear-sighted enough to perceive that "it was something that happened because of her, but it was not her" (P. 354). Clara, too, has a vague and elusive grasp of this soul-changing but fleeting experience. But she wants to perpetuate the red-hot intensity of passion, in consequence; instead of using passion to transfigure her spiritual texture, she herself becomes its prisoner. And this, in its turn, entails her complete dependence on Paul. By making inordinate demands on his body "she made him feel imprisoned when she was there, as if he could not get a free deep breath, as if there were something on top of him" (P.

359). Clara's similarity to Miriam becomes more pronounced in her changed attitude to her husband. Paul's refusal to wallow in passion as she demands prompts her to go back to Dawes and that too, by way of atonement in a sacrificial mood: "only she wanted to humble herself to him, to kneel before him. She wanted to be self-sacrificial" (P. 384). Paul goes out of his way to point out this near identity between the two women. Echoing his creator, he observes: "love should give a sense of freedom, not of prison. Miriam made me feel tied up like a donkey to a stake. I must feed on her patch, and nowhere else" (P. 360). Clara poses as serious a threat to his autonomy as Miriam once did. Though "together they have received the baptism of life; each through the other", yet "now their missions were separate. Where he wanted to go, she could not come with him" (P. 361). To preserve his self-unfettered he must part company with Clara.

By this time Paul's conversion to the Laurentian metaphysic is complete; the two vital truths he has garnered from his varied life-experiences are also the two central tenets of Lawrence's philosophy. He has learnt paramount importance of instinct in life and of the fundamental human loneliness. When unexpectedly he is attacked by Dawes, "he was a pure instinct" (P. 366) and it is this never-failing instinct which saves him. Whatever may be the degree of our intimacy with our lovers and friends, at bottom, we remain unknown and unknowable. Through love or work we ourselves may go out of the circle of self-enclosure for a moment but no intruder can peep into it. Accepting this as the ineluctable human predicament he confesses "he was just as

much alone whether he was with Clara or with the men in the White Horse" (P. 377).

Instability has been growing upon Paul all along; the death of his mother who acted as his ballast, only accentuates it. It is only natural that until he can recover from the shock of the death to which his own contribution is not negligible, and can make necessary adjustments to an altogether new situation in his life, he should lose all sense of purpose and direction and "waft about with any wind" (P. 406). In this hour of crisis Clara fails him as a mate. But his self-confidence is enormous and his faith in life is unshakable. Since he has experienced the flame of passion through another person, now he can face life alone, if necessary. His life-value is on trial and it is a measure of his faith in it that however depressing his present situation may be and the future bleak, fortified by it, he remains undaunted. Even when all the props crumble "he did not want to die; ...If nobody would help, he would go alone" (P. 408). Yet hopefully he turns to Miriam for the last time; if she is changed once again he may escape from himself through passionate love. But his hopes are belied; she has changed little over the years. Always solicitous for his welfare, she wants to spread a protective umbrella around him, as his mother did, to shield him from being "a prey to other women...like...like Clara." Paul has known her thoroughly not for nothing; he foresees that her protective-maternal love, like Clara's passion, will be another mill-stone round his neck. He ruefully remarks: "you love me so much you want to put me in your pocket. And I should die there smothered" (P. 417). To marry her is to erect prison walls around

oneself, and it is this possibility which frightens Paul away from her. True to his "Holy Ghost," he is not prepared to sacrifice his life and liberty to save Miriam. Emotionally attached to, and depended on him though she is, they subscribe to two fundamentally incompatible world-views. Under the circumstances, he has no other alternative but to leave her to her own fate, though not without a pang.

In his nerve-shattering loneliness Paul expects so much of Miriam and she offers him so little. After seeing her off, he stands self-absorbed, abstracted from the hubbub and movement of life about him. Through different thought-currents that flash through him, Lawrence is dramatizing the contradictory claims of the upper (the spiritual) and the lower (the sensual) planes. Under the influence of the upper plane he lifts himself to an empyrean height, swims out of the bounds of Time, considers everything exclusively in terms of Space, and consequently everything appears to him shadowy: "From his breast, from his mouth, sprang the endless space, and it was there behind him, everywhere" (P. 419). But we exist temporally as well as spatially, physically as well as spiritually. Paul leaves out of his account at first time and body, and so wrongly concludes "There was no Time, Only Space" (P. 420). If we were disembodied spirits, there would not have been any difference between the dead and the living; we should have our being exclusively in Space but it is Time that separates the dead from the living. Wandering in the world of spirits, Paul becomes sceptical about these fundamental differences. Assuming that man is bound by

Space alone, and not by Time, he thinks that his mother is not actually dead; rather "she had been in one place, and was in another; that was all" (P. 420). Like the poet in "Ode to the nightingale" Paul can traverse any distance in spirit: "And his soul could not leave her, wherever she was. Now she was gone abroad into the night, and he was with her still. They were together" (P. 420). But this train of thought is abruptly interrupted by the awareness of his body and he cannot wish it away to cling to the soul of his dead mother: "But there was his body, his chest, that leaned against the stile, his hands on the wooden bar. They seemed something" (P. 420). Awakened from his dream at the revolt of the body, the spiritual communion with the soul of his mother completely shattered, he becomes intensely aware of his own insignificance. He feels almost squeezed out of existence by the environing "dark immense silence." In comparison to the immense universe he himself is just "a tiny spark" and the stars and the sun are "a few bright grains." But the heavenly bodies

can have an anchorage, though they are as frightened as he, because they hold "each other in embrace." After the failure of Miriam and Clara he can look forward only to the spiritual love of his dead mother. But leaving him to feed for himself "she too was gone, intermingled herself" (P. 420). Now to cling to her is to embrace death, and that he shall never do. It is quite an effort on his part to reject the deathward pull of his mother. A worshipper of life, he will face life alone rather than succumbing to the influence of his mother, welcome death. That he survives this ordeal shows his mettle and indicates how much he has travelled from his initial position. Finally, his "Holy Ghost" emerges triumphant over the two strongest attachments, and hindrance too, in his life—Miriam and his mother.

Like other Lawrence novels, specially "Women in Love" and "Lady Chatterly's Lovers," "Sons and Lovers" ends on a melancholy note as the complete realization of his vision of life eludes the hero.



CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIAN PAINTINGS

—USAB

We saw about a dozen paintings done by Australian artists in the Second International Art Exhibition held in the important cities of India about thirteen years back. That collection of paintings, however, formed a corner among the wings of paintings of other two dozen countries. Now the Government of Australia have arranged to bring 34 paintings from national museums and other collections which are being displayed in collaboration with the Lalit Kala Academy. These are all contemporary artists' works and each artist is represented by a single painting. It was held in New Delhi in the month of December, 1967 and was opened in Calcutta during the Christmas time. Thereafter the collection would be displayed at Madras in the middle of January and at Bombay in the first week of February.

The Australia we know of, has its history for the last two centuries. The earliest settlers from England like William Westall, S.T. Gill and others did topographical paintings, or were portrait painters and some of course like John Glover delineated the poetic images of Australian scenic beauties. Beginning with the damp, hazy soft tinted style of paintings as was in vogue in England then, the Australians unfettered themselves from the shackles of English School, for there was conscious regard for naturalistic beauties of the federation of Australia. European influence, nonetheless, prevailed in Australian impressionistic paintings with a tinge of bright and open space depiction which are natural to Australian scenes. Till the turn of this century Australian artists brought from England the trends of Edwardian impressionism or portraits after Sir William Orpen. So too post-impressionism and cubism

were followed by Smith, Wakelin and de Maistre, and others. Thus during the first quarter of this century the Australians launched their artistic activity towards modernism.

Margaret Preston (1883-1963) was considered as the most powerful artist, for she created an individual decorative post-impressionist style by comingling floral designs with aboriginal mannerisms.

Arthur Boyd (b. 1920 in Melbourne) who comes of a family of painters and writers began to paint in his teens, neo-impressionist landscapes. But from his early youth he continues to depict the life of underdogs like cripples and monsters and criminals an example of which is seen in *Figure in a Landscape*. This is an academic style of work with a monochromic colour effect in that shades of browns have been used to show a valley-like landscape with grey to white gum trees, a few fallen trunks and sawn planks. The sense of distance is revealed in the grey wood meeting the azure sky poetically.

Truganini's Dream of Childhood is a bold depiction of folk story in realistic style, for in it in the mass of high toned pigments we see old dry tree trunks, dark black to sienna figures of Australian aborigines, floral beauties and butterflies in exactitude, while away in the background are hazy hills and a white moon in a clear blue sky. Here David Boyd (b. 1924), a younger brother of Arthur, has shown his power in describing aborigines of Tasmania much after the style of Henri Rousseau. Like his brother he had been to England and the Continent.

It is seen that a few Australian artists use striking colour to create a vitriolic impressionistic feeling. So we see *Coronation Ridge* by Lawrence Daws where he has used warm Indian red to show the vast expanse of an undulating contour. Red

is lacmineering hue, but he has by adding a few black lateral flicks not only given a realistic effect to the painting but moderated the high pitch tone of red also. As relief he has also used low brown at the base. In fact the black touches create a meaningful contrast by subordinating the total impressionistic approach of the red hue. For its vigorous colour effect and simplicity, this painting catches the attention of onlookers. The artist was trained in Italy and is now working in London.

Sir William Dobell, the seniormost among the participating artists, (b. 1899) studied painting in Sydney and after finishing advanced art work in Great Britain for a decade returned to Sydney in 1939. He no doubt concentrated on portrait painting, but by distorting some figures for bringing out the characters, he proved to be so provoking that in 1944 he was involved in a law suit. It was all about the award of the Archibald Prize for a portrait of Joshua Smith. The artists challenged the decision claiming that the painting was not a portrait, but a caricature. The case was decided in Dobell's favour. This gave further publicity to his fame. An artist of academic style by natural selection, he has been well appreciated by the public for his creation of characters through distortions. In *William The Billy Boy* we certainly see a plumpy nonchalant worker keeping his bare arms across his breast. The transparent low pink flesh colour has hints of swirling bluish sinews. As such a hefty body should have, here the head is small with contempt short hair, piercing small eyes, double chin and slightly parting lips. The background is in burnt sienna in lighter or deeper shades, somewhat after Rembrandt. Indeed, the work reflects a powerful character by the juxtaposed adjustments of proportions. All in all it satisfies our emotion.

Sidney Nolan (b. 1917) is one of the best known Australian artists. In the beginning of his career he was influenced by the cubist style of Picasso and abstract mood of Paul Klee. Later on, he began to paint landscapes of towns and

sparsely populated wide plains of the Australian hinterland. Round about the year 1946 he painted the episodes of outlawry and capture of bushranger Ned Kelly. No doubt some of these were rather commonplace subjects of colonial legends, everywhere he depicted the sunbaked vast Australian landscapes with affection. From 1953 he is living in London and has achieved great celebrity there. In *Night-convict in the Swamp* he has shown the mood of a dark swamp overgrown with shooting stalks and foliage in pale green and white. Amidst the total gloom is a determined hapless face in browns and greys. To add a relieving tone, he has used a few sweeps in low tints on the right. This again tells the story of colonial life effectively. Here colour has been used with power to highlight the centre of interest in the proper setting.

Russell Drysdale (b. 1912) was born in England and came to Australia as a child. After finishing his art training under George Bell in Melbourne in 1935, he continued his art education in London and at La Grande Chaumiere, Paris, then returned to Sydney. Drysdale is also one of the most famous artists of Australia. By and large, he is a traditional painter with an impact of surrealism. From this angle of view both William Dobell and Russell Drysdale obtained the academic influence of traditionalism. Both for the last twenty years are trying to create the mood of objects they paint. Dobell is trying to exaggerate the inner significance and character of what he paints, and Drysdale brings out the arid, undulating vast Australian outback in high pitched colour verging on impressionism mixed with surrealism. And here lies the power of his brush. Since 1950 he has moved to far corner of the country to paint aborigines. We see his only painting *The Burnt Country* which expresses with a deep passion a yellowish pink sky, then the vast open burnt bush land shown by black burnt up vegetation deposits on red earth and in the near front are a few charred skeletons of trees and red to white boulders in toned down light and shade. In colour it is impressionistic and in

detail surrealistic, yet the total composition is faithful to the scene revealing the after effect of a drought-stricken prairie that had been scorched by bush fire.

Robert Dickerson (b. 1924) who was first a boxer then an airman during the last world war, has created *The Outing* with deep sympathy after the derivative of Modigliani's slopy shouldered figures. The boy is pink and somewhat slender after the African style. He has a child perched on his back and a little olive green is to give relief. Beside him is another pinkish woman in deep black skirt. They all have large tired eyes. The base is cool greyish blue while the vast bluish background has added an atmosphere of solitude in all its vividness. In technical quality too this painting has the minimum application of pigments, excellent spatial quality and, of course, is expressionistic in tone.

There being one painting done by each of the 34 artists, we see several styles and mannerisms. *The Cedar Tree* for instance is after non-objective style, though the name associates our feeling with the dense foliage of a tree through which shafts of light are pouring in. Factually, however, it has a thick green impasto on masonite as the background on which black circular lines or drops right from oil can or tube have been laid in curved lines at random. Here and there are white patches and flicks of red to relieve the grimness of black.

There are a few surrealistic paintings or again symbolic works. *The First Two Trees in Centennial Park* has been composed by Thomas Gleghorn (b. 1925 in England) who was trained as an engineer. Later on he worked as an artist-designer. In this painting too much stress on symmetry in brown perpendicular lines, even blocks of green on both sides of well-arranged warm red, orange, yellow to evasive grey round mauves, has put a stamp of design rather than a dynamic artistic creation. It is no

doubt rhythmic and sensitive in the centre, but the coordination between structure and content has suffered due to the effect of regular lines and balancing green patches in juxtaposition to the blue background.

April Light is an abstract attempt by Asher Bilu (b. 1936 in Tel Aviv) who arrived in Australia in 1957. Here on masonite he has by applying a clayey medium mixed with oil colour approached meta image style. It has mottled dusky left, mauvish centre and a few shafts in yellow and chocolate to reveal his vision. In blending of colours it is attractive.

Leonard French (b. 1928) after studying in Melbourne, travelled in Ireland, England and on the Continent. He taught at Melbourne School of Printing and Graphic Art and executed murals for churches and public buildings. He is now engaged in preparing stained glass windows of the National Library of Australia. His painting *Rain of Fishes* has been done in mixed media on masonite to show in irregular panels rough designs of fish, some coming down in grey, red, orange and browns and a few floating horizontally in green, blue and the like—all to give a total view of a design in various patterns.

All in all the general view obtained even from a few abstract attempts seen in this exhibition, one aspect is discernible, namely that the artists there are well versed in the grammar of art. Whether the paintings are in impressionistic, expressionistic, abstract or surrealistic styles, everywhere the basic aspect of art, i.e. symmetry, rhythm, proportion, balance of colour, relationship and similar fundamental qualities are revealing. In some of the ultra-modern art styles, these acknowledged qualities are being experimented to the extent of negation. Therefore, it is pleasing to see that the Australian artists are treading into the arena of modern art with a balanced step and have, wherever possible, painted the characteristic features of their vast country in idioms which are not discordant.

Current Affairs

DE GAULLE'S PREDICAMENT

General De Gaulle has been a strong arm ruler of France for ten years. The French are a difficult people to govern by repression. De Gaulle's methods therefore slowly antagonised more and more groups of persons and the younger elements naturally began to organise a revolt against the regime which was based on ideas which were popular in the days of Edward the seventh in Great Britain. The Vietnam peace talks created an atmosphere which was supercharged with leftism and contempt for the comforts of an established order in which business, bank and foreign exchange rates and cooked up index numbers played a most important role. De Gaulle did not see the writing on the wall for the reason that everybody tried to write something to suit his own purpose on it. Had he been intellectually as wide awake as he was ruthless, he might have recognised the true meaning of some of the letters that peeped from behind the numerous superimpositions. But he was blind to facts seeking expression and thought that he could control all upsurge of feelings in the people's mind by repressive measures. So when the students, in their thousands, started ripping up the pavements in the Latin Quarter to build barricades, De Gaulle ordered his armed men to organise a counter attack as if his own people were the soldiers of an invading foreign army. The result was a ghastly internecine combat between

unequally armed groups of persons, one of which consisted of trained well armed military men and the others of men and women of immature age who had been fired by the urge to combat tyranny even if it meant sure defeat. Paul Johnson writing in the New Statesman has depicted the hideousness of the shameful affair which has blackened the image of De Gaulle in the eyes of all civilised people of the world. Some of his descriptions are well worth quoting. The Vietnam peace talks were beginning and Paris was "tense with fear and scarred with the marks of violence." Armed men employed by De Gaulle were stationed on the bridges over the Seine. They were ready for combat armed with drawn batons or carbines in hand, festooned with bags of grenades. Troops were moving in, workmen were clearing the debris from the combat areas, hospitals were working over time. "It was a bitter culmination to a decade of authoritarian rule; a city in a state of semi-insurrection cowed by the naked display of overwhelming police power." De Gaulle wanted France to be prosperous, powerful and got up for giving an impression of magnificence. But the French people wanted liberty and freedom and not De Gaulle's polluted grandeur. "The French can suffer a degree of paternalism for a limited period. Then their natural, creative anarchism must break the surface. "The students began it and

at one stage 30000 of them occupied the buildings of the Sorbonne. They were ripping out the paving stones with their bare hands and building barricades. The De Gaullist armed police gave them ample time to put up their barricades for reasons known to themselves. But when they got order to attack they went in with gas bombs and grenades and showed no mercy to those who were wounded or surrendered. A dangerous type of tear gas was used by them which caused grave physical injury. Grenades were used against boys, girls and the wounded. At a meeting of doctors "Dr. Francois Kahn announced that gas containing a combination of smoke, tear gas and incendiary elements had been used...and produced a plastic grenade, found on the scene of battle, filled with white phosphorous and four other agents. The condition of some of the injured was consistent with the use of an American type nerve gas. One student had his hand blown off by an explosive grenade.....on this occasion the police exhibited a persistent brutality for which there is no parallel.....They made no distinctions of sex or age, battering unconscious both young girls and middle aged lecturers." When the students had been routed they were chased, hunted from house to house, beaten up savagely and systematically and treated like criminals of the lowest type. Prof. Daniel Lacombe said he was beaten up by the police inside a Red Cross post in the Institute Henri Poincare. Twenty four hours after the incidents the students were" still hiding in cellars and houses, afraid to come out. The people of Paris" were sickened and embittered" and De Gaulle soon realised that he was comple-

tely isolated in his inglorious victory over the youth of the city. He began a spectacular climbdown in order to retrieve his position. The students were released, the Latin Quarter was vacated by the police and 200000 demonstrators had roamed through half the city, clapped and cheered by onlookers. De Gaulle used force in a ruthless manner, but then panicked and made concessions which was an acknowledgment of defeat.

PEACE TALKS AT PARIS

The war in south Vietnam, like most wars in which Communists take part, is made complex by assertions and denials which cannot be proved to the hilt. North Vietnam declares that the war is between two groups of South Vietnamese, the Communistic Vietcong and the American supported South Vietnam Government. They also say that North Vietnam takes no part in it excepting that when the American started bombing N. Vietnam, they retaliated against that unwarranted attack. The Americans and the South Vietnam Government say that Vietcong is only another name for North Vietnamese guerillas who enter South Vietnam from the North armed with weapons supplied by North Vietnam and provided with all ammunition, stores and sinews of war by the same state. The Americans have every right to bomb North Vietnam, as that is the base of the Vietcong and that is where the Vietcong troops retire when they require to regroup, rearm, receive further training and enjoy respite from fighting. The North Vietnamese say the Americans must stop bombing North Vietnam if the peace talks are to progress. The Americans say the North

Vietnamese must withdraw all guerillas from the South Vietnam area before they can stop bombing North Vietnam. In the meantime, the Vietcong are carrying the war into the heart of South Vietnam. If they can occupy Saigon, the Americans will have little left to fight for. The Vietcong are in a fairly strong position in Saigon. If the South Vietnamese state ceased to exist excepting as a battle field for the Americans, the South Vietnamese soldiers fighting with them against the Vietcong and the Vietcong soldiers whoever they are, the position will become extremely farcical and dangerous. For behind all this there are, the unseen hands of Russia and China. These two major powers may not remain incognito if the South Vietnamese state disappeared.

STUDENTS BEHAVIOUR IN BRITAIN

Mr. Patrick Wall M. P. is a conservative. He went to address a political meeting at the Leeds University sometime about the beginning of May. He was accompanied by his wife Mrs. Sheila Wall. The meeting was organised by the Leeds University Conservative Association. Mr. Wall spoke mainly about Britain's external affairs and was interrupted constantly by shouted slogans about Rhodesia and Vietnam. Several hundred students crowded into the hall in which the meeting was held and some had to be ejected for rowdy behaviour. At the end of the meeting Mr. and Mrs. Wall were asked to dine at the students Union Refectory. They were brutally jostled and at one stage Mrs. Wall was trampled upon as she lay weeping on the steps. The stewards had to join hands and protect them from physical injury. The students obstructed

them from entering the building by lying in the path while shouting "Fascist pig!" and other slogans. The President of the Leeds University Union later apologised to Mr. and Mrs. Wall and expressed the opinion that whatever a person's political views may be he should receive civil treatment from the students.

The above incident shows how students in all countries are becoming more and more intolerant and offensively arrogant.

Productivity in Jute Mills.

Productivity is the craze of the time. In every sector of industry, and agriculture, there is continuing attempt to get more production to satisfy the ever increasing needs of ever increasing population. Production depends on materials, machines and men (labour). Increasing productivity means more production without increasing proportionately the quantum of materials, machines or men (labour) but by better utilisation of all the three elements of production.

To increase and improve productivity people have been inventing labour saving machines after machines. Beginning with levers, wheels, steam, electricity and it is now lastly electronic computers, one of which can do the work of thousands of workers in a fraction of the time formerly needed. It also dispenses with the need of human brains to a very large extent.

Jute Mills Industry is also no exception to this craze of increasing productivity. Indian Jute Mills Association have been trying to increase productivity not only to compete with the newly constructed Jute Mills, with up-to-date and new machinery, in Pakistan but also to improve productivity in an all comprehensive manner, in order to maintain the position of being the biggest foreign exchange earner. In 1966, 175 crores of foreign exchange were earned by the Jute Industry.

In the Annual News Letter of Calcutta Productivity Council 1967, Shri Sibnath Banerjee, a member of the Governing body of Calcutta Productivity Council and President of All India Jute Textile Workers Federation, has written an article on Productivity in Jute Industry. The year 1967 was declared as Productivity year in India and Shri Banerjee was the Vice-President of the Calcutta Productivity Year Committee.

In this article Shri Banerjee has dealt at length with the increasing attention and attempt of the Jute Industry to increase productivity.

After the introduction of Steam in Industry in Great Britain, the First Jute Mill was started in Scotland about 150 years back. The first jute Mill driven by Steam was started in West Bengal in 1853 with Scottish initiative, capital and industrial know-how. The rapid expansion of the industry was mainly due to availability of cheap raw jute locally and more so due to much cheaper Indian Labour from Bihar, Orissa, U.P., Madras and Bengal. The development of the Industry was so rapid in West Bengal, that soon the Indian Jute Industry in West Bengal surpassed the home industry in Britain. Even before attaining Independence, the Indian Jute Industry was ten times the size of British Jute Industry in production and also in employment of labour which went upto about half a million in 1925. Introduction of labour saving machinery, automation, rationalisation, increasing the size and loomage of the Mills and reducing the number of about 100 Jute Mills, by about one third, the number of Jute Mills employees have been reduced in the last forty years, from half a million to only about a quarter million, though production has not only not decreased but has steadily increased. Most of these have been achieved by increasing the workload, while the increase in real wages has been either stationery or very slight indeed.

The Seminar of Calcutta Productivity Council, in April, 1966, emphasised three points : (1) development and manufacture of labour saving machinery in India, more suitable for Indian

conditions, (2) increase productivity of labour, specially by introducing Incentive Bonus and (3) introducing new lines of production apart from producing stereotype sacking and hessian.

Much progress has been made in producing improved Jute Mill machinery in India and the need for importing Jute Mill Machinery from Britain has dwindled to a very small proportion.

Shri G. C. L. Joneja, the then Jute commissioner of Govt. of India informed the Seminar that the target of manufacturing Jute Mill machinery in India, worth Rs.2.5 crores had been exceeded. This has enabled modernisation in batching, preparing and spinning, but it should go forward to the remaining processes too.

Due to keen competition of Pakistan, the diversification of production in Jute Industry from traditional sacking and hessian to manufacture of cordage, coarse carpets, rugs, tarpaulins, paper lined hessian and webbing, bleached Jute goods etc. are on the increase but still the total production in new lines is only 10 to 15% of the old line. But the proportion is gradually and significantly increasing.

Only in introducing Incentive Bonus to increase productivity has not gone very far. It is still more in the realm of contemplation, than in implementation. There is also a very necessary and welcome move by the Jute Industry, namely in the sphere of raw jute production and development and also running an elaborate scheme for the demonstration of the modern intensive methods of cultivation and also a scheme for seed multiplication and distribution.

The National Productivity Council had taken up as early as 1961, the Jute Industry for consideration and study, with a view to increasing Productivity. The report, took five years to be completed but it is a comprehensive one.

The terms of reference were elaborate (a) to determine the factors affecting productivity and cost of manufacture ;

(b) to indicate the directions in which

decrease in cost of production and increase of productivity can be effected ;

(c) to collect information regarding comparative costs in the various mills and spot the broad causes of variations ;

(d) to study the management operations and the organisational structure and suggest measures for improvement ;

(e) to collect information both from the Jute Mills and the Machinery manufacturers as regards the relative usefulness and availability of the different machines ;

(f) to provide norms for inter unit comparison.

Study group's findings are classified in 16 Sections.

Briefly stated they are as follows :

I. Special Features :—Foreign trade revenue from Jute Industry is about 25% of the total, being Rs. 175 crores in 1966. Out of about 11 lakh tons of production, about 9 lakhs are exported, which could be increased to 17 and 11 lakhs of tons respectively, by increasing productivity, without increasing the loomage. Raw Jute production should go up to 100 from 75 lakh bales. There is need for further diversification of products and a dynamic approach for expanding the use of jute manufacture. This in turn necessitates improvement of productivity, through better industrial management, market research, product development and scientific management.

II. Pakistan has both better and cheaper raw jute and also more modern machinery. They are expanding loomage rapidly. India's advantage is rich experience and cheap power, but these are disappearing over the years. For India improvement of raw materials and export promotion are highly necessary.

III. Raw jute constitutes 60% of the cost of jute goods. Therefore industry must get correct qualities and grades of jute. The cultivator also should be assured a fair and economic price. Industry itself should take further direct interest in production of raw jute.

IV. Between 1956 and 1964 about 91% of

five side spindles and about 100% coarse spindles have been modernised. The carpet packing looms are practically modernised. Weaving side, specially in beaming and dressing has to be quickly mechanised and modernised.

V. Stores Inventory in a jute Mill runs to about 3000 items valued at about 15 lakhs. The cost of stores consumed is around Rs. 75/— per ton or 15 to 20% of the total conversion cost. There is much scope for effecting economy here.

VI. Work study may be started by individual Mills and the work coordinated by I.J.M.A. with the help of National or Calcutta Productivity council.

VII. The requirement of power will increase from 138.4 m.w at the end of 3rd plan period to 186 m.w at the end of 4th Plan. The available power supply was only 90 mw in 1964. Study Group strongly recommended the increase of adequate power supply speedily.

VIII. The element of labour cost is about Rs. 300/—per ton for hessian and Rs. 220/— per ton for sacking. By introducing incentive scheme, productivity and efficiency can be much improved. Training schemes should be extended from Mistries and skilled workers, to all sections.

IX. Standardisation of Norms of Production has been already considerable but there is much scope for improvement and extension.

X. Quality control is another essential requisite for getting steady orders from abroad. A good start has been made by the I.J.M.A. and it must be steadfastly pursued.

XI. Management structure has been gradually changing from Management Agency system to Management of Individual Mills. It is bound to be efficacious in the end.

XII. Workers participation has been recommended to be introduced gradually and a start could be made by constituting a Board of Management to advise and assist the Board of Directors.

XIII. Inter firm comparison is another important feature in Jute Industry. The Study Group recommended more inter mill cooperation

and utilisation of professional institutions for this important task.

XIV. Price fluctuation of raw jute and finished products must be minimised for the healthy growth of the industry and export. Attempts were made to maintain raw jute price at Rs. 30/— per maund, but it did not succeed. It may be stabilised at Rs. 40/—.

XV. Product Diversification is another urgent need and some progress has been made in this direction, but there is tremendous scope, by means of market research.

How to share the gains of Productivity?

On this question there is naturally much difference between the different elements of production.

There are two extreme views of Labour & Capital. This matter was thrashed out by a Committee formed by N.P.C. and the consensus of opinion is that labour should get 40% and

three factors of production should get 20% each :

- (a) Capital re-investment ;
- (b) Dividends on capital ;
- (c) Reduction in prices to consumers.

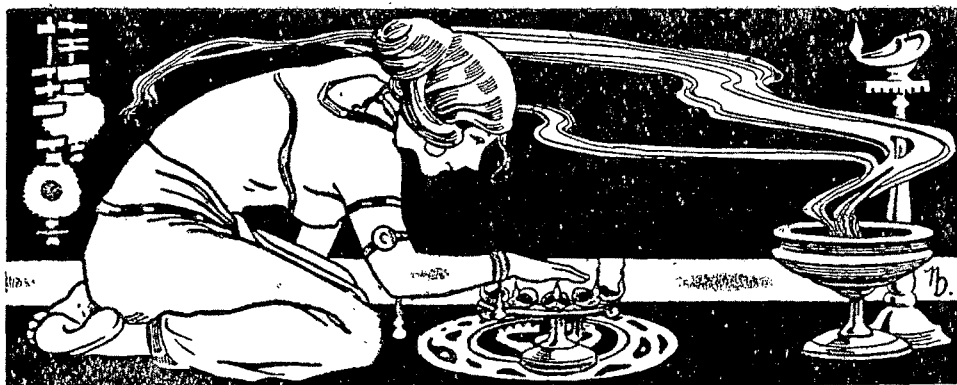
This subject has also to be studied in more detail and agreed formula is to be evolved.

In 1951, the man-days needed per ton was 94.402. In 1963, it fell to 64.968. Average is 2½% per year. How much did the workers get ? It is anybody's guess, but not certainly any thing near 40%

Conclusion

In fine Shri Sibnath Banerjee, emphasises in the article in the Annual News Letter of C.P.C. in 1967, the urgent need to increase productivity in Jute Industry and request the National Productivity Council to pursue the subject and come to an amicable settlement.

We strongly endorse this view. We should not forget that Jute Industry is the biggest Foreign Exchange earner.



RURAL FAMILY PLANNING : SOCIOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS

K. L. SHARMA

Now-a-days, 'family planning' is being credited as a major way to get rid of the population and other allied problems. A host of unconnected ideas have been put forward to implement this planning. Some of the vehemently advocated ideas are as liberalization of the law on abortion, raising the marriage age of the girls, the introduction of compulsory sterilisation of couples having three or more children, to start a weekly or fortnightly column on family planning, use of loop, publicity through documentary films, posters and mass contacts organising family planning weeks, etc. etc. Sometime back, the union Minister for Health and Family Planning put forth a suggestion that a transistor be presented to every person who gets himself or herself sterilised. On September 2, 1967 in Hyderabad the Health Minister said that a birth control injection effective for one year would be introduced within six months in a bid to arrest population explosion in the country. The Minister sought the cooperation of the press in this crusade against the rapid population growth.

What these ideas indicate about this problem can easily be inferred. Population has become an explosive problem for the country. Family planning has been made a slogan on paper without conveying its significance in personal, social and national life to the 80% of the people of the country, particularly the rural people. So far family planning has been a paper tiger and not a practical solution to the problem.

Such a programme for such a crucial and vulnerable problem has serious limitations, for which the authorities responsible for have shown gross negligence and incompetence. A paper programme would appeal to only a small educated urban, and rural elite sections. In our country

some 70 out of every 100 adults are illiterate. Only about three out of 100 enter into higher education and the proportion of the girls is one fifth of the total enrolment. This is the position of the adults only. The fate of the older generation would still be more miserable. Therefore, a plan for curbing the monstrous population growth that is, more than 10 millions per year requires a sound, deep understanding which can appeal to the hearts of the rank and file irrespective of their caste, economic position, and educational qualifications etc.

Not only we have mass illiteracy, lack of knowledge about advancement in science and technology, we also have a deplorable state of our economic resources, which hinders our progress and prosperity in all walks of life.

Considering such a state of affairs of our people, 'Family Planning' must have a real urge to the people. Family planning can not be successful unless we understand the gestalt of life of the rural people. Better preventive, diagnostic and curative services, better clinical and domiciliary treatment and more health services can not assure the reduction in the population growth. It may rather speed up the present growth rate of 12.5 million every year. At present, more than 50,000 babies are born every day. Better health conditions would contribute to this growth rate by encouraging more reproduction. The implication is not that there should not be better health measures. They must be there even if we cannot put preventive checks on population growth. In such a precarious condition, the only alternative is, that the nation must have requisite resources to feed the population.

Family planning should be meaningful not only to the educated, urban sections of society. It

must appeal to the rank and file that it is for their welfare and uplift. For such a goal, the present devices are deceptive, unreal, unsound, and based on ivory tower imagination and not on the experience of human, behavioural delicacies. This is, because at the initial stage a nation like India can not afford the luxury of training first to the elite section and then this automatically should lead to imitation by masses. If this is the hidden or open wish of the leaders of the country, it is rather more dangerous, as by the time the masses awake, there will be suicidal explosion of population as it may take at least half a century to achieve this process.

Therefore, a mass movement with the help of trained personnel is necessary to get familiarised the masses with the significance of a small family living. A ban on early marriages, or discouragement to the desire for male children would not be helpful as were expected. An educational process is to be started with real zeal and vigour. The personnel should go to the village people, should stay there for a certain period, they should be leading a planned family life, maximum having 2 or 3 children. They should exhibit that they lead a better, healthy and prosperous life than those who have large families but meagre resources.

At the same time, in a persuasive manner, they should tell the rural people that in the sacred books no where it is prescribed that they should have more family members as they can have. They should tell the people that male and female children have been given equal status in our constitution, and as such parents should treat both male and female children on equal terms. No discrimination should be made between them, as both are made of same blood and flesh.

Such a scheme requires a laboratory type experiment, and no doubt, at the initial stage it is a painstaking endeavour. Such a plan requires heart-winning of people. If such a change-over is not achieved, free supply of loop, sterilisation, and other facilities are absolutely in vain. Till the people consider the stopping

of reproduction as immoral and anti-religious, temptation for free amenities or transistor or even free feeding up by the Government can not change the heart and mind of people. The failure of family planning upto now has proved the vital role that the tradition, faith and conviction, play in human life.

The family planning can not be successful with the existing strategy of the Government. As a student of rural sociology and coming from a small, interior village in Rajasthan I have some knowledge about the villages in this part of the country. The government personnel go to villages hardly once or twice in a year with their family planning film showing programme. They go to villages for sheer fulfilling their formal duty and earn T. A. and D. A. They go to make paper statistics to complete the paper targets and then send these statistics to the ministers. This shows the hollowness of the entire family planning programme.

A study of six villages conducted for Ph. D. degree from Jaipur, Bharatpur, and Sikar districts which have 6751 inhabitants with 1160 households, shows that even a single couple has not adopted family planning measures upto the end of 1965.

These villages have even some highly educated white collar workers, though they are in a very small number. But even they have not adopted family planning, and as such a talk of adopting family planning by an illiterate, ignorant, poor man with pseudo-knowledge of human life is an absurdity and utter folly. This shows that the very processes of socialization must be directed towards the achievement of planned parenthood. This crusade must be started as a part of socialization for the children. The adults should be educated by the agencies

responsible for with a humanistic approach.

There is no use of visiting the family planning staff to the villages even once a year if they can not sit with the villagers to talk to them with patience about their duties which they have been assigned. Without taking pains family planning can not be made a mass movement.

If family planning is once injected in the veins of all and sundry with the emphasis of its consequent gains, it may come as a spontaneous activity. It can not be successful if it is imposed by enacting laws. It can be a success if it is injected into the conscience and inner-most of the people. Only self realisation of the magnitude of the problem by the people is the surest and safest way for emancipation from the burning problem of "incessant increase in population." Such realization is possible by educating the masses about its advantages and disadvantages by not adopting it. The advantages should be demonstrated by the trainers as models.

The role of educated rural youth can not be undermined in making such a movement a success. It should not be that they prove adverse examples for the people. A highly educated person enjoying high position in government and public has more than a dozen male children. Such persons really discourage the curbing of the overwhelming

growth of population. What is required, is that this problem must be fought on war footings. For such an action, an army of honest, zealous, active, and sincere workers, is a pre-requisite. Need for such a scheme of implementation has not been earnestly felt by our government and other agencies, so far.

The following suggestions can be made :

(1) The techniques of family planning should radically be changed. The approach should be humanistic rather than mechanistic.

(2) The present plan envisages an urge only to the educated and the urban people who can read and write, as the main source of its propaganda is the press. This narrow arena should be made broad based. The programme should appeal to all the 56 million couples of reproductive age in the country, rural and urban, illiterate and educated.

(3) The planning should aim at heart-winning of the masses. People must be made convinced about its significance for leading a better, prosperous, and healthy life.

(4) such an objective a movement with a war-like spirit is necessitated.

(5) An army of honest, sincere, trained, and model workers is required who can demonstrate its advantages to the people. Rural youth can help considerably in solving this explosive problem.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

INDRA SEN KUMAR

Economic growth in recent years has come to be reckoned overwhelmingly as a vital issue in economic thinking and analysis. We think of economic growth as the investment of present resources for increased prospective production. It is customary to measure the development efforts of a country by the magnitude of its investment. The role of education, specially in an economy like that of ours where agriculture is a dominant issue, can hardly be overestimated in the realisation of the twin goals—of economic efficiency and social justice.

An under developed country like India requires not only material assistance for rebuilding and revitalising her agriculture and industry, but an assistance for building up her 'infra-structure' for establishing an economic and social system, for educating her own people in technical and entrepreneurial skill as also for inculcating in them modern attitudes and ideas and for generating in them the requisite will and incentive for economic development.

No one can deny the importance of human factor in economic development. It has been rightly observed by Dr. V. K. R. V., Rao that development is a compound of men and resources. Besides capital equipments and technology human factor is equally an important element. The secret is that human resources unlike other resources are almost infinitely elastic. If elevated to the position

where he dreams of a new and better world, and realises his force and power, he would respond effectively to the accomplishment of the task of development; if neglected, he would serve as the main villain of the piece of economic development.

Education is of immense importance both as an object of an immediate consumption and as a form of investment for future economic development. In any plan under a less-developed economy, there has been a deliberative and conscious attempt to decide what priority should be accorded to investment in education. It is generally believed that economic growth starts with the construction works such as construction of dams, roads, buildings, railways capital goods and the like. Without any reflection on such a conviction, I shall not be incorrect in asserting that in a less developed economy like that of ours, the process of economic development should start with and mass education and mass-literacy. Education is a prerequisite to all other progresses. Some people are of the firm conviction that there must be a certain economic-base for future process of economic growth. In this sense, in our country the other forms of expenditure-expenditure on dams, transport and machine plants etc. Should be given priority only when the base is already provided.

Investment in education is a wise invest-

ment in human capital—the capital which saves itself, invests itself and paves the way for functional and scientific economic growth. As told above education is both a form of consumption and a kind of investment. It is something to consume like a bread, but at the same time like a dam or a canal it is something in which we invest for future production. It is this compound nature of it that results into a different approach towards education in development. Thus conceived, education as a consumer service becomes something on which we should save. Savings are inevitable for capital formation which can be obtained by economising on consumption.

But when we consider education as an investment, we have to keep in mind whether educational investment is productive. Education is a superior consumer good and so people ridicules it as a thing which has nothing directly to do with production. This is a highly poetic view of matters and simultaneously a poetical insistence on the priority of dams, transport and machine tools. But in recent economic literature there has been a growing tendency to appreciate the importance of educational outlays in accelerated production. Mr. Schultz and others have recently come out with a forceful support for educational investment. According to them, a dollar or a rupee invested in the intellectual upliftment of of human being is likely to bring a greater increase in national income than a dollar or a rupee devoted to railway, dam and other tangible capital goods. This view point is exceedingly applicable a case of agricultural planning in India.

Illiteracy and lack of proper knowledge are serious drags on the economic development particularly the development of the Indian agriculture. To rescue farmers and village labourers from illiteracy is an end in itself. But no body would doubt that it is a first indispensable stepping-stone to any form of agriculturist progress. Education thus viewed, becomes highly productive form of investment.

Capital-formation in a country where the marginal propensity to consume is very high is question which is connected with the issue of generation of saving consciousness and banking mindedness. So long as our farmers do not realise their responsibilities towards development plans, promotion of of saving-habit is extremely restricted. It requires mass-education so that they may be enabled to appreciate the importance of saving in the economisation of consumption, checking of wasteful expenditure and promoting national investment. Literacy and education by themselves are not sufficient they have to be translated into functional literacy and education based on a development bias. It is the education and education alone which can make the mass-development conscious.

It is quite distressing to note that out of the total illiterate population of the world which is estimated to be about 700 millions, the share of India is about 263 millions i.e. about 37% of the world's illiterate population resides in India. It sounds strange that in face of this hard reality our planners have not given due stress on educational investment, causes of the failure of our plan are varied and changing. Defective

implementation and inefficient administration alone can not explain the failure. Mass illiteracy has a lot to do with the insufficient and halting progress.

Conservatism, which dies very hard, is a serious obstacle to agricultural progress in India. The only way to overcome the obstacle is through education. Even the most elementary education can have the way for the farmers to introduce new techniques. Only a literate farmer can understand a land reform and development and development programme. Thus intellectual investment are essential to give filip to changes to meet the ultimate needs of the agrarian economy necessitated by the policy of promoting economic growth.

The failure of the Community Development Programme is an important instance of the lack of appreciation of educational outlays on the part of the Govt. Community Development Programme is an effective manifestation of 'planning from below' a plan in which the contribution of the rural mass is considerably weighed. Tragically enough the Govt. have failed to educate the rural mass on this issue. Consequently, the farmers have not been able to avail themselves of varied facilities provided under the scheme.

In the same manner, cooperative movement has proved itself to be a big hoax. In all our preceding plans, cooperative movement has been viewed and would be viewed probably in succeeding plans as a mass movement based on the principles of democracy and self-government. But cooperation has failed considerably and horribly, because it has all along been viewed as a policy and not as a movement, the movement which must have an educational bias.

Cooperative farming could not find favour with the Indian peasantry. With all force at my command, I would remark that the villain of the piece has been the lack of proper understanding of the issue. It is because of this lack of education that our farmer have been misled by those who have branded cooperative farming as 'bringing communism by back-door'. The simple but wrong arithmetic of agricultural production put by the conservative leaders has become convincing to our farmers. But the economic efficiency the cooperative farming fosters, the social justice which it bids to attain and a way of life that it intends to provide to the rural mass, are all forgotten for want of adequate and proper education.

Similarly, under the new scheme of democratic decentralisation, especially in the Panchayat Raj System, functional education has assumed vital importance, for the want of which it is feared to remain unimplemented or badly implemented. The whole Panchayat Raj System is based on a perfect and conscious understanding of the rural problems, which requires a proper and functional education.

Agricultural Information, have a vital role to play to-day in the accelerated agricultural production. It is not merely a process to communicate the agricultural research results to the peasants, it is an informal education for training and influencing farmers to adopt improved agricultural practices. Again, it is not only a question that concerns educating and ensuing adoption of a specific improved technique, it is a question of changing the very outlook of the peasantry in order to make them responsive

to development. This would wake up the latent instincts of the farmers to grasp new ideas of increasing production and to fight out inhibitive forces. The success of the package programme launched recently by the Govt. on the American patterns commonly known as 'Intensive Agricultural District Programme' requires successful and effective mass education and agricultural information.

If illiteracy and ignorance continue, I have no doubt in my mind that they would hamper the task of massive implementation of family planning programme specially in rural areas. A rapid increase in population is a serious and explosive problem which has the vast potentialities of torpedoing the whole planning system and throwing the economy out of gears. The

danger posed by it can be effectively met by mass education and proper information. It is here that investment in education becomes the wisest investment in human capital, which will be exhausted and crippled with the passage of time under the crushing-wheels of ignorance and illiteracy resulting in complete loss of incentive and initiative for further economic development.

Conclusively, we are all obsessed by the fear that if educational investment is not significantly emphasised, a stage would reach in the process of economic growth where the economy would be marked by stagnancy and the task of achieving the goal of 'take off' and its subsequent stages would remain unaccomplished, to great discredit to our planners.

THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY

KAMAL KISHORE

Trade Unions have become an integral part of the modern civilization. They are necessary concomitants of the capitalist system of production and have a vital role to play in the contemporary industrial set up. In a developing country, where the process of planned economic development anticipates a considerable change in ideologies, thoughts and behaviour patterns of the people and their associations, the trade unions, as worker's organizations, have to suitably modify their objectives, functions and obligations so as to accelerate the tempo of slow economic development of a country.

The role of organised labour in the planned economic development has been appreciated by the governments of the developing countries which have given an early recognition and

acceptance to trade unions as an institution in their social frame work. Trade unions play a decisive role in the formulation of developmental plans where labour policy aims at promising the labour a fair deal and a fair share in the fruits of economic development and rising productivity. The traditional role of trade unions—uncompromising pressure for the maximum obtainable wages and better working conditions—has become somewhat out of date in the modern context. With the increasing pace of development, trade unions have to shoulder great social responsibilities such as educating workers, inculcating the thrift habits amongst them, increasing their productivity etc. etc. It is difficult to give an exhaustive list of contribution, which the trade unions can make to accelerate the economic

progress but some significant contributions can definitely be brought out in this connection.

In the first place, trade unions can play a vital role in maintaining industrial peace and in creating a congenial industrial climate. The urgency of maintaining the uninterrupted industrial peace in a developing economy is of utmost importance for attaining increased production and to keep the economy on even keel. Industrial disputes in any segment of the economy disrupt the normal working of the whole of the economic system, resulting into colossal loss. A developing economy like India's cannot afford the luxury of economic disturbances caused by strikes. Trade unions can take a lead in averting the industrial crisis by adopting constructive and conciliatory approach in settling the industrial disputes. They can enter into collective agreements with management, obviating strikes and at the same time demanding fair deal to labour in the labour matters. Instances are not wanting, when the trade unions dissolved their mutual differences and united to meet the challenge of keeping the production going on uninterruptedly. The adoption of Code of Discipline (1958) and Industrial Truce Resolution (1962) are the two live instances of Unions' cooperation in maintaining the industrial peace and in achieving the production targets through uninterrupted work.

Secondly, trade unions can help tremendously in increasing production and thereby the national income. The key to economic advancement and welfare of the workers lies in greater production and higher productivity. It is only through the continuous flow of goods coming out of factories and other industrial undertaking that the wealth of the country is augmented and the standards of living can show an upward trend. The glaring rise in the individual and the national income can bring those goods and services within the reach of all types of citizens, including the working class, which will be the real beginning of the retreat of poverty and squalor. The trade union leaders can advise and guide union members along proper lines and actively participate in the schemes initiated at various levels for increasing production and productivity. In all discussions regarding measures for augmenting production, workers must be consulted and encouraged to come forth with their suggestions, because it is they who have to show results. Prince Phillip, the Duke of Edinburgh has aptly remarked "Industry is only a means to an end and not an end itself. It

is people that come first. Their life—in and out of working hours—is really the only important thing, particularly in any country which professes to be democratic." It has to be clearly appreciated that the workers can only breathe life into industry and not the industry itself. Their interests, efforts and loyalty to the industry are of great importance in achieving the ends and objectives laid down in the developmental plan.

Thirdly, the trade unions can play an effective role in dispelling the ignorance of workers by spreading education and knowledge amongst them, the lack of which has been an impediment on the path of economic and social progress of the country. The utter ignorance of workers in under-developed economies' has not only influenced their 'work-efficiency', but also has kept them away from understanding the importance and implications of the plan-process, which are operating them. Besides interpreting the management plans faithfully to their members, the trade unions can arrange for the training of workers' representatives in the specific techniques of methods of study and work measurement. For the general working class the trade unions can contribute much by organising the workers' educational and vocational training programmes. Though in case of vocational training programmes, the trade unions in developing economies may experience some difficulty, emanating from the paucity of financial resources. But the participation by the government or industry in such training programmes will propel the workers to join them regularly.

Fourthly, the role of the trade unions can be commended much in respect of mobilising small savings. Workers' unions can help a good deal in the process of mobilisation of small savings by inculcating in them thrift habit and boosting up the formation of multipurpose cooperatives. They can take a lead by promoting and assisting in the small savings drives launched by the government, by offering voluntary services for road building and other projects and, by persuading the workers to participate in Government-sponsored schemes of compulsory savings or wage increments in Government bonds instead of cash.

Other directions in which trade unions can be of inestimable help are as varied as the innumerable needs of the workers themselves in a progressive society. The migratory character of the working population of developing countries particularly in India and uncongenial industrial climate are factors against a stable labour force. Differences of language, caste, region and religion are factors which occasionally militate

against association of mutual welfare. The appalling conditions of living and housing as well as great insecurity in the industrial life, coupled with inadequate and infant schemes of social security, always repel the workers and they long for return to their villages. The role of trade unions in this context becomes more constructive in nature rather than contributory. The Director General or I.L.O. in his report to the 27th Session of the International Labour Conference has very aptly remarked "The Trade Union may be one of the most powerful instrument for creating a new industrial society and for helping the new recruit from the rural community to adjust to the conditions of the industrial life".

Trade Unions by organizing recreational programmes would not only be able to provide the workers with rich entertainments but also bring about a drastic change in their mode of thinking which is so vital in a democratic set up. The promotion of physical, culture, sports and games is another important area in which trade unions can take initiative. They can initiate and promote cooperative societies among their workers in order to improve their economic conditions. The formation of cooperative housing societies with the help of the Government and the industry can help in the process of adjustments. Thus the workers would find a great pleasure in the urban society which may help in minimising the village nexus and maintaining a stable labour force. By helping in the promotion of cottage and subsidiary industries they can contribute to the welfare of families, the retired people and temporary unemployed colleagues.

Above all, they can help in widening the mental horizon of their members by cultivating an awareness in them that their work is not only important for themselves or the undertaking for which they work, but for the country as a whole and that by translating into practice all progressive policies, they can contribute their mite to the building up of a welfare state whose objective is the socio-economic growth of all the citizens.

Central Labour Organisation—A Case.

We have fully examined the role of trade unions in the process of economic development. But the fruits of economic growth and non economic status which the trade unions want to accomplish will remain unaccomplished if the trade unions are disintegrated, weak and competitive. Since unionism in India is loosely knit, the trade unions are fraught with many grave defects, such as poor organisation, small size, tight

finances, inter-union rivalry, feeble influence in collective bargaining and consequently, little say in political and economic policy of the Government. These factors combining together make existence of the trade unions almost staggering and ineffective in India.

In order to make the existing trade unions more effective and vocal, what is required is the pooling of their resources and conserving of their strength in a central labour organisation, which may emerge as their spokesman in labour matters. It is a cooperative way in the realm of labour organisation through which some thing can be achieved and through which labour can exert its collective influence on socio-economic and political affairs of the country. Such a central organisation would serve as a pre-requisite for successful collective bargaining, which is the accepted process of industrial relations in modern society. With a swelling number of loyal and devoted members such organisation would be considered to be a financially stronger, administratively efficient, organisationally vocal in labour policies and morally high. Again, a well organised central union, which maintains an efficient office, manned by full time officials, who can undertake the work of research and negotiations is worthy of emulation. It provides a form to the workers to keep cordial relations and can safeguard the interests of the workers at large. It can guide and advise union members, enter into collective agreements and negotiations effectively and fight the case of union members intelligently and strongly in case any industrial dispute arises. It can exercise enormous influence in shaping the economic, political and social policies of the Government and can have an effective voice in labour matters. It is a pre-condition to the evolution of industrial democracy and maintenance of fairly good record of industrial relations. With an elaborate propaganda machinery it is capable to counter act any filthy propaganda and other charges levied against it and can trigger off its demonstrations against any on slaughts of management and the Government. It can enhance the prestige of workers' community by making successful the experiences of industrial democracy and carve out a respectable place for its members on Works Committees, Joint Management Councils and other Joint Consultation bodies. The most vital and important element of strong unionism is that it can produce good and intelligent leadership, which is imperative to control the trade unionism in the country..

Indian Periodicals

The Koyna Earthquake

The following views about the nature and origin of the Koyna Earthquake are reproduced from *Science and Culture*. These are excerpts from an article in *J. Sci. Ind. Res.* by D. N. Wadia F.R.S.

This earthquake has been a puzzle to geologists, as during recorded history the Deccan Peninsula south of the Satpura range has been an area of great stability free from any major seismic disturbances. This region has been wholly immune from any folding or compression by orogenic or tectonic disturbances during a long course of geological ages and has not experienced any earthquake except sympathetic tremors from quakes originating from surrounding regions—land or sea. During the last two centuries, 75 major earthquakes, many of them disastrous have been recorded in India; all of these were confined to the known seismic belt of the earth crossing India. This belt connecting with the Iranian arc runs through the Makran region, the Sind-Baluchistan border to the Pamir plateau to the north. The southern edge of the belt from Waziristan through Punjab runs along the Himalayan foot to Assam, thence along the Arakan range and connects through the Andaman Islands to Sumatra. The epicentres of the 75 historic earthquakes are all located within or close around this region. Not one of these caused, except sympathetic tremors, any major disturbances, much less any damage, in the Deccan area south of the Satpuras. It is only when the area shaken by the Koyna quake is fully investigated, mapped and the isoseismal lines carefully delineated that any worthwhile deduction can be drawn regarding the origin, or the cause of this earthquake.

From the seismograph data so far collected and the area affected by the quake to varying degrees of intensity, as casually reported in the press, some tentative deductions can be made regarding the nature of the Koyna quake. The views presented here may be regarded as provisional till the area is fully and carefully mapped and the seismic data from the 3 or 4 observatories within the area are published and correlated.

The Vasanta Press

Mr. N. Sri Ram, while laying the corner stone of the new building for the Vasanta Press of the Theosophical Society at Adyar in April 1968, said (as reported in *The Theosophist*):

The Vasanta Press, although dedicated to the Society's work, was started as a private undertaking by Dr. Annie Besant. She laid the foundation-stone of its building on White Lotus Day in 1908, and it was her inspiration and constant help, financial and of other sorts, which sustained the Press during the period of her Presidentship. I am sure that inspiration continues. She bequeathed the Press to the Society when she passed away. Those who succeeded her have also regarded the Press with a certain special affection, if I may use that word, as it has continued its work all along, remaining a feature of the Society's activities at Adyar.

We are obliged to erect a new building for the Press, because the old building, as it was designed in 1908, does not lend itself to the growth of the work which has since taken place. It is not so constructed as to facilitate the flow of work necessary in a modern press. But we will now have a new building designed very carefully to suit the requirements of the Press,

and this site been chosen both for its suitability and with reference to possible new developments in this particular area of the Society's estate.

The Press was named Vasanta Press after Dr. Annie Besant, and when this building is completed, it will be situated in an area of the estate which bears her name, Besant Gardens. So I am very happy to dedicate this building to the work of a Press, so closely associated with our late revered President, Dr. Annie Besant. The purposes for which the Press exists, the type of service it renders, the standards which it maintains, not only as regards the work it turns out but also as regards the manner in which the work is carried on, will continue, I am sure, to make this Press unique amongst the various presses in this country.

I dedicate this new building, and re-dedicate the Vasanta Press, to the service of the eternal Wisdom, and equally to the cause of human advancement, the enlightenment, happiness and peace which only that Wisdom can bring.

[On the afternoon of April 3rd, a further event in the history of the Vasanta Press took place when the President, Mr. N. Sri Ram, accepted on behalf of the Theosophical Society and the Vasanta Press, a new Heidelberg Cylinder Printing machine, donated by the American Section, which was formally presented on their behalf by Mrs. Kathrine Perkins.]

Making Marketing Easy

The following paragraphs are reproduced from the Press Information Bureau Bulletin of the Government of India :

An efficient system of marketing of farm produce plays a vital role in the economic development of a predominantly agricultural country like India. The prosperity of the nation is closely linked with the prosperity of the farmer which in turn is dependent on the profitable disposal of his produce. Incentive in the form of assurance of a ready market and a remunerative price for all that he produces is essential in

order to enthruse the farmer to produce more.

The 1,800 and odd agricultural markets all over the country, regulated under the Agricultural Produce Markets Acts, provide this incentive by making available to the cultivator a market which he can enter with confidence and where he can get the maximum return for his produce.

Benefits to Producers

Regulation of agricultural markets has proved to be a boon to the cultivator. The advantages are manifold. It has introduced a system of competitive buying ; helped to eradicate malpractices ; rationalised market charges ; ensured the use of standardised weights and measures ; and evolved a suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between sellers and buyers.

In addition to the monetary benefits accruing to the producer-seller, the invisible benefits of regulation of markets, which do not admit of rigorous evaluation in monetary terms, are also very important. The open auction system of sale, prompt payment of sale proceeds and reliable and up-to-date market information have strengthened the confidence of the growers and paved the way for larger sales in the regulated markets.

Adequate facilities for comfortable stay of the cultivators and for the proper display of their produce have also been provided in the market areas. There are separate parking places for carts and drinking water facilities for cattle. The cultivator need no longer be in a hurry to pack off, disposing of his produce at a throw-away price, because of lack of facilities for his stay in the market area for awaiting a better deal.

It is estimated that in the areas covered by regulated markets more than 90 per cent of agricultural produce is now brought to these markets. This significant shift in the pattern of marketing is indicative not merely of economic advantages but also of the psychological

assurance which the regulation markets has engendered. *A. Juvenile Delinquency in India*

Social Defence Arrangements by Government

The elaborate set up of offices and departments for assuring Social Defence in India gives picture of a healthy and progressive outlook. The factual conditions are known to persons who come closer to things. The 1967-68 Report of the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India gives a resume which is worth studying :

1. Social Defence in India covers the following fields :

- (a) Care, protection and treatment of neglected, delinquent, uncontrollable and victimised children under the provisions of the Children Acts.
- (b) Probation Services under the Probation of Offenders Act.
- (c) Suppression of Immoral Traffic in women and girls.
- (d) Social & Moral Hygiene and Aftercare Services.
- (e) Control and eradication of Beggary.
- (f) Welfare Services in Prisons.

2. All the above correctional services arise from the implementation of the statutory provisions, which are enforced by State/Union Territory Governments. The entire Social Defence Programme consists of centrally sponsored schemes and the States implementing these are eligible to 50% Central assistance. The Social Defence Schemes already initiated during a Five Year Plan become the responsibility of the State Governments at the end of the five year period.

3. The Central Bureau of Correctional Services which is a Subordinate office of the Department is the agency which coordinates, advises and helps the State Governments to promote these services by formulating Schemes, providing technical assistance collecting statistical information etc. on an All India basis.

4. Juvenile delinquency is a symptom of social and economic disorganisation which reflects in defiant behaviour.

5. To deal with problem of destitution, delinquency and exploitation of children, the Children Act provides the statutory frame work for juvenile courts and correctional institutions for children.

6. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal had earlier enacted their own Children Acts which are being enforced in the respective States. During the year under report the Punjab framed their Rules under the East Punjab Children Act 1949 and initiated preliminary steps for their implementation.

7. The Central Children Act of 1960 which is being implemented in Delhi and Himachal Pradesh was extended also to the Union Territory of Pondicherry.

8. So far the States of Assam, Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, Orissa and Rajasthan have no Children Acts on their Statute Book. The State of Madhya Pradesh has a Children Act, which is not yet enforced. The Central Government has urged upon these States to enact and implement the Children Acts at the earliest. During the Annual Plan discussions for 1968-69 some of the above States envisaged schemes for the enactment and implementation of the Children Acts during the year 1968-69.

Children Courts

9. There were 83 Juvenile Courts and 3 Welfare Boards functioning. As the Act is extended to newer areas, these agencies have a very vital role in promoting the treatment programmes for needy children.

Remand/Observation Homes

10 These Homes provide temporary shelter to children remanded by the Juvenile Courts while their cases are pending. They are also to function as receiving and classification centres.

There are 113 such Homes run by State Government and adjustment of youthful offenders in voluntary organisations with a Society. capacity of 7,000 children. Two new Remand Homes were set up by Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh States during the year.

Children Homes

11. The Central Children Act, 1960 meant for Union Territories, only has provision for separate Children Homes for Destitute Children coming under the Children Act. Thus Statutory Children's Home existed in the Delhi Administration. The Union Territory of Pondicherry has set up an Observation-cum-Children Home at Pondicherry in September, 1967.

12. There are a large number of Orphanages and Children's Homes run by Government and voluntary agencies which admit children by direct admission. Some of them are also recognised as fit Persons Institutions under the State Acts. During 1967-68, 124 such Homes with an accommodation of 4,200 children were in existence.

Certified Schools

13. Certified Schools are intended for training and treatment of children which are committed by the Juvenile Courts to such institutions for specific period. There were 50 Government run institutions and 70 recognised institutions in the country. During the year under report, improvements in the working of these schools were reported by various States. The Certified School at Bangalore was moved to a new building.

Borstal Schools

14. Borstal Schools Act covers the age group of Juvenile Offenders of 16—21. At present, 9 Borstal Schools exist in the country with the total capacity of 2,200 Juveniles. Educational courses and Vocational Training provided in these schools helps considerably in the rehabilita-

15. Probation is a method of treatment of offenders without sending them to institutions in the setting of the family and the community under Statutory Orders of the Court which describes certain conditions, and where the probationer is expected to remain under the guidance and supervision of a Probation Officer. Some of the States have their own Probation of Offenders Act while the Central Probation of Offenders Act 1958 is an All India measure, which is now implemented in most of the States.

16. During the year under report, Probation Services were extended in Madras, Punjab, Gujarat and Pondicherry.

C. Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act 1956

17. This Act is a central legislation implemented in all the States and provides for keeping brothels, allowing premises to be used as brothels, living on earning of prostitution, soliciting and carrying on prostitution in the vicinity of the public place. The Act provides also for setting up of Protective Homes where the women and girls coming under the provision of the Act can be given protection, shelter and treatment. 60 Protective Homes in the various States were functioning during the year under report.

D. Moral & Social Hygiene & After-Care Services

18. This programme which was initiated in 1957 now covers all the States with facilities for District Shelters and State level Homes for those who are in need of Protection, shelter and after-care. Some of the Homes have also been declared as Protective Homes under the S.I.T. Act.

19. Department of Social Welfare have set up a Committee in October 1967 under the Chairmanship of Smt. Raksha Saran to review the existing institutional and non-institutional

services for women and girls facing moral and social danger. The report of the Committee is expected in the middle of 1968.

20. The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India and its State Branches are engaged in educative propaganda against the evil of commercialised vice and the Government of India gives financial assistance to this organisation.

E. Eradication of Beggary

21. Beggary is a system of social and economic disorganisation and is more of an urban problem. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore and West Bengal have legislation on this subject. Anti-beggary measures are in progress in the Union Territory of Delhi under the Bombay Prevention of Beggary Act, 1959.

22. The Study Group earlier established to study the subject had recommended launching of 40 Pilot Projects during the Fourth Plan. The institutional services under the proposal covers diversified institutions for lepers, for mentally retarded, for the aged and infirm, for the physically handicapped besides work centres for the correction of able bodied beggars. It has not been possible to launch the projects due to paucity of funds.

23. Besides, a programme for non-institutional services for prevention of juvenile delinquency and vagrancy have been implemented in three cities. During the year, the Government of Gujarat have sanctioned one project for the non-institutional programme for Ahmedabad.

F. Welfare Services in Prisons

24. Under this scheme, Welfare Officers have been sanctioned to work with the jails to do case work and liaison work with the prisoners and their families outside. They also help the prisoners after their discharge in job placement

and rehabilitation. There existed 25 such posts with various prisons.

G. Technical Advice to the States

25. (i) The State Governments and Union Territories were advised to implement fully the Children Acts in their States.

(ii) The Central Bureau of Correctional Services has compiled a National Register for Research and Publications in the field of Social Defence by collecting information from all the Universities, Research Bodies and Schools of Social Work.

(iii) States were requested to adopt uniform standards for Welfare Services in Prisons by prescribing a job-chart for Welfare Officers in Prisons.

(iv) The State Governments were pursued to implement the recommendations of the All India Jail Manual Committee. An up-to-date review of the position as obtaining in December, 1967 was taken.

(v) With a view to assess the adequacy of the Central Children Act 1960 which is being enforced in Delhi Administration, a study of the working of the Children Act has been undertaken in collaboration with the Delhi Administration.

(vi) The Bureau also published the following statistics during the year :

(i) Statistical report relating to Borstal Schools for the year 1963 and 1964.

(ii) Statistical report on Remand Observation Homes for 1964.

(iii) Statistical report on Protective Homes and District Shelters in India 1964.

(iv) Statistical report on Borstal Schools in India 1965.

(vii) A research project to cover the case studies of 1,000 adult criminals from all the States is under preparation at the Central Bureau of Correctional Services.

Foreign Periodicals

Israel's Occupied Areas

The following are reproduced from the *Jewish Frontier*, February 1968. This journal is published from New York :

It is now over seven months since areas containing about a million Arabs came under Israel's rules as the result of the six Day War. If we remember that, only short time ago this large population greater than that of several United Nations members, had been fed a daily diet of hatred and incitement against the Jews, it is extraordinary how smoothly they have settled down under Israeli rule. There has actually been less trouble and public unrest in the "West Bank" area during the past half year than there was when it formed part of King Hussein's "Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan."

According to the census of August-September last year, the population of these areas totals about 992,000 ; 597,000 in the West Bank, of whom 60,000 are living in refugee camp : 356,000 in the Gaza Strip (175,000 in refugee camps) ; 33,000 in northern Sinai, and 6400 in the Golan Heights.

A comparison with the previous figures is instructive. The latest Egyptian estimate for the population of the Gaza Strip was 454,000. As few Arabs left the area after the War, there is no doubt that the difference of almost a hundred thousand was due to inflated Egyptian statistics. The Jordanian census of 1961 gave 730,000 as the population of the West Bank. As many Arabs moved to the East Bank and other Arab countries, the natural increase in the area was probably more or less balanced by

the departures. Taking into account the well-known and admitted inflation of refugee rolls, it seems clear that not much more than a hundred thousand left during the fighting and after the War. Many of these were, no doubt, motivated simply by unreasoning fear ; the refugees in the camps knew that they would, in any case, receive rations from the UN Relief and Works Agency. Those who left after the end of the hostilities did so generally to rejoin relatives, safeguard sources of income, or look after business interests.

Israel's policy in these areas has been, first and foremost, to look after security ; second, to interfere as little as possible with the lives of the population ; and, third, to give whatever assistance was possible in restoring and improving civilian services and economic activities. Local government has been left intact ; it is noteworthy that all heads of municipalities and other local authorities have remained in office. Arab leaders in the areas have been told : we don't ask you to love us ; all we expect you to do is to look after the welfare of your own people.

Israeli officials have been sent into the areas to get agriculture working smoothly, to help re-open schools, to organize public works, such as road-building, to provide employment, and to arrange for social welfare payments. The number of Israeli officials has been kept down to a minimum : at the end of the year, for example, there were nine Jews out of 4,600 employed in the education system, seven out of 760 in health and five out of 1,400 in agriculture.

Water and electricity installations dama-

ged during the fighting were repaired by September ; water supplies were expanded in the main towns and irrigation improved. The Gaza Strip has been linked to the Israeli power grid, and most of the occupied areas connected with the Israel telephone system. Equipment and medicines have been supplied for hospitals and serious cases sent to Israel for treatment ; Arabs from Gaza and the West Bank are now a familiar sight at the Hadassah hospital. Three thousand persons have been inoculated against malaria, and Gaza Strip infants vaccinated against polio.

The opening of the schools was delayed in the West Bank owing to Jordanian incitement and propaganda. The Jordanian denounced teachers who remained at their post and parents who sent their children to school as traitors, and offered to pay the salaries of all teachers who would not take up their posts. There was also some trouble over the Israeli Government's decision that text-books containing incitement against the Jews and Israel could not be used until the offending material had been cut out. After a while, however, the unrest subsided, and school have been opened all over the area.

Perhaps the greatest success of the Israeli

administration has been in agriculture. Machinery, aid and guidance were provided for the Arab farmers, who showed themselves ready to forget politics and learn the methods which had produced such excellent results in the Israeli-Arab villages which they visited. Despite the absence of peace, Israel freely permitted West Bank farmers to cart their produce across the Jordan for sale on the East Bank, and the Jordanian Government quietly acquiesced. While, during the past two decades, only a tourist could cross from Jordan into Israel, there is now a considerable peaceful traffic across the cease-fire lines. As a result the excellent harvest of past year has been entirely sold. Some was sent across the Jordan, some exported by sea, with Israeli assistance, and some sold in Israel itself.

Israeli banks opened branches in the occupied areas : the local, banks could not be reopened because most of their assets were held in Amman. In the West Bank, both the Jordanian dinar and the Israel pound are recognized as legal tender ; in the Gaza Strip, Egyptian currency was exchanged for Israeli money at a favorable rate.



Book Reviews

India Mother of Us All : Editor Chaman Lal. Published by him from Modern School, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi-1. Demy Oct. pp. 160. Price not given. The book is a collection of texts showing the various facts of Indian Civilisation and culture. The editor's thesis is that all nations owe something to India and that human civilisation grew largely out of inspirations that had their source in India.

Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi : vol. 26 Published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Price Rs. 9'00 pp. xxiv 608 Royal Qto. This volume contains numerous letters, telegrams, speeches, messages, notes etc. of Mahatma Gandhi.

Text Book of Indian Culture : By Chaman Lal. Demy Oct. pp. 240 cloth bound, gilt letters, art jacket, Price Rs. 10'00. The book is a fine compendium of Indian thought and wisdom. One will find in it many intellectual gems of great value which the author has collected for his readers carefully and with remarkable discrimination.

Dhvanyaloka and its Critics : By Dr. K. Krishna Moorthy. Demy Oct pp. xxii+352 cloth bound, dust jacket, price Rs. 30'00 (42 sh, \$ 7'50) Kavyalaya : Publishers. Mysore. The author is the head of the department of Sanskrit, Karnatak University Dhawar. This book dealing with Anandavardhanas' Dhvanyaloka will be found very useful by scholars for a critical appreciation of the Dhvani theory of Sanskrit poetry. Anandavardhana was accepted as the greatest exponent of Dhvani theory during the three hundred years 9th-12th century after which the importance of his magnum opus was lost sight of until the revival of Sanskrit studies took place in the 20th century. The author has spared no pains in making his critical study as complete as possible.

Third Five Year Plan Progress Report 1961-66 : Ryl. Qto 412, Published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics of Madhya Pradesh together with a Hindi version of the same. The Report is quite elaborate and informative and gives one a good idea of the range and complexity of the Plan. A. C.

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Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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CHARACTER STUDY

By

Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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NOTES

Assassinations

Humanity follows a path of progress which is full of obstacles of various kinds. There are great big boulders of such enormous proportions that no one can move forward without removing them. There are also deep pits and chasms which have to be filled or bridged and quicksands that require corrective hardening. These obstructions when described non-metaphorically and in their true sociological perspective are found to be the personal or collective expression of human ignorance, fanaticism, superstition, anti-social urges, base selfishness, bad instincts and criminal tendencies. Whosoever tries to improve human knowledge, faith, the principles on which human institutions rest, the organisation of society, the political order, leaderships or ideals prevailing in religion or anything which concerns group conduct and behaviour; usually meets with opposition from some person or persons who desire something different or wish to carry on without accepting anything new. This sort of

opposition becomes quite frantic and frenzied at times. Persons feel very strongly about matters in an irrational manner and act excitedly beyond all proportion to the importance of the questions involved. Nowhere can these excessive outbursts of unreason and upheavals of unjustified emotion be expressed more clearly than in the assassination of persons of great social importance. We doubt if any one ever went out to destroy a socially valuable life with any great human advantage. If advantages existed, even then the approach to those gains would be wrong if carried out through murders. For, if a social, religious or political reformer did not indulge in killings to achieve his objective, there would be no reason why his opposers should try to remove him by murder. Murder in other words is not a rationally or humanly justifiable method of solving any problems or settling any differences of opinion or attitudes. For, in that case jungle-law will soon replace the methods and principles established by civilised humanity and mankind will have to go back ten thousand years

to begin their march for progress all over again. We have instances of assassinations from time to time throughout the known period of human history. Some were the work of mad men, some perpetrated by fanatical opposers or groups who thought the removal of the victims would be of great advantage to them. We cannot, of course, find that assassinations do actually yield the desired results. Quite often these crimes react in a contrary manner, and injure rather than benefit the murderers, cause. One of the earliest assassinations in history was the murder of Julius Caesar by certain conspirators led by Brutus and Cassius. Both these aristocratic killers were followers of Pompey whom Julius Caesar had defeated in battle. Brutus and Cassius were pardoned by Caesar and raised to high position. They however turned ungratefully inimical to Caesar and took a leading part in his assassination. Their idea was to become leading men in the Republic of Rome; but Caesar's supporter Mark Antony defeated them at Philippi and both of them committed suicide. The assassination of Julius Caesar therefore was of no advantage to Brutus and Cassius or their friends. Other assassinations during the centuries that followed in various countries did not always benefit those who committed the crimes. In many cases, of course, the murderers had no clear cut objective at all and nobody could say why the crimes were committed. The recent glut in assassinations in the U. S. A. has been connected with the question of fuller civil rights for the Negroes; but one cannot pin point anything precisely enough to incriminate any person or persons. There are vague and general suspicions which

remain only suspicions. John Kennedy was a great humanitarian and a believer in the equality of all men. His brother Robert was a believer in the same principles of equality, justice and the maintenance of human rights in full. Martin Luther King was a saintly person who hoped to solve the colour problem of America through love. All these men died at the hand of assassins and the similarity of their beliefs and ideals made one think that certain persons were planning to kill all leaders who advocated the equality of Negroes and white Americans. There were certain groups and organisations which wanted to retain the colour bar; but there were single individuals too who believed in the superiority of white people in a fanatical manner. The crimes could have been the result of organised effort or individual fanaticism and hatred. No one can say what was behind these terrible crimes. One can only say that these assassinations have dragged the name of the U. S. A. down to a very low level. The ideals that the people of the U. S. A. uphold are beginning to be considered to be a false front.

One India—One Nation

Modern Indians who developed a scientific and pragmatic outlook on Indian nationhood had been without exceptions believers in the unity of the various peoples of India to form one India and one nation. That happened because culturally and in many other ways all Indians form a single solid group of hundreds of millions of persons who are quite distinctly recognisable as separate from other peoples of Asia and the world. The various peoples of India may speak different languages but basically these languages are

Indian languages, being largely evolved out of the same or similar roots of Prakrits or Sanskrit. Later mixture of Arabic, Persian or English and some other European languages also did not accentuate the separateness of the Indian languages, but brought them close to one another. It is only when the

Congress leaders tried to put Hindi on a pedestal and to give that one Indian language a position of superiority to other Indian languages out of all proportion to the usefulness and development that Hindi had attained; that the linguistic complexity of India received special notice and gave rise to a political problem of great force and intensity. On the religious side Indians had many codes, beliefs, saints, prophets, rituals and festivals but all those various sociological tit-bits were clearly Indian and could exist side by side without giving rise to political problems. The British were the first to make political use of religious differences and after them, and induced by them, came the Muslim League. The Hindu Mahasabha was a natural outcome of religion-based political ideas. Mr. Jinnah's two nation theory, however fake, and detached from the facts of social history it might have been grew roots in the half-educated minds of millions of Muslims and some Hindus, leading to communalism of an evil kind. Even after the partition of India, the evil persisted and ill feeling between communities became a part of the Indo-Pakistani political outlook. In Pakistan the Hindus became second class citizens with no rights and a precarious position in point of personal safety; while in India some Muslims were given a red carpet treatment as a matter of policy, without in any way impro-

ving the economic position of the general run of poor Muslims. Indian Muslims, however, suffered no deprivations of civic rights and Muslims lives were no more in danger in India than were Hindu lives.

In Indian history dynasties and kingdoms have come and gone without any reference necessarily to race, religion or language. States came into existence, fought each other, combined or split up; and, quite often, the heads of these States were related to each other and their ministers, generals and soldiers came from the same class and families too. Enemies were made and friendships formed within or outside language and racial groups and the States of India were all Indian in everyway, no matter whether they co-existed peacefully or lived in a state of war. The Muslim invaders as well as the Europeans usually managed to turn brother against brother, Rajput against Rajput, Pathan against Pathan, Hindu against Hindu or Muslims against Muslims. The division of India into States formed on a linguistic basis in a manner of speaking was carried out by the Congress Party after the British had handed over power to it without any elections, referendum or plebiscite. This immediately led to the formation of political cliques and coteries belonging to particular linguistic and religious groups or even castes as in the case of Bihar or Uttar Pradesh. Had the Congress any ideas of National intergration at that time, this unwise move would not have been made when no one challenged the wisdom of a Nehru or a Patel. But the Hindi speaking politicians over-ruled the emotions that might have lurked in the heart of true nationalists and tried to form caste or religious cliques con-

trolling the affairs of large areas of India. They also created minority problems by hanging on to non-Hindi speaking tracts for advantages of an economic nature as in the case of keeping certain Oriya and Bengali speaking areas attached to the State of Bihar. The States reorganisation efforts made at later periods were vitiated by "influences" working at the top and the problem of exploiting minorities remained in force.

Other matters which came in the way of national integration were connected with caste and imported political opinion. Certain amount of linguistic preferences also stood in the way of the growth of real patriotic feelings. The Congress did try at times to counteract these forces by sermons and lectures; but nothing much was achieved; because everybody found the Congress giving priority consideration to the imposition of Hindi as a State language in India and the maintenance of status quo in the various states which exploited minorities for the advantage of caste and linguistic groups. The idea, therefore, that the Congress group of patriots and politicians will ever be able to achieve national integration will remain an impossible conjecture, for the reason that certain leaders of the Congress have a stronger desire to abide by their past narrownesses than they have to discard them in order to establish the true ideals of perfect nationhood.

Many things will have to be knocked out of India's political frame of mind before true nationalism can grow in this country. One is the imposition of Hindi as a compulsory State language. Hindi is used by many people in north India as a language of the

market place. It has not developed the subtleties, the nuances, the comprehensiveness and precision that an official language must possess. Forced translations by incompetent pundits cannot create a fully developed language, for the reason that the growth of a language takes its time and has to provide for a very wide range of selections and rejections of thought forms and ways of expression which translators cannot achieve.

The other language groups of India are antagonised by this move of the Congress. In many States people have begun to resent this attempt at imposing an undeveloped language on them. After language the questions of castes, tribes, clans and minorities arise in an intensive manner. India must strengthen the fundamentals of her culture and civilisation rather than boost her social diseases. It appears that unwise men now predominate in Indian politics and their unwisdom is as often imported as it is of local origin. Of all the things that divide the people of India into mutually antagonistic groups, quite a few have a foreign origin. Employer-employee relations, differences between the rich and the poor, landlords and tenants, lenders and borrowers, small scale producers of goods and their trading purchasers, all have new types of disputes and antagonisms arising out of new lines of economic reasoning imported from abroad. Some of these new ideas have been propagated by political parties which have harmed national unity. If anything is found unfair or unjust, the State can always remove it without indulging in analytical expositions which create bad feelings between different groups. Cheating is cheating, no matter who cheats whom,

exploitation should be stopped as should be persecution, victimisation and other socially injurious practices. It is quite unnecessary to expound on the basic sociological causes of all such evils, which would give rise to ill feelings among groups of persons. The recent emphasising on the needs of national integration that has been coming from governmental sources appear to ignore certain important causes of disunity which have been described above. The official appeals appear to assume that only communal amity will complete our needs of national integration. In fact communal disunity is not so widespread in India as governmental propaganda would make one think. The more potent causes of disunity are linguistic controversies, interstate disputes over territories, injustice done to minorities, the granting of favours to particular groups, the creation of privileges on the basis of language, race or caste and the attempt to deprive members of certain language groups of their rightful dues.

Pakistan Discovers a Conspiracy

It would appear from Pakistani sources that some members of Pakistani armed forces in collusion with certain civil personnel of Pakistan and India have been conspiring to carve out a new State in eastern India and East Pakistan. The Pakistan people have also found out that this conspiracy was organised by the Indian Government! Pakistan has so far acted treacherously against India in many places and on several occasions. Kashmir is the most outstanding example. India has twice foiled Pakistan's efforts to forcibly occupy Kashmir and has on both occasions allowed Pakistan to

reoccupy the territories acquired by unlawful aggression. Pakistan has also tried to occupy Indian territories in Kutch and in other places. The tribal peoples of Assam have also been helped by Pakistan to start rebellions and large numbers of them have been taken to East Pakistan, trained, armed and sent back to Assam to fight the Indian security forces. In spite of all these treacherous actions the Indian Government have always been extra nice and friendly to the Pakistanis. Had they retaliated by helping Pakistanis to rebel or by sending invading troops into Pakistan in fancy dress as the Pakistanis had done in Kashmir, nobody could have blamed them for such action. But Indians have been correct to a fault. They have never retaliated as they might have done with full justification. This story of an Indian sponsored conspiracy to create a greater Bengal by occupying East Pakistan does not carry conviction, for the reason that it is contrary to the character of the Indians.

Silparatna Surendra Nath Das

We congratulate the veteran artist Surendra Nath Das of Howrah, West Bengal on his completion of the 85th year of his life. He began his remarkable career in the world of painting at the dawn of the twentieth century and had never relaxed in his work of artistic creation. His style has remained academically of a high order and technically perfect throughout this long period of artistic achievements and the title of Silparatna that was bestowed upon him by the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal of Benares was certainly very well deserved. Of his numerous paintings the following portraits should be particularly mentioned. Raja Rammohan

Roy, Pandit Shibnath Shastri, Keshab Chandra Sen, Surendranath Banerjee, Chitta Ranjan Das, Hari Shankar Paul and Kali Krishna Tagore. He painted a portrait of King Edward VII in 1902 which was purchased by the Dt. Magistrate of Howrah to decorate the wall of the Town Hall of Howrah. He was then only 19 years old. In 1960 he



Silparatna Surendra Nath Das

Painted the portrait of Rashtraguru Surendranath Banerjee for the picture gallery of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. His brush is still in motion and we expect to see more of his paintings during the coming years. Among his numerous paintings "Shakuntala" was exhibited in the Wembley Exhibition in 1924. He exhibited many other pictures in Delhi and Calcutta which earned public approbation for him. He has however continued to give expression to his artistic emotions in a quiet and unassuming manner and has never gone out of his way to seek recognition or fame.

Recession ?

It has become the fashion to talk about India's industrial commercial recession with-

out questioning its truth or reality. A recession or a trade slump has certain characteristics which should be looked for and discovered before one could assert and declare that a recession had actually set in. A general trade slump should show large masses of unsold goods, reluctance to produce more goods, falling prices and wide spread unemployment. In India buying and selling predominate in all the markets for consumer goods, particularly of the food, clothing and medicines groups. We find that in the so called recession period all consumer goods have been marked up in prices, the off-take has been faster than the in-put and the unemployment among agricultural workers, clothings textiles factories and medical—chemicals establishments has not been noticeable. The average man in India spends more than 75% of his income on consumer goods, viz food, clothing, medicines house rent and conveyance. There have been great shortage in the supply of consumer goods and increase in their prices during the alleged period of recession. That is there has been no recession as far as 75% or more of India's economic activities were concerned. Of the other 25% or less, that portion which concerned the production and distribution of consumer goods, did not suffer from any slump. We might say that would take up about 10% of the industrial and commercial efforts of the country. Foreign trade has suffered a decline due to the devaluation of the rupee and the general fall in the quanta of aids to India. These have reference to forced economic activities ascribable to the Government's planning. The quantum of this artificially boosted business would not be more than 5% of India's total industry

and trade. There are other economic activities which have a sporadic nature and which do not lead to a steady flow of production, distribution and consumption. Many such activities provide luxuries of a very expensive kind and creates values unconnected with normal everyday work in the markets. High taxation, controls and restrictions on economic activities may interfere with this part of our productive work and lead to high level shortages in buying and selling and employment. There has been some losses in this sphere but the percentage in volume of that would not be more than 2 or 3 percent. We would therefore think that the recession is mainly limited to whatever the government of India and the State governments have been handling. These activities had been closely connected with the many unwise economic adventures that our government and States had engaged in from time to time and which they could not continue any longer due to the inability of the developed nations to grant more loans to India. The normal economic life of the nation has not been touched by this recession excepting where the governmental hand has tried to interfere. It is very difficult for any nation to build up an economy which depended on outside props and feeder channels to a very great extent. Such economies limp and stumble whenever the outside sources of help are removed, weakened or cease to flow. Economies built on a foundation of non-economic social theories also do not thrive. In certain countries millions have died at times as a result of enforcing social philosophies which go against the natural flow of economic forces. It is therefore a risky game which

totalitarian governments can play at with impunity; but other types of governments cannot.

Our government is of the democratic type; but it has many obsessions of a totalitarian type. Its desires for managing the affairs of the nation according to ideologically conceived theories have no solid foundation in that sort of authoritarian strength which a democratic state cannot provide. The result has been disastrous for the economy of the country. The cities, towns and industrial centres have been brought intensively within state control and interference in the economic sphere. The State having begun to totter due to over much dependence on foreign aid, the urban and industrial life of the nation felt the blow of the artificial recession quite heavily. Rural India has not been affected much. All industries and businesses which collaborated with State ventures had been affected too. This should be a lesson to all businessmen to keep clear of excessive governmental connections in their enterprises in future. For the economy of a nation should be built on a foundation of realities as opposed to the unstable relations and loose understandings which a political set up provides.

Midterm Elections and Democracy

When in the West Bengal Assembly political parties forgot their human obligations and began to squabble for power in a manner which did not help the establishment of democratic ideals on a high pedestal; democratic government could not be carried on smoothly and in a constructive way. The result was constant defections and

switching over to new loyalties with great frequency and an eventual breakdown of the democratic system in the State. When President's rule was introduced there was great excitement over the loss of the democratic rights of the people. It was however not felt that if elected members discarded their declared political ideals as and when it suited their convenience, they were not being true to themselves, nor to the persons who voted for them on the understanding that they were going to uphold certain admitted political principles. The reason why democracy is a desirable and praiseworthy form of government is that in a democracy the voters can select their own representatives to propagate their own chosen ideals which thereafter find expression through legislation and administrative action. In a democracy therefore the candidates seeking election should always stick to their declared political ideals, and not act like quick change artists who could assume different identities whenever they felt tempted to do so. If the elected representatives of the people lacked stability of views, beliefs and conduct, the basic purpose of representative governments could never be achieved with any certainty—that the views and beliefs of the greatest number of voters were being established as the foundation of the government. Changing over from one party to another, therefore, would be an act of betrayal of the voters. When a man gets elected by declaring his adherence to one set of political principles, but changes over, after his election to a different political faith, he proves himself untrue to his electors.

However lightly one may judge these frequent defections one has to admit that renegade politicians defeat the purpose of elections. In the circumstances while the danger of organised defections remain, elections lose their value. The midterm elections therefore should have been arranged after suitable measures had been introduced to protect the interests of the voters against these betrayals of their confidence. Elections would be meaningless if the elected representatives remained free to change their political creed as often as they felt tempted to. There should have been therefore strict precautionary changes made in the Indian Constitution before driving the people into further elections in a great hurry. We have every apprehension that the same types will again enter the legislatures by pretending to be believers in this or that school of political thought and will again prove disloyal to their electors. The people of India have also become more conscious of this fault in their vote seeking politicians, and naturally the voters no longer agree to spend time and energy over voting with the same willingness as they displayed formerly. This has been evidenced by the smaller number of votes cast in many bye-elections. If, therefore, the fresh elections attract less than 50% of the registered voters to the polling booths, we shall have, perhaps, governments representing only 26% of the electorate. That would hardly be representative government by the majority of the people. It is a pity that the government of India have not thought of all these important aspects of our Constitutional failures before entering into further wastage of national resources in elections.

A MODERN LITERARY REVOLUTION

B. B. PALIWAL

The first quarter of the present century witnessed hectic activity in the various branches of literature. In poetry, Eliot and Pound started a new taste by writing poems modelled on the Metaphysicals, Donne and other classicists of the past. Novel was revolutionised by Joyce in technique and by D.H. Lawrence in contents. In the field of drama, too, the experimentation was equally serious and challenging. It moved out from the realism of Ibsen, problem play of Shaw to the expressionism of Eugene O'Neill and Elmer Rice. A trickle flowed in the direction of the poetic drama also whose chief protagonists were Yeats and Eliot. Criticism also kept pace with these various experiments in different branches. It not merely interpreted the experimentation in poetry, novel and the drama, it interpreted the age also and new ideas in science, philosophy and new sociological organisation of life and society.

It might be an interesting, perhaps exciting endeavour to study the factors, contributory causes that brought about this transformation and set the wheel in motion for a new awareness which flowed through different genres of literary creation. The first and perhaps the most significant of all causes has been the effect of researches in the pure and applied sciences. They stretch back to the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, scholastic enquiries were going on in christian religion and its nature. In 1835 came D.F. Strauss's "*Life of Jesus*" (translated by George Eliot in 1844-46). It was followed by Charles Hennel's *Enquiry Concerning the Origin of Christianity* (1838). Both these authors marshalled a lot of evidence to interpret the life of Jesus and his religion, Christianity, in terms of religious faith, and the authenticity of his utterances. An indirect offshoot of their

enquiry was that man's faith in God, Ultimate power was primitive, much older than Christianity and embedded in the social structure¹. Similar burden was shared by one Charles Leyell whose three books on Geology (*Principles of Geology*, 1830-33; *Element of Geology*, 1830; and *Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man*, 1863) produced evidence regarding the antiquity of man on this planet indirectly hinting that the old Testament of the Bible was not correct when it asserted that God created the Garden of Eden with Adam and Eve in it, and the earth suspended with a golden chain. Already Chales Darwin had come out with his book, *Origin of the Species*. Here was a conclusive evidence, if one was needed, to prove that man was not the supreme creation of the Lord as people were led to believe on the word of God, (Bible). Darwin displayed that man happened to be the last in the experimental chain of creation, only temporarily. He could be superseded tomorrow by another creation, say a superman or something like that. This struck at the root of the religious conviction that man was supreme, different from any other created being, and that the whole creation was for him. Darwin's discovery gave man moorings parallel to those of other animals, even botanical life. This sized down picture of man was not easily recognised, much less accepted by the intelligentsia or the literateurs of the nineteenth century. Tennyson reflects this doubt in his *In Memoriam*. Browning did not like to face this prospect. Even to Carlyle and Ruskin the fact was fairly disquieting. In the second half of the nineteenth century Freud presented his interpretation of dreams, and his psycho-analysis brought eros to focus. Freud took away even the last illusions of divinity of man when he professed that man's all activities were

directed by his desires for and instincts of sex. In the twentieth century Jung, a disciple of Freud, carried these explorations of human psyche further still. He made detailed investigation of feeling, emotion, instinct, impulse, stimulus, responses, eros and other psychic phenomena. Perhaps without Jung and his scientific interpretation of human personality, D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce or even T.S. Eliot would have been much cruder.

In the first decade of the present century came Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity. This presented an entirely new, relative view of the universe and man's place in it². Later discoveries in the field of science proved to man beyond doubt that nothing was certain, stable, fixed, including some of the apparently permanent formulae of science³. It gave a blow to the idea of complacency, awakened a sense of the flux of things, and general instability of all objects. It would not be out of place to mention the effect of some technological devices put into man's hands. Automobiles and motor-bikes, which we take so easily, were a profoundly disturbing factor once⁴. After the first world war when these vehicles came on English roads on a commercial basis, the elders in society cursed them as they posed a problem of morality (of course, sex relations) because they could carry the young to unthought of distances so quickly, safely and manageably. In the same way telephone and radio, too, were looked upon with concern at a time as they opened the private life of the family to unhealthy and uncivilised influences.

Other factors that hastened to usher in the modern era in literature were the new ideologies in arts and philosophy. As early as 1903 Benedetto Croce had spelt out his philosophy in Italy, which was later on termed as Expressionistic. Though he did not aim at expression as such, his classification of knowledge as intuitive and logical, and later on the expression of his belief that the artist was expressing his impressions put undue emphasis on expression and his theory

was taken as the progenitor of expressionistic movement in literature⁵. In 1909 Henri Bergson gave a circular, as opposed to the linear or chronometric concept of time. Time, according to him, was immeasurable, unredeemable, since time was man's consciousness of it. Moments of awareness were the moments of eternity, again incalculable, but they could redeem as they influenced both past and future. Third great philosophical or ideological current of the time was the Existentialist theory enunciated by Kirkegard. This was a reactionary philosophy, as it was opposed to all traditional philosophies which aimed to measure man in relation to the universe. Existentialist philosophy put existence first, before essence, and thus made man the centre of his contemplation. It held out an immense appeal to the tradition-hating, freedom-loving individual.

The First World War was also a very significant event. Not only did it result in the incalculable loss of youth, large number in casualties, it showed beyond doubt that the old civilisation had played out. It was an old and decadent civilisation that caused this global catastrophe. The result of this was that a reaction, a revolt, set in against all old, traditional values, methods and conventions⁶. People felt a desperate need for a new social, and cultural order. They determined to bury their two thousand year old cultural heritage.

This modern literary revolution can be studied in reaction to Victorianism, Pre-Raphaelites and the aestheticism of the nineties of the nineteenth century. Victorianism stands for a smugness, complacency, a set of life and letters which were fairly an elaboration of the romantic residual, emotional and ideological legacy⁷. The industrial unrest, and the blemishes of colonial rule, and whiteman's self-styled supremacy, as to be the civiliser of the subjected peoples were fairly abhorrent ideas. Victorian realism, too, like many other things appeared a convention and not real. Perhaps nothing could be more illogical or inconsistent than this. The Pre-

Raphaelite movement and the aestheticism of the nineties, too, projected a sick and sequestered image of their time and the response of its minds was very inadequate and weak. In their world of art, in their ivory tower, they lived smugly, refusing to see beyond their nose, taking no note of the forces that were shaping a new situation and reality just on their right and left⁹. The modern movement started as a crusade against this complacency. The modern writers reacted sharply to new ideas, theories, philosophies, discoveries which were defining man and his fate in the changed context. They incorporated new ideas in their works of art to give them health and vitality. Their dislike for the Victorian morality and its literary modes of expression can be seen in the fact that both were discarded in poetry, novel, drama and criticism¹⁰. The Victorian concept of a hero, of characters in general, plot, dialogue, and the technique of presentation were all given up in the modern novel. Similarly in poetry there was vigorous search for new stanza forms, image, rhythm, music, metaphor¹¹. In drama the emphasis on stagecraft, use of expressionistic presentation and atmosphere, a new concept of character, dialogue, wit, took the place of epigrams, conventional plot, construction, and character portrayal¹². Criticism in the twentieth century traversed much broader and longer ground. There are a number of modes of criticism like psychological, sociological, textual, linguistic, and aesthetic. Besides, the aims of modern criticism are much different and divergent from those of criticism in the nineteenth century.

It would be difficult for any one dealing with the modern literary revolution in general to generalise about its accepted characteristics. Apart from the fact that it is too near us for any generalisation of this kind, the directions are so numerous and experimentation in so many varied fields that commonly agreeable characteristics are difficult to arrive at. Even then for purposes of convenience the following four guidelines can be considered : 1. Revolt against traditional values and forms ; 2. Search for new forms in drama,

poetry, novel and criticism and a changed approach to the 'formal' ; 3. Vigorous attempt at interpreting the modern situation vis-a-vis past and the changed context ; 4. Incorporation of contemporary ideas in literature. Big, complex organisations, the problem of happiness, substitute of religion, continuous nibbling at individual's freedom by political and economic organisations, specialisation, weak or incomplete response... these are some of the new realities of the modern time, and the men of letters exercised their minds upon them and reflected them in their works of art.

To begin with, take the poetry of this period. In England Edith Sitwell in practice and T.E. Hulme in theory were bringing in a new era. Hulme considered intuitive response the proper experience for poetic presentation¹³. For this image was considered the vehicle of effective communication. Image, as Hulme interprets it, is the perception of reality in an instant of time, in a precise and fresh form¹⁴. In Edith Sitwell this can be seen in practice. Her poems represent the principle of art as communication as opposed to art as imitation¹⁵. She created the new world of her poetic experience out of her sensations. She chose to communicate her sensations instead of describing them, or, in other words, she bodied them forth in an image. She employed new metaphors, imagery and eschewed the old and the traditional. Not only this. She experimented with modern musical patterns. One can discover in her poems variations of assonances and dissonances, change of rhymes conducted frequently and in an elaborate manner¹⁶. In fact, she closely observed and studied 'the effect texture had on rhythm'. Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot were two Americans who settled in England and vitalised English poetry with American sensibility. To both of them poetry became a means of conveyance of complex experience of life expressed in an equally complex manner¹⁷. Shelley came in for criticism for his simple emotions and their effortless, artless communication. Eliot employed irony of tone, sudden,

unexpected transitions; urban imagery, fresh metaphors, new rhythm to convey a complex attitude heavily burdened with allusions, references, and new myths which had sex, anthropology and vegetation as their bases. He depended heavily upon concrete presentation of emotion like one in Elizabethans, and drew on animal kingdom, the domain of filth in towns and cities and visual images. So was the case with Pound. He lived up to his principles which he enunciated as following :

1. Direct treatment of the 'thing' whether subjective or objective.
2. To use absolutely no word that does not contribute to the presentation.
3. As regards rhythm : to compose in the sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome¹⁸.

Before passing on to an examination of some of their representative poems, this should be kept in mind that these poets gave the poem a life of its own and searched the norms of reference and analysis within the poem itself¹⁹. Eliot combined the best of symbolism and imagism, and though a poem, according to his impersonal theory of poetry, was a catalysed resultant of the poet's intense artistic process, it kept both logic and magic. It was analysable and beyond analysis also for emotional charge. Eliot's "The Wasteland" contains nearly all the characteristics which Eliot advocated : in its contents it is a record of despair, a desert of 'modern civilisation'²⁰. Its appearance in 1922 was as historic and epoch-making an event as *The Lyrical Ballads* in 1798. Pound's poems under the group, "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley" were equally incisive, effective, novel. It seemed that a new era had begun in poetry. The movement was going on on the other side of the Atlantic also. In the States Edwin Arlington Robinson, Marianne Moore, Edgar Lee Masters, Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, E.E. Cummings and Conrad Aiken were breaking new ground and shattering old conventions. Robinson, Lee Masters and Marianne Moore belonged to the *avant garde*

movement and were paving the way for the modern poetry. Robinson anticipated Ezra Pound by delineating ironic character—sketches. In Williams, Stevens and Cummings one could read the theme of isolation, and discover unsettled ideas and emotions due to complex post-war conditions. Among the American poets Lee Masters, Lindsay and Sandburg are distinctly American as differentiated from those who strove for the cosmopolitan movement in poetry. The interest of Wallace Stevens was philosophical—but at the same time he was deeply interested in the technical problems of poetry.

He offered some suggestions regarding problem of image and discourse in poetry. Robert Frost was a humanist, belonging to the New England tradition, and found nature, its calm and its beauty as his satisfying milieu. He could not choose the noisy, mechanical, bustling life of metropolitan towns as themes for his poems. E.E. Cummings shows great technical virtuosity. He freed language from abstractness, using words denoting concrete forms. His poems manifest curiosities of punctuation, typographical jugglery, type arrangements but these are not contrived to produce irresponsible effect of novelty. They are an integral part of 'double accuracy' of poetic composition and transmission, which is his real aim²¹.

Let it not be supposed that traditional poetry was not being written in a period when every body seemed interested only in the modern, new and exciting. Robert Bridges, Robert Graves, Walter de la Mare, Humbert Wolfe, and Charles Williams were still keeping the old candle burning. In 1920 Bridges published *The Testament of Beauty*, a long philosophical poem of 4,000 lines. Here is a strong plea for beauty as "the sum and summit of experience", a part of man's aspiration for immortality. Bridges's theme is 'Action, Mind, Sensation, Nature, God : the whole universe'²². He discusses the problem of instability in the modern world and suggests mature 'accord of Sense, Instinct, Reason and Spirit' as a solution in the right direction²³. Bridges had long been trying to

introduce classical metres into English poetry. He succeeded in bringing them here. He uses 'loose alexandrine' with skill and confidence.

To borrow a phrase from George Orwell, novel is the most anarchical and protestant form of art. The present century saw the emergence of some very daring, challenging, revolutionary novelists who overhauled the field of fiction. H.G. Wells, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf wrote deliberately 'shapelessly' so that they could release the novel from Victorian conventions of morality, character, hero, and realism. They considered the earlier novelists' life-likeness too a convention which was only a ruse for realism²⁴. Joyce and Mrs. Woolf developed the 'stream of consciousness' novel in which the writer withdrew from between the character and the reader. This method did away with much of the interpretative approach taken by the author earlier. The directness, stark, rocky hardness of presentation practised in poetry entered into the novel also. If Joyce perfected this overhauling change in technique, Lawrence cleared the junk of imposed morality, challenged all the traditions of ideal in Europe, and advocated the religion of the supremacy of blood and blood contacts. These two persons removed all debris of convention and opened new horizons for creation. In America in the twenties Henry Miller with his *Tropic of Cancer* (1935), created a novel of milieu, dispensing with character, or hero as such. Earlier Dos Passos, in his *Manhattan Transfer* (1928), had brought in the whole New York in a peculiar, crowding manner. These were bold experiments in themes and presentation.

Ulysses of James Joyce was published in 1922, the year of the publication of *The Wasteland* of Eliot. Joyce showed the non-sequential ebb and flow of human consciousness in this novel. It presented all life in a day: the reading public was hardly prepared for this. As a result it was not taken well. Without appreciating its technical advance, people condemned it for what they called disproportionately more bestiality, lack of delicacy, a rare English virtue, and dubbed it a 'mental

dustbin' containing scrap ends of language, literature, philosophy, psychology, religion, myth, magic, Irish history, and other numerous things of disorganised mind²⁵. It was scarcely realised that the novel was presenting a rare insight into the working of human consciousness. Mrs. Virginia Woolf's novels also presented a sensitive, exciting and successful study in this technique. *The Voyage Out* was her first novel, simple, sensitive, promising. It dealt with a very sensitive set of people and culture. *Jacob's Room* was better still, more corroding, irritating with its sharpened, incisive presentation of sensation. Though she wrote with a beauty of words, brilliance, intellectual force, her novels showed characters lacking essential humanity. *Mr. Dalloway* and *To The Lighthouse* are among her best pieces. In the former she reduces the story to a few hours' life, and uses sudden jumps of narrative and the technique of cinema.

Lawrence was the perfect rebel and iconoclast in experience and its candid rendering in literature. He professed: "My greatest religion is a belief in the blood, as being wiser than intellect"²⁶. This inverted the entire European tradition of ideals. Many have professed their belief in blood, but not with this force or with assertion that it was wiser than intellect. His main aim was to revolutionise modern attitude toward sex. He wanted that people should have right, untaboored ideas about it. He said: "I want men and women to be able to think sex fully, completely, honestly and cleanly"²⁷. A more comprehensive statement is this: "I have always inferred that sex meant blood-sympathy and blood contact. Technically it is so. But as a matter of fact nearly all modern sex is a pure matter of nerves"²⁸. His lasting desire was that people should free themselves from the slavery of the intellect, by making a strongly animal, not lustful or bestial, approach to love and sex. That is why he considered marriage as a clue to human happiness and life. Lawrence showed very clearly two things from his experience and its literary manifestation that love and hate were

very closely interrelated, and, secondly, that healthy, sexy love could be complete substitute for religion. In fact, all his novels can be studied in this light. He did not like civilised man or civilised woman. Civilised man was 'man the instrument', and the civilised woman was man's antagonist, draining away man's essential manhood. He saw the universe moving in the following sequence. Birth-love—the new creation—death (*The Rainbow*). Apart from this renovation of themes, he wrote beautiful prose. Sometimes he touches rare, exquisite, beauty as in the concluding pages of *The Rainbow*. He was a genius of high order which always hated professionalism. Eonamy Dobree observes in *The Lamp and the Lute* that "he despises fine writing even where it would best suit his purpose".

In the United States the new novel started at a strong note of revolt. The three much talked about novels in 1920 and 1921 were *Main Street* of Sinclair Lewis, *This Side of Paradise* by F. Scott Fitzgerald, and *Moon Calf* by Floyd Dell. In varying degrees, and from their individual points of view all these three novels mirrored the revolt of the young against smugness, petty intolerance, provinciality, disillusion of the postwar conditions, and uneasiness with old, slowmoving things and ways of life. Though *This Side of Paradise* suffered from the carelessness in its style, yet its author, like many others made it very clear that its characters wanted an intense life of action. Faulkner, Dos Passos, Cummings and MacLeish had all enlisted themselves for the war and wanted to be "where the action is". Except for Aldous Huxley nearly all other American novelists were excited and thrilled by the time and enjoyed its excitement immensely. Huxley, however, seemed sad and uneasy. He was quite young when his *Point Counter Point* was published. But this work is a sad, ironic, almost dark commentary on the relationship of people in a cultured society. It can well be compared with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. Bunyan's heavenly city is a city of

sunshine, healthy romance for the spirit. It exhumes brightness, pleasure and benediction. But Huxley could present only a city of Destruction which is frequented by those who think they are perfectionists and aim at improving the lot of others. This sardonic vein continued in his two other novels that followed it. In *Chrome Yellow* he portrayed men like clown; in *Antic Hay* they turn into satyrs. Only in *Those Barren Leaves* could he recover some gaiety, sense of comedy and fun. Dos Passos published two important works in the twenties: *Three Soldiers* (1924) was about war and its grim realities; and *Manhattan Transfer* (1928) about the crowded life of New York. Dos Passos considered not only capitalism but the governmental bureaucracy also as the enemy of the individual.

To return to Sinclair Lewis. He published *Babbitt* in 1922, *Arrowsmith* in 1925, *Elmer Gantry* in 1927 and *Dodsworth* in 1939. He was basically a satirist with great explosive energy, wit, drive and immense industry to work out his themes. He suffered the fate of a satirist: when he had reduced the target of his attack, he was himself reduced. But he had genuine love for American society, life and the country. Though he was its bitter critic, he would not bear others criticising it. E.E. Cummings, though primarily a poet, wrote a novel, *The Enormous Room* (1922) about his military prison life in Southern France. This novel has superb character portrayed by a poet and abounds in delicate poetic effects. Among woman novelists of eminence the name of Willa Cather stands out. *A Lost Lady*, her first novel, came out in 1923. *Death Comes To Bishop*, published in 1927, threw her up into the limelight. Her clear sightedness and calm working of themes caught the eyes of critics and they hailed her for her approach, and for her fight against prejudices of the moneyed people in society. Her work has a singular significance in that she pointed out first what was to develop into snobbishness of the rich and inanity of the wealthy class of people in American society.

The name of F. Scott Fitzgerald brings

back to mind some painful memories of his tragic career. He lived a typical Bohemian's life, yet all the time he was conscious of his powers and his calling. His prose style had a brightness, an authentic note about it. He never wrote a dead sentence, to borrow a phrase from Harold Blodgett. Even in comparatively less known novels like *The Beautiful and the Damned* and *All the Sad Young Men* one can discover his verve, careful workmanship and liveliness. His great work, *The Great Gatsby*, appeared in 1925. To pass on from Fitzgerald to Ernest Hemingway means to pass on to a writer who influenced his time, his generation, and the writers of his period. Hemingway was a great craftsman of language and pursued distinction in expression as one can go. One critic remarked that he carried prose into the fourth or fifth dimension. In his own words, his aim was "a certain clarification of the language, which is now in the public domain". Like John Keats he continued his purification of language as conscientiously as he could. Hemingway's nearly all important works came out in the twenties. In *Our Time* (1924), *Fiesta (The Sun also Rises)* (1926), *Men Without Women* (1927), and *A Farewell to Arms* came out in 1929. If Hemingway is writer of the twenties William Faulkner is the dominant figure in the thirties. In 1929 he published his *Sartoris*. It was followed by *The Sound and the Fury*, *As I Lay Dying*, (1930), *Sanctuary* (1931), and *Light in August* in 1932. His last novel *The Reivers* was published in 1962, the year of his death. Faulkner had a rich, fertile imagination which vividly portrayed the life of the Mississippi area where he lived and which fired his imagination with all its varied beauty, bounty and immense wealth of native simplicity.

Experimentation, unconventionalising, and radical innovation can be traced in drama also. Dramatists like Shaw, Elmer Rice, Eugene O'Neill were making daring experiments and breaking older practice and usage.

George Bernard Shaw was writing realistic, socialistic, problem plays as Ibsen had done in Norway. He was gifted in a rare way as in him combined the man of letters and the man of theatre as they had combined in Shakespeare, Moliere and Ibsen. Shaw was writing anti-romantic plays, exposing social weaknesses, morality and projecting his own view point. Apart from being an avowed socialist, Shaw presented a practical and confident view of woman and his theory of *Life Force*. His *St. Joan* (1928) and *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928) can be studied in this light. His *Back to Methuselah* came early in 1921. *The Apple Cart* (1929) and *Arms and the Man* were important critical commentaries on democracy and war, the subjects that were immediate to people. Among other play wrights prominent names are John Galsworthy, C. K. Munro, Clemance Dane, and Sean O'Casey. Galsworthy wrote problem plays and was obsessed by the problems of poverty, injustice, and the complex organisation of society which rendered the individual helpless and hopeless. His *Justice*, *Loyalties*, *Strife*, and *The Silver Box* take these themes and analyse them in the background of a rich man's organised world. Munro's works are *The Rumour*, *Progress*, and *At Mrs. Beam's*. Dane's two plays are *A Bill of Divorcement* (1921) in which she takes up a domestic theme and treats it in the manner of problem play of Pinero, and *Adam's Opera* (1928) which is interspersed with the awakenings of the war period. Sean O'Casey's *The Silver Tassie* is a very fine play about the War. It has both artistic beauty, restraint and the volcanic, furious responses aroused by

a situation of action. O'Casey wrote with a poetic touch, strong sense of realism and knowledge of urgency of the situation. In America Elmer Rice and Eugene O'Neill were carrying on the crusade. Rice's *The Adding Machine* was a play of its own kind. The author put No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and Zero as the names of his characters and vivified the horrors of computerisation, mechanisation of life. Rice presents a sad, pessimistic picture imbued with expressionistic touch. Eugene O'Neill was a real, matchless genius in the field of drama. He pursued innovations in various techniques of dramatic presentation. In *The Great God Brown* he tried masks to see how they appeared to or were liked by the modern spectators. In *Strange Interlude* he tried to create a scientific myth, and showed passions shaping destiny of two generations. *Marco Millions* was a fascinating study in comparative philosophies of the orient and the occident. Kucachin's innocent beauty and simplicity, Kublai's rarified calm and serenity are contrasted with Marco's downright, commercial, callous, Jewish lust for money success. In the trilogy *Mourning Becomes Electra* O'Neill interpreted the myth of Orestes for the modern times. In *The Emperor Jones* and *All God's Chillun Got Wings* he presented the negro problem in emotional, passionate perspective. In *The Hairy Ape* he studied the dehumanising, mechanising aspect of the modern business. The year 1925 was important in America so far as drama goes. During this year O'Neill brought out his *Desire Under the Elms*, Robert Anderson his *What Price Glory?*, Sidney Howard his *They Knew What They Wanted* and Philip Barry his *The Youngest*.

Only as a minor reference mention must be made of the efforts of Yeats, Eliot and Synge in creating a taste and climate for the poetic drama. In this respect Yeats's work is pioneering. It was largely due to his efforts that the Irish National Theatre was established. Apart from this, not only did he create a taste for the poetic drama, he helped in evolving a modern dramatic idiom (a mixture of poetic, realistic, even ironical effects in language) also. Synge dealt with the Irish Folk lore and Irish milieu in his plays. Eliot wrote full length poetic dramas, and incessantly worked for the solution of their problems. The problem of presentation in the theatre and of blank verse in writing. His constant efforts of amalgamating the speech rhythms with poetic rhythms gave him a blank verse which became the right sort of vehicle for conveying the modern consciousness in a poetic medium. His later plays, *The Elder Statesman* and *The Confidential Clerk* turned out to be good success.

Modern criticism started with T. E. Hulme, T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Hulme in his book, *Speculations*, brought out his theory of image, intuitive image as the right mode of poetic communication. Image, as Hulme conceived of it, was an intuitive realisation of truth, beauty in an instant of time²⁹. On the side of craft he demanded fresh metaphors, use of news, precise words to convey accurate impression. By 1913 Ezra Pound had published a number of essays defining poetry, rhythm, music, metaphor and the use of words. His few DON'TS suggested the guidelines and cautioned against the pitfalls.³¹ Pound's greatest emphasis was on technique, craft which must

be one, as could be appreciated even by the expert. His famous sentence "what the expert is tired of today, the public will be tired of tomorrow" ³² is a clear indicator of what he demanded in poetry. 1917 came Eliot's *The Sacred Wood*. His essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" in it caused a stir in the critical thinking of the time. His sense of tradition, theory of impersonality of poetry, concept of the poet as a catalytic agent, definition of emotion in arts, artistic process, profoundly shook the popular belief about the art and craft of poetry. Much of modern criticism originated in support of or against his theories. Eliot reasoned closely and consistently and it was fairly difficult to controvert him. Besides, he had the experience and conviction of the practitioner. These critical theories established three things very clearly: (1) criticism should not be evaluative, or judging but elucidatory; (2) A work of art had a life of its own; it was *sui generis*, ³³ with its terms and norms of reference within itself, itself its *raison d'être*. (3) Analysability was possible and practicable in poetry as in other branches of literature and other disciplines. In the background were certain other modes of criticism which were being practised in the present century. They can be termed as psychological, sociological, linguistic, analytical and textual criticism. In practice, modern criticism makes use of all or some methods mentioned above to understand the precise nature and meaning of any work of art. In America a new school of criticism merged with Cleanth Brooks, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, as its pioneering minds. Brooks studied a poem in relation to the paradox or irony in it. The poetic effect of

a poem, according to him, was in the paradox it presented, the irony that was inherent in theme, texture, in communication and comprehension of emotion by the poet. Ransom's poetics was more sophisticated. He studied the inter-relationship of texture and structure, the former being the internal structure and the latter being the externalised emotion. ³⁴ Tate's study of a poem was in relation to the language it employed, the mass or popular language or the sophisticated, rarified language of the poet. He considered the poems in mass language inferior to those using elite phraseology or vocabulary. ³⁵ But it is debatable. The simple utterance of a mature artist may have all the complexity of experience and yet the communication may be extremely simple. For instance this line of Dante: "In His will lies our peace." It is very simple in communication, vocabulary and structure, but the maturity and complexity of experience can be denied only with some difficulty. In England F. R. Leavis represented the traditional, moralistic criticism, but he was quick to perceive the worth of the new and the really novel whether in poetry, novel or drama. It is clear that the modern criticism drifts too much on the side of the technique, the craft of poetry and of literature. Stephen Spender pointed toward this difficulty when he said:

If "being a poet" now meant anything it was merely that one happened to be the person who wrote the examinable poems. Although the generation of Eliot and Pound certainly retained their own slyly concealed awareness of the mystique of the poet (confined in Eliot's essays, to subtle 'asides' that probably go unnoticed

by many readers), for a younger generation the mystery had been dissolved. When I was at Oxford the idea of the clever undergraduates was that any one who took great pains could probably write poetry. (I would have said, witness the poliferation of university courses in "creative writing." You have only to say whether it is as a poet, a novelist, or a dramatist that you wish to be immortalised. And.....you will be). I cling, then, to my idea that being a poet is different from being anything else.....

It is a different thing what the critics say about poetry; poetry will continue to be written as it is written. One theory of poetic criticism or another will not affect its writing, composition.

It is difficult to say if the movement was sustained in all its forms in late thirties, forties and fifties. In poetry romanticism emerged in a new form, and the sense of tradition, erudition, intellection, and poet as a mere receptacle of images or as a mere catalytic agent were given up. Novel is continuing with the newly acquired techniques and is breaking even newer ground.³⁶ So is the case with drama also. Existentialist drama has been followed by a *theatre of the absurd*, and that, too, in turn by what in America they call the *happenings*. Criticism, like the watch five minute behind time, is following, interpreting them all.

1. C. Leyell *Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man* (London, 1863)

2. His concept of time as relative entity was equally, if not more, disquieting as the concept of time as circular entity, time as consciousness (Bergson), opposed to the linear concept of time.

3. & 4. A. C. Ward *The Nineteen Twenties* (London 1930) pp 1-18

5. R. A. Scott-James *Making of Literature* (London. 1956) p. 323

6. D. Daiches *The Present Age* (The Cresset Press, London) p. 14

A. C. Ward *Twentieth Century English Literature* (London, 1964) p. 16

7. G. Hough *Image and Experience* (London, 1965) Chapter "Byron and Lawrence"

8. *The Nineteen Twenties*, p. 52

9. V. D. S. Pinto *Crisis in English Poetry 1880-1940*. (London, '63 pp. 13, 16, 19, 20, 22.)

10. T. S. Eliot ed. *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, (London, 1960) p. 34

11. *The Nineteen Twenties*, pp. 43, 44.

12. *Ibid*, p. 70

13. T. E. Hulme *Speculations*, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, paperback) p. 151

14. *Ibid*, p. 153

15. *The Nineteen Twenties*, p. 38

16. *Ibid*, pp. 41-2

17. T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose* (Penguin Books, 1958) p. 118

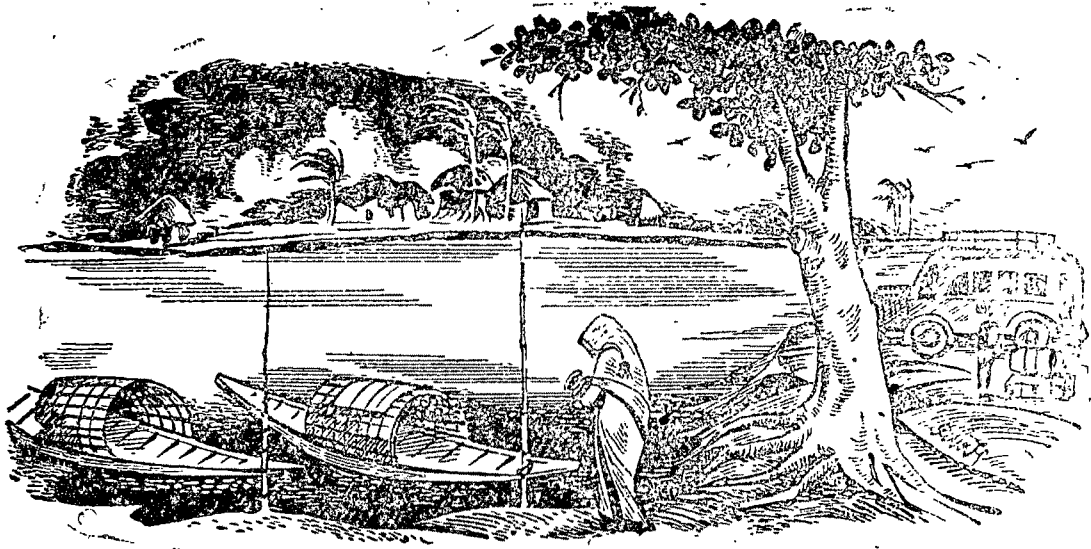
18. *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, p. 3.

19. T. S. Eliot *The Sacred Wood*. (London, 1950) p.x

20. *The Nineteen Twenties*, pp. 43-44

21. *Ibid*. pp. 48-9.

22. *Ibid*, p. 83
23. *Ibid*, p. 84
24. *Ibid*, p. 52
25. *Ibid*, p. 59
26. *Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (ed. D. D. Paige).
27. and 28 a propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover (cited by A. C. Ward, *The Nineteen Twenties*, p. 109)
- 29 & 30. T. E. Hulme *Speculations*, p. 135
31. *Literary Essays of Ezra Pound*, p. 3.
32. *Ibid*, p. 5.
33. W. S. Scott ed. *Five Approaches to Criticism*, (New York, 1962) pp. 229-30
34. Wimsatt and Brooks *Literary Criticism, A Short History*, New Delhi, 1964), p. 627
35. *Ibid*, p. 678
36. *Encounter*, Dec. 1967. 'French Letters' by Gore Vidal, pp. 13-23



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

VINOD BHATIA

'The light has gone out of our lives and and there is darkness everywhere'. Nehru spoke these memorable words on the murder of the great soul—Mahatma.

Another light has gone out of our lives and shadows are lengthening everywhere. Dr. King, the sanest and most persuasive voice for moderation and non-violence, in life represented much more than his own down trodden community and in death symbolizes a tragedy far deeper than what was expressed in that senseless, brutal murder in Memphis. The foul deed indicated that the human society despite all its affluence and attainments is still unfit for the likes of such people to live and instead of endeavouring to heave itself upto their lead, it chooses to get rid of them.

In life and death, King followed Mahatma Gandhi. The non-violent technique had been used with dramatic success in India by Gandhi in the country's struggle for freedom. Dr. King was the first person in the U. S. to apply it to a broad social movement—non-violent resistance to segregation and discrimination against the negroes in America. Thus Gandhi's prophetic words that 'it may be through the negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world' came out to be true.

Whatever his greatness, it was thrust upon him. He was born at a time when the myth of the sub-human negro flourished. They were treated as piece of property on

whom the curse of Noah remained for ever. As a boy, Martin suffered those cumulative experience in discrimination that demoralize and outrage human dignity. Young King was told that it was an evil system and since prejudice between the black people and the white people was bad, all good men must try to change it.

At Morehouse, while working for Atlanta's inter-collegiate student council, his resentment toward white race was softened and a spirit of cooperation took its place. He was convinced that he had many white persons, particularly among younger generation, as allies and he never felt like a spectator in the racial problem.

At Crozer, he poured over the words and works of the great social philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Hegel (whose progress—through pain theories are evident in King's thinking). In 1950, he heard a lecture on Gandhi by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, a predominantly Negro Institution, a warm admirer of Gandhi and who had been to India. His speeches created a profound impression on King, who from his boyhood days had marked antipathy towards violence. Gandhi's belief in the redemptive power of love as an instrument of non-violent social reform fired his imagination. "His message was so profound and electrifying," he recalled later, "that I left the meeting and

bought half a dozen books on Gandhi's life and works." King frankly confessed, "In reading Gandhi's words again, I am given inspiration. The spirit of passive resistance came to me from the Bible and the teachings of Jésus. The techniques of execution came from Gandhi."

In 1955 in Montgomery, a seamstress' tired feet precipitated the first civil rights, test of power and launched King's galvanic career. Thus his march to martyrdom began.

The Gandhian movement which ultimately freed India from foreign rule started much the same way; in his case the spark which set it off was struck on a train in the remote race conscious South Africa in 1893. The night of his first train ride in South Africa, Gandhi was ordered to leave the compartment reserved for whites. When he refused to do so, he was pushed off the train. Mahatama Gandhi decided that the 'golden rule' was to dare to do the right at any cost rather to be a coward.

During his short life Martin Luther King dared the same thing, and with similar non-violent techniques. The universal nature of the non-violent action approach is further underscored by the fact that Gandhi himself was inspired by the views of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy and the American philosopher Thoreau, who in turn, had been profoundly influenced by the concepts of the forest wisemen of India who wrote the Upanishads.

Thus the political techniques of boycott and non-violent action, which freed India from British rule and are presently opening up new opportunities for American negroes, have travelled from India to America, then from

America to India via South Africa and now back again from India to America.

To King, there were three ways that oppressed people could grapple with their oppression. First, method of acquiescence: the method to resign themselves to the fate of oppression without going through the ordeals of changing the old order into new. This to King, was a cowardly way, as the individual who adjusted to an evil system, was at that time, a participant in that evil system.

The Second method was to rise up with violence and corroding hatred. While violence would bring out temporary victories, it could never bring about permanent peace and ended up creating many more social problems. Like Gandhi, he quipped once and for all: "Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impracticable and immoral. It is impracticable because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. It is wrong because it seeks to annihilate the opponent rather than convert him. If we succumb to the temptation of using violence in the struggle, unborn generations will be the recipients of large and mighty bitterness."

Third, method of non-violent resistance; non-violence, to him, like Gandhi, was the most potent weapon available to the negro in his struggle for freedom and justice. It contended that means and ends must cohere as they are inseparable. Means represent the ideal-in-the making and so the means

must be as pure as the ends we seek. In the long run of history, destructive means cannot bring out constructive ends, immoral means cannot bring out moral ends. Non-violence to him, like Gandhi, was the relentless pursuit of truthful ends through moral means. Love stuff or 'Agape' stood at the heart of non-violence, it meant rising to the heights of being able to accept blows without retaliating and constantly moving to the point of loving the enemy. It implied understanding, creative, redemptive good will for all. Love the person, hate the evil deed, he said, like Gandhi, as hate was as injurious to the hater as it was to the hated.

According to King, the practitioner of non-violence will say to his opponent, "we will meet your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with 'Soul Force'. We will wear you down by our capacity to suffer; we will appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process and our Victory will be a double Victory."

By protests, sit-ins, sermons, ride ins, demonstrations, boycotts, speeches, he inspired the negro people with hope, dispelled their fears and frustrations and united them as never before in American History through non-violent actions. He made them realize that to make their fight for equality and freedom more effective, they must help themselves, be self reliant and coexist with their white brethren. King was convinced that the talk of Black power without fire was just a loud-mouthed slogan capable of inflaming the disgruntled Negroes, totally inadequate to serve his cause. He said, that few ideas were most unrealistic that there could be a

separate black road to power and fulfilment.

He aptly sounded his views during 1955 boycott: "It is not a struggle between black men and white men but between those who seek justice and those who practise injustice between the deprived, exploited, discriminated and those who do the exploiting and who have built their political careers and amassed their wealth through denying equal rights and opportunities to others."

Through "soul-stirring resonances and powerful oratory that spoke profoundly to the needs of his followers, he inspired a historical movement. "We are tired of being segregated and humiliated. We are tired of being kicked about by the brutal fate of oppression. We are protesting for the birth of justice in the community. We have a new sense of dignity and a new sense of destiny And when the history books are written in the future the historians will have to pause and say, "There lived a great people—a black people who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization." In the face of threats also, he never wavered from his chosen path and never became adjusted to the evils of segregation and the crippling effects of discrimination, to economic conditions that deprived men of work and food and to the insanities of militarism and the self defeating effects of physical violence.

He pronounced from Birmingham jail that "if the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands."

He had a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed.....that all men are created equal. King is dead, the dream is alive. He was a transcendent negro symbol and bridging the void between black despair and white unconcern, he spoke so profoundly of and from the wretchedness of the Negroes' condition that he became the moral guidon of civil rights not only to Americans but also to the world beyond. It is a tribute to the genius of King that he transplanted non-violent technique to a violent soil and with a remarkable degree of success.

With his death, the non-violent Civil

Rights Movement is in doldrums. The Black Militants Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown have a clear field now before them. Now violence will be supreme. America should abide by the philosophy of King if it wants community of white and negroes otherwise one day it would end in chaos.

Now King is no more. He had an inner conviction that there are something so precious, something so dear, something so eternally true that they are worth dying for and he sacrificed himself at the altar of these beliefs.



INNER LINE IMPEDING DEVELOPMENT & DEFENCE OF N.E.F.A.

DIPAK B. R. CHAUDHURI

(The Author is a New Delhi Journalist, at present engaged in a depth-study of the factors impeding integration in North-East India on behalf of the Centre of Applied Politics, IIPA, New Delhi-1)

INTEGRATION of frontier hills and outlying tribal areas with the mainland of a country almost always depends on the economic development of these areas and establishment of strong links between the economy of these special areas and the national economy. In India, the Inner Line Regulations which maintain an artificial frontier within the country are a major obstacle to the desired integration of the people of the North-Eastern Frontier with the mainstream of the country. They not only encourage tensions but also impede the economic development of strategic frontier areas.

They made the North Eastern Frontier Agency, Nagaland Mizo-Lushai hills district inaccessible to ordinary citizens. The Inner Line Regulations were introduced by the British Administration in 1873. It had two objects: firstly, to protect the people living in the plains from the marauding raids of tribesmen and secondly to impose stringent controls on commercial relations of the British subjects with the frontier tribes. In due course, the Inner Line produced the desired result: the raids of the tribesmen ceased completely. But the regulations controlling movement of people across the

Inner Line remained. After independence, the Government found it convenient to continue the old policy for the opposite reason.

The new reason was curiously enough, just the opposite of the original reason. Under the British regime and even under the new Constitution, these frontier tracts were considered parts of Assam state. It was, however, realized that effective administration and development of these backward tribal areas was not possible within Assam dominated by plainsmen and advanced westernized tribes. Therefore, these areas were constituted as one unit put under the direct control of the Union Government through the Governor under the Sixth schedule of the Constitution. This special treatment of this particular 'scheduled area' was in a way confirmation of the British policy of the Inner Line.

The post-independence 'philosophy for Nefas' came out with a new justification for the Inner Line. The commercial adventurers from the plains and the Christian missionaries were not allowed entry to these tracts to protect tribals from exploitation and exposure to foreign cultures.

The political leaders were aware and largely in sympathy with the criticism of sociologists and social workers regarding administration and development of backward tribal areas and the Nefas provided an opportunity for new experiments to be conducted by anthropologists like Dr. B. S. Guha

and Dr. Verier Elwin. The need for change is accepted in the new experiment but in a manner and to a degree that the cultural integrity of the tribal society is not disrupted. This Elwin doctrine steers clear of the two sharply contrasting tribal policies : leave them alone and 'assimilation or detribalisation or sanskritisation.'

In principle, the philosophy is unassailable. But there are practical problems and the philosophy has its critics. In the early 'fifties, the geo-political importance of these frontier tracts were not properly assessed and there was a large unadministered zone between the McMohan Line watershed and Inner Line. Frontier policy is a part of the over-all National Defence Policy, but the Government gave more importance to the ethnological considerations than political and military aspects,

Particularly important are the critics drawn from the tribals themselves who, through education, have come to appreciate the benefits of speedy change. In their view, the logic of this philosophy has little validity for several reasons.

There has been too much emphasis on gradualness of change arising out of a concern for disrupting the social fabric. The tribals are far behind in relation to the rest of the population of this country, that they would remain behind for a long time to come, if change was to be brought about gradually and through unanimous consent. The frontier tribals themselves will not tolerate a rate of change which seems to perpetuate the distance between them and the more advanced neighbouring communities of the Assam hills and the Brahmaputra valley.

Psychologically, a policy of gradualness creates a bad impression on tribal mind. It makes them feel second class citizens and the 'Bharat Darshan' trips organised by the Nefa administration or participation in the Republic Day pageant strengthen this impression.

Three youngmen from Nefa now studying at Gauhati in a prepared statement disclosed : "We would like to make it known to all that the Nefa people still call the plains people 'Aying' or 'Nyipak' meaning foreigners." They charged New Delhi establishment and their policies for this kind of situation.

In another statement, five Nefa students of Delhi University warned "...it should be remembered that people of Nefa have reached a stage where they are very conscious of their rights. In such a stage if feelings of frustration come, there are more than one events happening around them, and since they are also human beings, not infallible to such influences they may turn astray."

Most of the educated youngmen of these areas feel that the Inner Line is a device to keep their people from the democratic mainstream of India—following Erring Committee report, certain representative institution have been established there, but citizens of Nefa living beyond the Inner Line have no right to elect their representative to any legislature.

The Inner Line also emphasises the political and geographical segregation of these strategic frontier areas from the rest of India though the Foreign Office has handed over Nefa administration to the Home ministry. In view of the Sino-Pakistani menace, the emphasis should be just the reverse—on stronger links with the rest of

the country. The greatest problem of Nefa is its isolation. The Inner Line can not prevent the flow of ideas. A study of educational and economic changes would make nonsense of the present regulations.

A comprehensive frontier policy would require popular sanctions besides well-integrated plan for economic development of the border-tracts and a realistic all-round civil defence machinery.

The obvious connection between economic development and growth of healthy nationalism among the tribals is all-known. An examination of the development plans of Nefa will conclusively show the Himalayan barrier that the Inner Line provides to the economic development of the area and prosperity of the people living there.

Since the Chinese military actions in 1962, the Nefa civil administration for the first time has been able to extend its effective jurisdiction in all settlements upto McMohan Line and this was accomplished without assistance of army units. A great number of lateral roads have been completed recently and report of these communications—building achievements do tell the other story—tremendous manpower shortage in an area of labour-surplus India. The thousands of workers who built this road and hundreds who gave their lives here—are all outsiders.

MANPOWER SHORTAGE IMPEDES DEVELOPMENT AND NATURAL DEFENCE

The 1961 Census enumerated a total population of 336, 558; the density works out at 4.1 persons per sq. kilometre. Habitations are scattered and there are 2,451 villages. About 12 percent of the population is non-tribal; this segment comprises mostly of the Government servants and their families.

Among the tribals, can be safely assumed that all persons in the age-group 14-65 years are gainfully employed. The total tribal working force may be put around 180,000 persons. The *jhum* agriculture and the household duties are so onerous in such a backward society that very few offer themselves for wage work. In addition to the above 'workers', about 26,000 persons were enumerated as workers within the meaning of the Census definition. These are outsiders engaged in the construction and service sectors. Information, independent of census shows that the number of Government servants stationed in Nefa was 5,706 in 1906; this excludes the police force maintained for security purposes and also civilians working under Border Roads Organisation and other casual work-charged personnel. The effective work-form (non-tribal) of Nefa is thus of the order of 25,000. Adding to the earlier estimate of the tribal working force, Nefa's working population may be put around 205,000.

An indication of the labour shortage in Nefa is the curb imposed on the seasonal migration of some tribes to the Assam valley. Such migration in the slack season was a normal feature for long but is now being discouraged by the local authorities who want labour for the execution of development work, such as road and building construction. So Inner Line not only restricts entry into Nefa but also exit from the territory. It is difficult to give any precise estimate of the manpower requirements of the *proposed development* programme of Nefa. The Nefa administration has worked out a manpower estimate of their 'Fourth Plan' proposals as shown in the table

TABLE—A
Additional Manpower Requirement during the Fourth Plan
Government Sector, NEFA

Sl. No.	Employment		Total
	Skilled	Unskilled	
1. Engineering	513	1,084	1,597
2. Agriculture	103	85	188
3. Forests	187	153	340
4. Education	716	147	863
5. Health	307	336	643
6. Industry	20	32	52
7. Cooperation	—	120	120
8. Publicity	14	133	147
9. Research	5	30	35
10. Statistics	30	22	52
Total	1,895	2,142	4,037

It should be noted that these figures relate to additional placements which the Administration would have to do. It excludes the labour requirements of the forest and construction contractors. This partial demand puts the manpower requirements at 4,000 out of which about 1,900 would be skilled. It can be safely presumed all these persons must be recruited from outside. From among the unskilled, it can be presumed that about 20 to 25 percent of the personnel may come from the local population.

In addition, the 'Fourth Plan' proposals envisage that about 5,000 persons would be trained in farming, industrial skills etc. Thus, 350 trainees would be trained in modern agronomic practices, 200 in cottage arts and crafts, 905 in the subordinate medical and para-medical skills and about 2000, persons in cooperative and related aspects. It is doubtful whether 5000 persons

would be available from within Nefa for this training programme. Apart from this, about 20,000 more workers would be required for the projects now in the drawing board stage. All this is exclusive of the army personnel and labour brought in by the Border Roads Organisation (BRO). When a labour force of this order functions in any economy obviously a further contingent would be needed to man the tertiary sector. A cursory look at the statistics of demand for and availability of labour in the immediate future shows that the success of the entire development programme or part thereof as envisaged at the moment will stand for all on the solution of the manpower problem. The task of launching the economy on a course of self-renewing growth is primarily one of freeing it from the grip of certain critical shortages of the environ. The pivotal shortage in Nefa turns out to be that of skilled manpower.

TABLE—B

Occupational Classification of workers (Non-Tribal) NEFA, 1961

Sl. No.	Categories	Number of		Percentage to the total workers of			
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	Cultivator	96	57	153	0.39	4.08	0.58
2.	Agricultural labour	10	—	10	0.04	—	0.04
3.	Mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantation, orchard and allied activities	342	—	342	1.38	—	1.31
4.	Household industry	15	461	476	0.06	32.95	1.82
5.	Manufacturing other than No. 4	—	17	17	—	1.22	0.06
6.	Construction	1,712	1	1,713	6.91	0.07	6.55
7.	Trade and commerce	407	—	407	1.64	—	1.56
8.	Transport, storage and communication	869	—	869	3.51	—	3.32
9.	Other services	21,315	862	22,177	86.07	61.66	84.76
10.	Total Workers	24,766	1,398	26,164	100.00	100.00	100.00
11.	Non-Workers	5,814	6,727	12,541			

Perhaps this is true of our other frontier hills region like Uttar Khand, Inner Himachal and Ladakh also. The shortage of unskilled labour may come as a surprise to many who are accustomed to think of our national economy as a surplus labour one. The Inner Line restrictions effectively prevents the desired natural inflow of urgently needed labour and weakens both developmental and defence efforts in the remote backward low-density strategic areas.

If the planned development of Soviet Siberia or steppes and Canadian north has any value for our leadership and planners, the proposal for a well-regulated settlement of pioneering and adventurous outsiders becomes a compelling one. Disciplined

people like ex-servicemen and persons of missionary zeals should be encouraged to settle in areas not inhabited by tribals at the moment.

The tribals should be assured of four protections—(1) rights in land ; (2) rights in forests ; (3) from exploitation by money-lenders and (4) of their way of life. No outside individual should be given rights in land, but settler's cooperative can be encouraged which would serve as demonstration farms for wet and terrace cultivation.

In the economic and political interests, there is a very strong case for relaxations in the Inner Line Regulations if not complete abolition. More than one of the five Nefad districts should be immediately de-scheduled

or the Inner Line may shift closer to MacMohan line. There is a danger in allowing free entry into these sensitive areas, due to strategic importance especially in light of recently discovered Jorhat conspiracy. But this can be checked through strengthening of the Intelligence and Security forces.

SUGAR : PARTIAL-DECONTROL—REAPPRAISAL

T.C. MEHTA

Sugar industry enjoys a position of pride in the Indian economy. In spite of vicissitudes it has constantly developed since independence. Since the inception of planning number of sugar factories has increased from 138 to about 200. Similarly, production of sugar has increased from 11.01 lakh tons to 36.00 lakh tons in 1965-66. (However it has come down in the last two years owing to drought and certain other causes). This industry now sustains millions of people. It supports 10 million cultivators earning for them over Rs 350 crores annually. It provides employment to over two lakh people. The industry also earns for the exchequer Rs 68 crores a year by way of cess and excise duties.

Why Control

Price and distribution regulations are made to facilitate equitable distribution of the available supplies. Control is necessary unless commodity is produced in sufficient quantity and is available at reasonable price. In a developing economy most of the commodities are neither produced in sufficient quantity nor they are available at reasonable prices. This leads to control on production, distribution, consumption or price, whatever the situation

warrants. During the last 20 years India has experienced all sorts of controls on different commodities including steel, cement, cloth and sugar. However during the last two years there is a definite swing towards relaxation in controls. Cement has been totally decontrolled. Control over steel has also been relaxed to a great extent. Recently restrictions on super fine, fine and superior quality medium cloth have been lifted by the Government. In case of sugar partial-decontrol has been made since December 1967.

Brief Survey

Open market of sugar in India has a chequered history. In free India control on sugar was first lifted in 1952-53 but it was again imposed in 1957-58. It was again done away with in 1961 but because of difficult supply position it was reimposed in 1963-64.

Upto 1965-66 we have been in a happy supply position regarding sugar. But, because of unprecedented drought and some other factors, production of sugar suddenly slumped by over 38 percent in the year 1966-67. (Table No.1). In the current season also we are not in a very happy supply position.

Table 1.

Production of Sugar in lakh tons

Year	Production
1954-55	16.1
1955-56	18.9
1956-57	20.6
1957-58	19.9
1958-59	19.5
1959-60	24.5
1960-61	30.3
1961-62	27.3
1962-63	21.6
1963-64	26.0
1964-65	33.0
1965-66	35.5
1966-67	21.9
1967-68	22.8

(90,000 tons increase over 1966-67)

Though India ranks second in Sugar production in the world, its yield per acre and sucrose contents are probably the lowest. Table No. 2 shows the yield and sucrose contents of various important sugarcane growing countries. However Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and other south Indian states have shown good results in the field of increment in yield and sucrose contents. But in the case of wheat, rice and millets yield has shown over six times increase during last ten years.

Table 2

1961-62

	Yield of Sugar- cane per acre		Sucrose contents percent	Production of Sugar per-acre	
1. Hawai	30.4	Tons	11.4	9.17	Tons
2. Egypt	39.4	"	10.9	4.27	"
3. British Guinea	33.4	"	9.3	3.11	"
4. Indonesia	33.7	"	11.2	3.44	"
5. Mauritius	35.3	"	11.2	2.83	"
6. Australia	24.9	"	14.7	3.67	"
7. India	17.1	"	9.8	1.68	"

The unprecedented drought conditions that prevailed in the earlier two years, that is 1965-66 and 1966-67, adversely affected the sugarcane crop throughout the country. Because of Government's low price fixation for sugarcane, total area under this crop dropped by 15 percent. Cultivators were attracted towards growing high yielding varieties of wheat, rice and millets.

Further diversion of sugarcane to gur and khandsari, which make 70 percent of total supply of sweetening agent, took place on quite a considerable extent in view of the fact that the prices of these two sweetening agents soared high and made it more remunerative to the growers to divert their sugarcane to them in preference to sugar factories. The sugar industry, being hamstrung by statutory controls and sugar prices being fixed by Government, could not face competition from gur and khandsari producers which is virtually free from any control. The Government, of course, did increase the minimum sugarcane price to Rs 2.12 per maund (Rs 5.68 per quintal) linked to a basic recovery of 9.4 percent. Formerly it was Rs 2.00 per maund (Rs 5.36 per quintal) linked to a basic recovery of 10.4 percent. But this increase could not check the diversion much because firstly, the announcement came after nearly two months of the beginning of the crushing season and secondly, this increase was too meagre to check the diversion. Sugarcane was selling at Rs 12 to 14 per quintal for gur and khandsari in the open market.

Partial decontrol

In the light of this paradoxical situation the Sugar industry pleaded for decontrol. Argument given was that decontrol alone would bring down gur and khandsari prices and would provide the much needed flexibility to sugar industry to draw larger supplies by offering high sugarcane prices in competition with gur and khandsari

producers. The Government, however, did not accept this view on the ground that in a period of scarcity decontrol would result in pushing up sugar prices and as such would not be in the interest of the consumers.

In the context of deteriorating condition of sugar industry the Government of India announced on August 16, 1967 its policy of partial decontrol. Main objectives of the policy were two-fold viz-

(1) To provide sugar at subsidised price to domestic consumers, and

(2) to ensure payment of competitive sugarcane price to growers by factories.

The salient features of the policy were as follows :

A. Increase in minimum cane price to Fs 2.75 maund (Rs 7.37 per quintal for a recovery of 9.4 percent or less with 2 paise per maund (5.36 paise per quintal) for every increase of 0.1 per cent recovery over 9.4 percent.

B. Reduction in basic excise duty on factory sugar by Rs 8.35 per quintal. (the total effective rate being Rs 28.65 as against Rs 37.0).

C. Procurement by the Government as a levy from factories of 60 percent of their production in 1967-68 subject to a minimum quantity of 13 lakh tons.

D. Free sale of balance of production i.e. remaining 40 percent by the factories anywhere in the country at free market prices.

E. Fixation of the levy price according to the cost schedules of the Sugar Enquiry Commission for the five zones recommended by it (see Table 3). Government by notification dated the Dec. 18, 1967, announced the new ex-factory prices for 1967-68.

Table 3

Zonewise ex-factory price of levy sugar for the 1967-68 season announced by the Government.

Areas included		Price per quintal in rupees.
Zone I	Maharashtra, Gujarat, North Mysore and North Andhra Pradesh	145.00
Zone II	Orissa, rest of Andhra Pradesh, South Mysore, Madras, Pondicherry and Kerala	161.00
Zone III	Meerut, Muzaffarnagar and Bulandshahar districts of west U.P., Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh	169.50
Zone IV	Central and rest of West U.P.	156.00
Zone V	East U.P., Bihar and West Bengal	167.50

F. Export of 95,000 tons to those markets which yield better prices.

Has partial decontrol failed?

There are conflicting views regarding the success of partial decontrol of sugar. Recently at the annual meeting of ISMA its President Mr. Jhunjhunwala said that, "the consumers can look forward to plentiful supplies of sugar at much lower rates in the near future." According to this view the industry under this system has a bright future. Moreover it is a matter of some gratification that the open market price of sugar, which touched the dizzy height of Rs 7.50 per kilo in certain market centres, has been showing a tendency to fall. Now price of sugar is keeping around Rs 4.00 per kilo. Industry has tried to shift the guilt for much of this high price in open market to Government policy. According to it fixation of controlled price of sugarcane at lower level (resulting in lower procurement

price of sugar) has necessitated high price of sugar in open market. The factories have to pay much more sugarcane prices in view of short supply and competition from gur and khandsari. This results in high cost of sugar but at the same time factories have to give levy sugar at fixed lower price (Table 3). In order to make good this loss the industry is obliged to charge higher sugar price in open market. Partial decontrol has also resulted in increase of sugar production. Against the expectations of 15 lakh tons during the current season actual production is likely to be 22.8 lakh tons (Table 1).

In fact there is much doubt in the success of partial decontrol. It has been hinted clearly by Union Agriculture Minister during ISMA annual meeting recently. According to him the Government might be forced to reconsider the continuance of the policy of partial decontrol unless the sugar industry took steps to keep ex-

factory price of sugar within reasonable limits.

Almost every experiment in partial or complete decontrol has turned out ultimately to the disadvantage of the consumer. Decontrol of cement is an example. Manufacturers of cement promised to behave when decontrol was announced but they have made a huge pile of profits. The sugar industry is behaving in the similar fashion. Partial decontrol has failed in its prime objective of providing sugar to domestic consumers at subsidised price. One simple example would explain it. Before partial decontrol domestic consumers of towns in Rajasthan were getting 1 Kilogram sugar per month per head. This supply was considered reasonable and though price in the open market was around Rs. 6.00 per kilogram, domestic consumers were not affected much. After some time per head supply was reduced to 800 grams. It was further sliced to 400 grams. Then, to the surprise of all, came the final reduction and domestic consumers quota has been cut to meagre 150 grams per month. Now by and large consumers have to depend on free sale of sugar which is selling around Rs. 4.00 per kilogram. One time it touched Rs. 4.80 per kilogram. This is a clear breach of faith to the domestic consumers.

It was expected that by February 1968, the price of sugar would reduce considerably but this expectation has been belied. Though industry has paid higher price for sugarcane than what was fixed by Government and production cost has been a bit higher than the levy price fixed on the basis of cost schedules. Industry was expected to charge higher price of sugar for remaining 40 per cent left for open sale. But this does not seem to be sufficient reason for such an exorbitant price.

Way Out :

Sugar industry can not be trusted to safeguard the interests of the consumer. Though manufacturers aspire for complete monopoly over sugarcane procurement, no competition from gur

and khandsari manufacturers and complete decontrol of sugar, the industry should never be conceded such a free hand unless it gives clear guarantee for low sugar price.

Suggestions :

In order to ensure smooth development of the sugar industry the following measures should be adopted :

- A. Yield and sucrose contents of sugar cane are low in India (Table 2). Firm steps should be taken to increase yield and sucrose contents. High yielding seed should be tried extensively. Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and other South Indian States are giving better performance in this regard. Only this factor can help in increase of acreage under sugarcane crop.
- B. There should be assured supply of sugarcane to mill owners. Bumper crop will automatically improve the supply position considerably. Apart, this growers should be assured of competitive price well before the time the crop is ready. It will go a long way to check diversion of sugarcane towards gur and khandsari producers. Mill owners may also produce certain portion of their requirement themselves. Some cooperative sugar factories of Maharashtra are practising this successfully.
- C. There are many uneconomic units existing in our country. Such factories result in higher cost of production. Such units should be either scrapped or turned into economically viable units for the sake of efficiency of the industry.
- D. There are certain areas in U.P. and Bihar having over-concentration of factories. These factories face much difficulty in getting sufficient sugarcane. They also suffer from certain other

difficulties. Such factories should be shifted to better places, without any political consideration.

- E. Government should create a buffer stock of 10 lakh tonnes of sugar in order to to ensure regular supply to consumers at reasonable price. This will check excessive profiteering by mill owners as well as businessman. It will also help reducing gur and khandsari prices.
- F. There have been much fluctuations in the international price of sugar and we have been at much loss several times. During 1963 international price of

sugar was about £ 100 per tonne. Price slumped to £ 20 per tonne in 1967, still we exported sugar. Now international price of sugar has further slumped to £ 13 per tonne. In such a situation, when internal price as well as cost of production of sugar is increasing and international price is falling, export of sugar should be totally banned atleast for 2 years. We should export sugar only when reasonable foreign exchange is assured. Proposed buffer stock can help making available sugar whenever needed.

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SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

P. RAJESWARA RAO

IT is very difficult to retain the confidence of any one for long and much more difficult and beyond the ability of man to retain the confidence of an Indian Prince for life. Sir Mirza Ismail performed the impossible feat of being the most trusted lieutenant of Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar, the late Maharaja of Mysore, from the beginning to the end his regime. His grandfather came from Persia and settled in Mysore. Mirza combined the refinement and culture of Persia with the tradition of India. He was born on 23. 10. 1883. Starting his official career as Assistant Superintendent of Police he quickly became the Assistant Private Secretary to His Highness and afterwards the full-fledged private secretary. Next he became the Dewan and remained as such till the demise of his beloved ruler. He was next only to the late Sir

Seshagiri Ayyar in making his personality felt in every walk of life. He endeavoured his utmost to transform Mysore into a modern and model State. Certain important industries were nationalised and others received a great fillip. It was even hinted that he favoured a sort of State Socialism. Educational progress proceeded by long strides. Public life was fostered and peace and prosperity prevailed throughout the state.

At the first Round Table Conference he ably represented the Southern States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottah. Again at its second sitting he represented the States of Jodhpur and Jaipur in addition to Mysore. He attended the Third Round Table Conference and was also a delegate to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. During these successive gatherings he supported the Federal Plan and also allied

himself with the progressive elements. Incidentally he succeeded in lightening the unjust financial burden that was borne by Mysore for long. He also put up a strong case for the return of the Civil and Military areas of Bangalore. At all these gatherings he had ample opportunities to rise to his full stature and display the qualities of constructive statesmanship. It would suffice to say that he quickly utilised every opportunity to the fullest extent.

When there was political ferment in the state as a result of the awakening in British India, unlike the Dewans of other States he did not wait for long to read the signs of the times. He quickly realised the futility of repeating the usual circle of agitation, repression and reforms. By suitable reforms, he managed to pacify the public agitation. His repeated desire to retire in order to introduce fresh blood and new talent into the administration was not favoured by the then ruler. The death of the Maharaja Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar was a great personal loss to him. He could not think of serving the state in the absence of the Ruler whom he loved, respected and revered throughout. So he decided to accept the Dewanship of Jaipur, another premier Indian State. He quickly came into grips with the pressing problems there. He overhauled the judiciary and inaugurated the High Court. Education received special treatment during his regime. Hindi was restored to its original position of honour. He conceived and popularised the scheme for establishing a University for Rajputana. It materialised later. He did not brook communalism from any quarter. Even a staunch Hindu Mahasabhaite like Dr. B.S. Moonje commended Sir Mirza's impartiality and efficiency. Besides he was a man of culture and literary taste. His sympathy and support for the Indian PEN was demonstrated by inviting their gathering to Jaipur wherein distinguished men of letters like Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru actively participated.

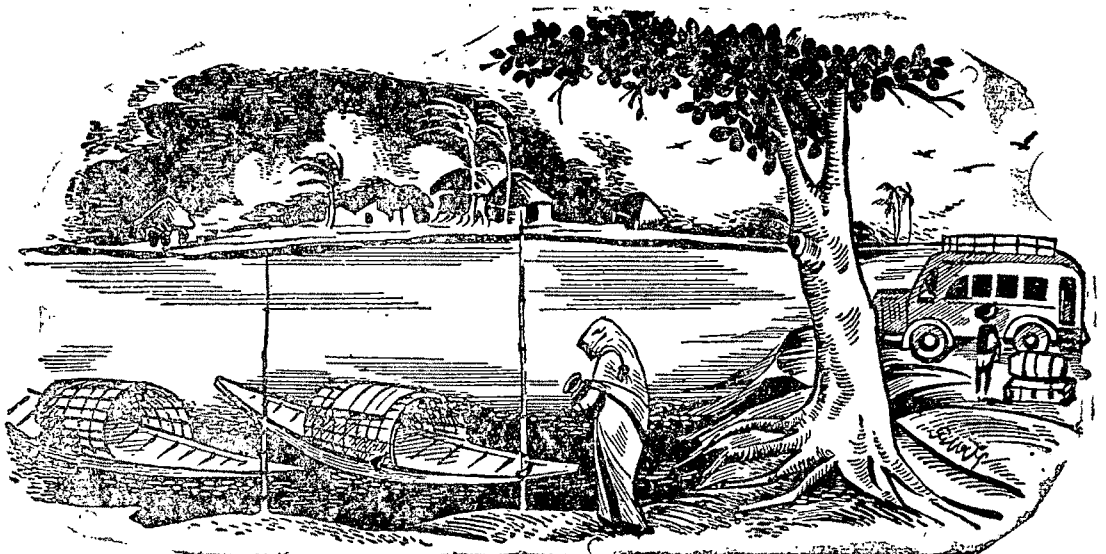
The announcement of his appointment as the

President of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad at a critical juncture was indeed welcome. Hyderabad in spite of being the premier Indian State continued to be mediaeval in structure and feudal in spirit. In spite of the personal simplicity of the Nizam the arrogance of the aristocracy and the ruling hierarchy continued as usual. The spectacular schemes though they were well meant could not touch even the fringe of the problem in any field. The local languages and their culture deserved more support than they were enjoying then. In the matter of fostering and preserving civil liberties the record of this state was blank. Some years ago Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked that suppression of liberties never occurred in Hyderabad since none ever existed there. Hence much remained to be done quickly to keep pace with progressive forces. The administration had to be overhauled. Sons of the soil and those that are allied to them linguistically, racially and culturally instead of continuing to remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water should have an adequate and effective share and voice in the administration and occupy their due place in the counsels of the State. The problems that were awaiting solution in Hyderabad were indeed baffling. But with his reputation for just and efficient administration in two premier Indian (and incidentally Hindu) states, Sir Mirza's regime was initially a striking success. The announcement of his appointment was followed by the removal of the eight year old ban on the State Congress. It was also announced that the Reforms approved in 1939, kept in abeyance so far, would be inaugurated soon and the new Assembly with two popular ministers would begin to function from October '46. These were indeed signs that envisaged the inauguration of popular administration. The Hindus of Hyderabad who constituted vast majority of the State population (nearly 85%) justly hoped for a square deal under Sir Mirza. But matters took an ugly turn. Forces of militant muslim communalism gained upper hand. He resigned in disgust and went away.

Above all Sir Mirza was a great nationalist and combined the moral, intellectual and aesthetic values of our heritage reminding us of a Roman Patrician in the Hall of Fame. He was a man of strong convictions and stuck to them at any cost. He was never tired of constantly advocating national unity and curbing the fissiparous tendencies. He possessed an all India outlook and was in his element while representing his country abroad. As leader of the Indian delegation to the Inter-Governmental conference of Far Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene held in Java (1937) he fared excellently. Unlike some of his co-religionists he was not obsessed with extra territorial patriotism. While leaving sufficient margin to the ardent desire for preserving and fostering Islamic brotherhood, the tendency to brood over the problems of Palestine, Arab unity, Pan Islamism and the like to the exclusion of the pressing national problems was in his opinion neither wisdom nor patriotism.

When some of the front rank Congressites

doubted Gandhiji's political wisdom and agree to his retirement from active politics in 1934, he raised his voice of protest and described the Mahatma as a far-seeing patriot and a sagacious statesman. He further argued against Gandhiji's retirement as it would only enable vain visionaries to exploit the situation and interfere with the ordered evolution of India in every walk of life. It is not out of place to state that he enjoyed the privilege of Gandhiji's sincere and sustained friendship. With his wide and varied experience coupled with supreme tact, moderation and caution, he was expected to play a useful role in free India. But inscrutable are the ways of providence. His plea for friendship between India and Pakistan, when tension was high, was misunderstood. He was kept at a league distance from positions of responsibility and trust. He joined hands with Rajaji and others and pleaded for retention of English in the large interests of the country. He practically passed away in retirement without a role or recognition on 5.1.1959 at the age of 75.



WHAT WENT WRONG WITH INDIAN PLANNING ?

H. P. SHAH

The machinery of planning in India has been slowly grinding to a halt for the past couple of years. And the Government has been forced to abandon the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. A semblance of planning is kept going in the form of annual plans till the year 1969-70 until a final shape is given to the Fourth Plan.

Planning has a key role to play in relieving a country of 450 million people from the incubus of poverty which is a dominant fact of life in India. It was principally as an opportunity to mould our destiny from out of the dismal heritage of the past, that, the late Prime Minister Nehru hailed the dawn of independence as a 'tryst with destiny.'

A decisive break from the vicious circle of poverty breeding more poverty, inherited by us from the British, required efforts on a war footing. The era of planning symbolizing these efforts on a national scale commenced with the launching of the First Five Year Plan in the year 1950-1951.

It got off to a promising, if not actually, a flying start. During the first two plan years a sum of Rs. 3360 and Rs. 6750 crores were invested in the economy. And the plan targets were substantially fulfilled. Food production went up from 52 million tons in 1950-51 to 75 million tons in 1960-61. Industrial productivity index also likewise went up by about 5% during the period. There was an increase in the per capita income from Rs. 247 to Rs. 298 over the

period. There was not only growth, but diversification, in the industrial sphere and the production of Steel, Chemicals, Machinery, Machine tools, Boilers and a host of consumer goods like drugs, radio receivers, sewing machines, etc. also showed a significant rise. What was more significant, however, was that all this growth took place under stable conditions.

Though the growth rate of the economy was not spectacular by any standards, considering the fact of the stagnancy that characterized it over the past generations, it was a heartening performance. With a total investment in the economy of a sum of around Rs. 10,000 crores during the past decade and a proposed investment of another sum of Rs. 11,400 crores during the Third Plan period we appeared to be poised for a big blow at the problem of poverty which had benighted our lives for the past generations.

With the progress of the Third Plan, however, and, specially during the latter years thereof, something appeared to go wrong seriously. Stresses started to appear in the economy. Inflationary pressures threatened its stability. Performance started lagging behind. The growth rate of the economy became painfully slow. To this was added the burden of financing the border wars with China in the year 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965. Defence expenditure rose sharply from around Rs. 260 crores in 1961-62 to between Rs. 900 and 950 crores

during the latter years of the plan. Bad harvests followed in the year 1965 and '66 necessitating large imports of food grains and industrial raw materials. Though, the financial targets of the Plan were overfulfilled, actually, these were about the only targets to be fulfilled. Growth rate actually showed a decline of 1.7% during the fiscal year 1966-67.

Consumer goods production was less by 6.5%. Due to critical shortages of food and raw materials prices gyrated sharply upwards, upsetting all plan calculations and raising costs all round. In recent months, a marked fall in demand has forced industries both in the public as well as in the private sector to work at much below their rated capacity, often amounting to as low as 30% to 50%. Acute stringency of resources both internal and external and recessionary conditions have gravely imperilled developmental efforts, resulting into a serious psychological setback and pervasive sense of frustration in the economic sphere.

The abandonment of the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan, due to the near chaotic condition of the economy, and the uncertainties relating to the availability of resources amounts to a failure of the planning machinery. Even the yearly plans have been pruned to the bare minimum, consistent with the necessity of finishing the uncompleted tasks and maintaining a semblance of continuity with the past. A breakdown in development efforts: at this juncture, amounts in physical terms to a let up, in our war on poverty, and, in psychological terms, a serious undermining of the confidence of the people, not only in the future of our economy but in the very rationale of pla-

ning. Considering the necessity of a build up of our defences and a sound economy to counter the aggressive designs of our neighbours, it amounts to a loss of a crucial opportunity to gain a lead over the enervating influence of these hostile designs.

The Government has been blaming these developments on extraneous factors like the border wars with China and Pakistan and the failure of the monsoon during 1965 and '66. But this does not present the whole picture. Behind the failures of recent years lie much deeper and fundamental reasons. The reasons of these have to be found in the blunders of the Government in respect of their approach towards planning and the entire planning strategy.

One of the major shortcomings of planning in India is the failure of demand generation to keep pace, commensurately, with the increase in the productive potential of the economy. The brightest side of the plan picture is presented by the progress achieved in industrial growth. But the aim of any planned effort must be towards an increase in employment potential, in close approximation to increase in productivity. This is specially true of a country like India, with a huge backlog of unemployment and underemployment, especially in the rural sector. Increase in employment commensurately, can alone ensure adequate demand generation. The increase in the employment potential in India has lagged behind the progress of the productive potential during the plan years. Thus, from year to year the backlog of unemployment, instead of decreasing, has been piling up progressively. The phenomenon of waning demand coexisting with scarcity conditions, during recent months,

can be explained only on the score of the failure of demand generation to keep pace with increase in industrial productivity. In their zeal for gigantism the policy makers lost sight of this particular aspect of planning policy.

The role of small industries dispersed over the whole of the countryside is crucial in this respect. They not only have the potentiality of yielding quicker results in relation to the resources employed in setting them up, but they also help in strengthening the base and infrastructure of the economy. Considerable investment has been made by private enterprise in this field during recent years. But much leeway remains to be covered as far as the Governmental efforts in this direction are concerned. The need to reorientate the plan strategy so as to give it a greater bias in favour of small scale and rural industries has often been stressed, but has never seriously engaged the attention of the Government.

Even the highly industrialized countries of the world, there exists a teeming sector of such industries which in any economy forms the backbone of the industrial structure, not because it is necessarily a more efficient way of organising production, but because of the strength it imparts to the economy and because of the balanced growth and greater demand generation that it ensures. Russia's early experiments to establish such tertiary sector with the help of electrification of the countryside is an example of a right approach to planning strategy. The development of Japan on these lines, especially in the early stages and the success story it has made also has an important lesson for our planning policy.

It can be said that, too much preoccupation with projects requiring long gestation period has been the bane of planning in India. It has been responsible for inadequate demand generation and also for inflationary pressures in the economy due to the locking up of huge capital resources in relation to their capacity to cater to the needs of consumption. For the future, thus, there is a need to reorientate planning strategy in favour of a bias towards small scale and rural industries for ensuring balanced growth of the economy.

Another significant lesson of the failure of planning, is the failure to achieve adequate progress in the agricultural sector. Indeed it can be said that agriculture has been the Achilles heel of our economy. Weakness of the agricultural base of the economy has always remained a depressant to the growth rate of the economy. Whenever there is an indifferent monsoon agricultural production goes down, reducing the growth rate of the economy.

The capacity of an economy to generate resources for a developmental effort and sustained industrial growth is to a large extent dependent on the efficiency of its agricultural sector. Agriculture in India has always been and still remains largely a gamble on monsoon. In spite of two decades of planning our agricultural yields are grossly deficient in comparison with many other countries. And in spite of all the planning we are no nearer to self sufficiency in food and industrial raw materials let alone, to building up of reserves to ensure stability of prices in times of stress, which is an essential condition of any developmental

effort. Development without stability cannot, in the long run, fail to affect the economy. We have learnt this bitter lesson in recent years at a great cost. It is significant to note that the wide fluctuations in the growth rate in recent years is primarily due to the effect of success or failure in the agricultural sphere during a particular year. The sharp decline in the growth rate for the year 1966-'67 was due mainly to the failure of the monsoon and the consequent fall in agricultural production. Similarly the rise in the growth rate of about 10.8% during the current year is also largely a consequence of the rise in agricultural production in the wake of the favourable monsoon. Growth in the Industrial sector is relatively much more consistent. This reflects the utter dependence of the growth rate of our economy on the performance of agriculture during a particular period. The necessity of a break in this dependence is indeed crucial to our developmental effort. Even today with the background of planning of nearly two decades, and with a favourable monsoon, we are far behind a fulfilment of even the targets of the Third Plan for the agricultural sector. What is needed is an all out attack on immobility, traditional approach and resistance to innovation by educating opinion in favour of improved practices for a decisive breakthrough in the agricultural sphere. A break in the dependence on imports of food and industrial raw materials is a crying necessity to ensure a steady and balanced growth of the economy.

Another crucial aspect in which planning has failed is the lack of coherence and consistency in the thinking of the Government even on important policy matters, and a

basic lack of perspective relating to priorities. Too much concern over fictitious ideological considerations which have very little relevance to the prevailing state of affairs, has characterized this thinking. Elaborate attempts at exercising the imaginary ghosts of monopoly practices and concentration of wealth in private hands is a case in point. The ideological infighting of the Congress party ranks and its ingrained prejudices against private enterprise has served to create built-in safeguards against prosperity. Where it is necessary to concentrate on improving the functioning of the public sector enterprises in order to make it contribute significantly to the revenue resources of the country, the policy makers are busy with measures calculated to kill the spirit of enterprise which alone can make for productive efficiency. Instead of harnessing the energies of people into right channels for tackling the common tasks of development it has created an atmosphere of hostility, suspicion, and frustration which leads to inactivity and lack of enterprise. This is hardly a climate in which the problems before the country can be effectively tackled.

The policy of the Government in respect of the development of coal and oil resources in the country, as also in respect of setting up of fertiliser industry, is one of the numerous cases of a policy characterized by doing nothing nor allow it to be done by agencies which can deliver the goods. The attitude of the Government towards the development of a healthy capital market is also another case in point. The oft expressed views of Governmental spokesmen, doubting the necessity of a capital market

for raising internal resources, as also the setting up of financial institutions to serve the need of raising capital independent of the capital market, reveal the dishonest approach of the Government in this matter. Its policies, calculated to starve the private sector of its legitimate share of financial resources necessary for carrying out the developmental tasks allotted to it, has effectively emasculated the capital market. It has become highly difficult to raise resources in the capital market to any substantial extent. Whilst paying lip service to the important role of the private sector in the economy of the country the Government has seen to it that it is effectively starved of its financial need in order to give it a bad name and ultimately hang it. A very distressing feature of the consequences of this short sighted policy is the disinvestment in equities and complete undermining of the confidence of the investing class in the future of equity investment in the country. It is but a natural consequence of this policy that there is a regular diversion of private savings into other forms of investment like hoarding of commodities, and investment in immovable properties. There is no wonder, if after all this the economy suffers from lack of resources for the tasks ahead.

After all is said and done, the Government has to make up its mind about the priorities—whether it wants to pursue the distributional goals of planning to the extent of their being a drag on the productive efficiency of the country, or to give proper attention to increasing production in an atmosphere of encouragement to productive

effort. The choice should be clear. The need of the hour is a greater realization of the efficacy of a policy calculated to channelize the creative energies of the people towards the pursuit of prosperity. Wrong priorities and false ideological considerations should not be allowed to stand in the way.

Another important count of a lacuna in our planning is the failure to shape our investment and savings potential towards greater effectiveness. Paucity of investable resources is not a bottleneck peculiar to our country. It is a handicap suffered by all economies trying to lift themselves from a contest of low productivity and low living standards. But our low savings and investment potential has received a further setback due to wrong plan policies, which have slowed down the tempo of capital formation in the past few years. It is no wonder that inspite of the heavy resource mobilization drive of the plan years the gross capital formation which had registered an increase of 30% in 1963-64 has gradually gone down. It has registered an absolute fall of 8% during 1966-'67.

The paucity of resources is felt more keenly as a result of the increasing non-developmental expenditure. The third plan years had witnessed a huge effort for increasing financial resources. But the effort in this direction was largely nullified by a propensity to increasing wasteful and non-developmental expenditure. This propensity has been accentuated in the context of the federal set up of our planning. In order to claim greater financial assistance and subsidies from the centre, there is a marked tendency on the part of the various States Governments to inflate their demands on the

Central revenues. Not being content with that, they have in recent years resorted to extravagant overdrafts on the Reserve Bank to finance their ever increasing expenses mainly on the count of administrative needs.

All this has tended to aggravate the paucity of internal resources. This tendency is also reflected in rising wage demands all round and the consequent pressure on costs and prices. A country suffering from paucity of investable resources has to choose between neglect of future development and sacrifice of increase in living standards in the present. The choice is indeed a hard one because of the precariously low standards of living in the country. But taking everything into consideration it can be stated that the tendency in our country towards increasing demands on the national cake on the part of the administrative services and labour class, needs to be kept in check in order to avoid imbalance in the economy. Failure to check this has been one of the important failure of our planning policy.

In the sphere of foreign exchange resources, also, our plan strategy has failed to achieve results. Of course, the deterioration in the climate for increase in foreign aid as well as fair trade practices has been to a great extent responsible for our difficulties on this score. But it is equally clear that we have failed to create the

necessary climate for a sustained improvement in our export performance. The inordinate pressures on internal price level has been the principal contributory factor in this behalf and the devaluation of the currency by 36.5% in 1966 has not been able to correct the effects of high costs. On the contrary, due to failure to adjust the cost structure, it has led to greater pressure on prices. A policy of prices stability, and generally, planning under stable conditions should be a principal plank of our plan strategy for the future. The failure to evolve a price policy for availability of common necessities at reasonably low and stable prices has been one of the glaring failures of our plan strategy. Spectacular programmes of supermarkets in the big cities cannot really touch the problem. It must need an elaborate price policy for ensuring growth under stable conditions. Without stability no developmental efforts can be sustained over a period of time.

And, lastly, planned efforts should concentrate more in the direction of generating a climate for enterprise and harnessing the energies of the people towards breaking fresh ground in the tasks of development. A failure to generate such a climate is a lacuna of our planning strategy. All the fiat of the Government could fail, where a purposeful channelization of mass energies would succeed in achieving results.

FRANCIS THOMPSON—THE POET OF FAITH

SHAIENDRA NATH CHAKRAVERTY

The later nineteenth century still stands for most people as the period of smug complacency, hollow snobbery and unhealthy prudery. Towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Victorian temperament lost its self-confidence, and a big interrogation mark was visible in many spheres. It was inevitable, for it was nothing but the result of a crisis in prosperity. Moreover, during this time the English literary mind became more open to foreign intellectual movements. In the meantime the romantic discovery of the Renaissance, also ushered in a new paganism and 'decadence', which became a remarkable feature of the last quarter of the century. An impassioned revolt against science had already been started. A new Romanticism took the place of Victorian Rationalism.

It was a transitional period in which Francis Thompson lived, suffered, wrote and died. Born on December 18, 1859, Francis Thompson passed his early twentyone years under the protection of his indulgent father, Dr. Charles Thompson. He was expected to become a priest, then a doctor but he failed miserably to qualify himself for either of the vocations. In 1879, a serious illness drove him to drug-addiction, which was one of the causes of his miseries in life. His mother presented him a copy of *De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, before her death in 1880. "It has been remarked", writes Viola Meynell, "that in giving him *de Quincey* it was as if Mrs. Thompson had found for him a guardian or spokesman or borne him an elder brother".¹ Repeated failures and drug addiction finally separated Thompson from his family and he left home for ever in November, 1885. He reached London almost a destitute with volumes of Blake and Aeschylus for his main belonging.

Everard Meynell has recorded faithfully the events of Thompson's life in London in his *Life* of the poet: in rags he tramped the streets; slept on the Embankment at nights; earned his bread as a bootblack; sold matches and newspapers on the kerb; opium; the writing of prose and verse in odd account-books; the meeting with the kind hearted McMaster who offered him shelter and food in exchange of a nominal job; the accident with the shutters; again thrown out on the streets of London; the meeting with the girl of the streets—her generosity and sacrifice—her sudden disappearance; the sending of manuscripts to *Merry England*; the discovery by Wilfrid Meynell—the end of the 'night mare time' and the beginning of a new life under the cosy shelter of the Meynells. "Release from opium".

writes Peter Butter, 'and contact with people who appreciated him set free the vein of poetry which had lain hidden under his diffidence and which flowed strongly for the next seven years, 1889-95, and then almost dried up'.² He wrote a large number of articles of a very high standard during his last ten years as a reviewer for literary periodicals. He died of consumption at the age of forty seven in 1907. Later on, when Thompson's reputation as a poet was established and his name coupled with that of Shelley or Tennyson, his father exclaimed: "If the lad had but told me."

"The greatest poet", says John Drinkwater, "whom the eighteen—nineties produced was for a long time almost unknown... Thompson's inspiration came from deep springs of rich inner experience, which was only intensified by the bitter circumstances of his outward life. If ever a poet 'learned in suffering what he taught in song', that poet was Francis Thompson".³ Francis Thompson, though living in an age of doubt and perplexity, kept the flame of faith

undimmed. "The focus of his moral being is faith", says Prof. Cazamian, "From this belief he draws the feeling of the divine in nature and man, and an earnest and delicate spirituality",⁴ He had learnt the first lesson of spirituality from his religious parents who were devout Catholics. "The spirit of such poems as 'the Making of Viola, and 'A Judgement in Heaven", wrote Thompson himself later on, "is no mere mediaeval imitation, but the natural temper of my Catholic training in a simple provincial home".⁵

It is interesting to note that his close contemporary, John Davidson (1857-1909), brought up in the same environment of the later nineteenth century, differed greatly from Francis Thompson in his outlook on life, religion, and society. Physically they belonged to the same country but mentally they stood poles apart. Yet they offer an interesting subject of comparison and contrast, "A curious complement—contrast", says Prof. Saintsbury, "is supplied by Francis Thompson, Davidson's close contemporary from birth to death, and with him, almost completely representative of the main tendency of poetry among men who had reached, but not more than reached, middle life before the twentieth century began. Thompson, like Davidson, suffered from poverty and ill health. He was very much more of a scholar than Davidson, and was always, as definitely devout as Davidson was the reverse; nor, though as has been said, he had losses and privations, did he make these much of a subject for poetry. The two are thus, in many ways, different; but for that very reason, the representative character assigned to them in regard to the poetry of the latest years of the century is the more complete."⁶

Again, comparing Thompson and Davidson, Hugh Walker comments, "In sharp contrast to Thompson stands John Davidson, the latest of our poets in their misery dead. Thompson was one of the ascetics who abjure and renounce the world; Davidson was in fierce revolt against a world which he would fain have enjoyed. Thompson was a man of faith, Davidson a man of doubt."⁷

The life of Francis Thompson tells us that the man of faith learns lessons from his failures, makes a fresh start, profiting by his painful experience, builds for himself a more stable and enduring success. The man of little faith, as in the case of Davidson, fails to rise above his calamity, refuses to learn the lesson that it would teach him and never tries again. It should be borne in mind here that in his utter despondency John Davidson committed suicide in 1909.

The secret of Thompson's greatness lies in the fact that he did not lose faith in God and man. He represented the Christian and Catholic spirit in deep reaction from neopaganism and materialism. Like the religious poets of the seventeenth century, he desired passionately to bring poetry once more into the service of a heavenly instead of an earthly love. In the vein of George Herbert he said;

"Teach how the crucifix may be
Carven from the laurel—tree,
Fruit of the Hesperides
Burnish take on Eden-trees,
The Muses' sacred grove be wet
With the red dew of Olivet,
And Sappho lay her burning brows
In which Cecilia's lap of snows!"

(To a Poet Breaking silence)

Religion may be taken as the sole basis of Thompson's personality. He was attracted to religion from the very beginning of his life and absorbed the basic principles and practices of Catholicism in his home. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin remained an important element in his emotional life and we find that she is a recurrent theme in his poetry. As it is said of Keats that he never beheld an oak tree without seeing a Dryad, so it can be said of Thompson that he never thought of anything in life without seeing Christ and the Cross. The setting sun which he beheld at Storrington in the Field of the Cross was to him, "God's answer to the enigma of life—the God—Man's reconciliation.

of pain and suffering and physical death with joy and life, temporal and eternal. The poet bows his head and a "strange passion" sweeps over him.

For worship it is too incredulous,

For doubt—Oh, too believing—passionate.

He is in the presence of the symbol which he and "the Disciple whom Jesus loved" chose as the most adequate symbol of God—made-Man", (Rev.T.L. Connolly).⁸ Thompson asked :

"Thy straight

Long beam lies steady on the Cross. Ah me !

What secret would thy radiant finger show ?
Of thy bright mastership is this the key ?

Is *this* the secret, then ? And is it woe ?"

(Ode to the Setting Sun)

In the "After—Strain" of the ode Thompson, putting aside all doubts and questionings, expressed his conviction :

"Even so, O Cross ! thine is the victory.

Thy roots are fast within our fairest fields ;
Brightness may emanate in Heaven from thee,
Here thy dread symbol only shadow yields.
Of reaped joys thou art the heavy sheaf

Which must be lifted, though the reaper groan ;
Yea, we may cry till Heaven's great ear be deaf,
But we must bear thee ; and must bear alone".

Has not Aldous Huxley said : "Final conviction can only come to those who make an act of faith".⁹ In action and thought Thompson was a staunch follower of faith and his faith saved him from yielding to self and total oblivion.

Aye, Thompson bore the Cross and bore it alone throughout his life till he died alone in the Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth, in London, in 1907 bravely. Thompson's whole life had been a pilgrimage and "the record of his pilgrimage and his faith is actually epitomised", says Holbrook Jackson, "in the most popular and most remarkable of his poems, *The Hound of Heaven*".¹⁰ It is written from the standpoint of a soul in a state of unrest pursued

by God and God's unfathomable Love, but as yet unwilling to yield to that Love lest all else must be cast aside or given up. But the Great Pursuer is remorseless, inexorable and tireless. The soul is finally overtaken by God's Love and it hears His affectionate call :

"Rise, clasp My hand, and come !"

It is not the class of a moral that may slip off suddenly but it is the clasp of God Himself and therefore, it is permanent and safe. Man may mistrust and misunderstand God and His Love ; but He never leaves an afflicted soul.

"Halts by me that footfall ;

Is my gloom, after all,

Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly ?

'Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,

I am He Whom thou seekest ;'

Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest Me."

Thompson re-introduced Christian faith in English poetry. "Whilst every thinker and dreamer", writes Holbrook Jackson, "of the *fin de siecle* decade was seeking a fuller life through art, or experience, or sensation, or reform, or revolt, or possessions, Francis Thompson was finding it in the negation of all these. Whilst others acquired for themselves treasures of one kind or another or sought for themselves wonders and achievements of one kind or another, he remained both poor and unmoved by his poverty. If mind ever was kingdom of man, Francis Thompson's mind a kingdom was to him, nay, it was the Kingdom of God!"¹¹ He never prayed to God for any material gain, but only to be known as a poet :

"A double life the Poet lived,

And with double burthen grieved :

The life of flesh and life of song,

The pangs to both lives that belong ;

Immortal knew and mortal pain,

Who in two worlds could lose and gain,

And found immortal fruits must be
Mortal through his immortality.

The life of flesh and life of song !

If one life worked the other wrong,

What expiating agony

May for him, damned to poesy,
 Shut in that little sentence be—
 What deep austerities of strife—
 'He lived his life!' He *lived* his life".

(Epilogue to 'A Judgement in Heaven')

To Thompson a Codless-World was inconceivable. The age in which Thompson lived was eager to experience *sensation*. But sensation could give only momentary pleasure giving birth to greater dejection in its fulfilment. "Pleasure soared", writes William Gaunt, "and wallowed. It was ecstasy and disgust. It devoured and nourished. Enticing and terrible; it led to torture, to wisdom, to the unknown",¹² It led to a land where God did not live. "The English *fin de siècle* romantics certainly tended towards decadence. By continually satisfying new desires, they created new ones, and in the new thirst for fresh experience and novel sensations they were insatiable to the point of exhaustion, mental and physical. Many of them, such as Beardsley, Wilde, Johnson and Dowson eventually turned to Rome and found ultimate satisfaction in the Catholic Church. Others, like the Irish poet W.B. Yeats, became theosophists. It is significant that the only convinced anti-mystic among them, John Davidson, committed suicide", (H. Montgomery Hyde).¹³ Francis Thompson was not troubled by the quest of sensuous pleasure. He did not run after the shadow leaving the substance behind. "In Thompson's view", writes John A. Hutton, "and experience the great sensation is never in the fulfilment of desire, but in the restraint of desire out of respect to something which seems still more desirable. The finest sensation, he would have said, is secured not by the way of indulgence but by the way of self-control and reliance. He celebrates in many a poem the joy of *not-having*—of not—having—seen, of not—having—Known".¹⁴ Thompson was, again, not troubled by either the sensual or sexual side of love. In one of the poems in *Love in Dian's Lap* he said :

" Chastest, since such you are,
 Take this curbed spirit of mine,

Which your own eyes invest with light divine,
 For lofty love and high auxiliar

In daily exalt emprise
 Which outsoars mortal eyes ;

This soul which on your soul is laid,
 As maid's breast against breast of maid ;"
 ("Manus Animam Pinxit")

Faith is the bulwork of Thompson's religion. His poetry bursts forth from him, full of resignation and devotion, courage and strength, a victorious appeal of life, and eternal memorial to optimism and faith in God.

"Throughout his entire life", writes J.C. Reid, "his faith is the only constant thing that stood between him and complete surrender to self, the only tie that bound him to the world of obligations".¹⁵ Thompson believed that just as the dew drop in the grass mirrors the Heavens, so the human mind may reflect God. Thompson's "Vision", says Rev. Connolly, "is the sure vision of Catholic faith, and whose voice is the authentic voice of one in whose poetry,

"the sweet birds of the Lord

With earth's waters make accord." "¹⁶

Francis Thompson's poetry offers an elixir of life to those who suffer from spiritual anaemia.

1. Meynell, Viola : *Francis Thompson and Wilfrid Meynell : A Memoir*, p. 14.

2. Butter, Peter : *Francis Thompson*, p. 10

3. Drinkwater, John : *The Outlines of Literature*, p 723.

4. Legouis, Emile and Cazamian, Louis ; *A History of English Literature* p. 1294.

5. Quoted by Everard Meynell : *The Life of Francis Thompson*, p. 47

6. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. XIII, pp 217-218

7. Walker, Hugh : *The Literature of the Victorian Era*. pp. 431-432.

8. Connolly, Rev. T.L. : *Francis Thompson : In His Paths*, p. 29

9. Huxley, Aldous : *Ends and Means*, p. 185.
- 10 Jackson, Holbrook : *The Eighteen Nineteens*, p. 172.
11. *Ibid*, pp. 172-173.
12. Gaunt, William : *The Aesthetic Adventure*, p. 124.
13. Hyde, H. Montgomery : *Introduction : The Romantic '90s*. By Richard Le Gallienne, p. XV
14. Hutton, John A : *Guidance from Francis Thompson In Matters of Faith*, p. 47
15. Reid, J.C. : *Francis Thompson—Man and Poet*, p.49
16. Connolly, Rev.T.L. : *Preface : Poems of Francis Thompson*, p. X.

RURAL INDUSTRIALISATION IN ORISSA

A. R. RAY.

With the attainment of Independence in our country, the development of small and medium scale industries has received a measure of government patronage. The importance of small industries is largely due to great pressure of population on land and due to their employment potential. The development of small industries in the rural areas will also provide subsidiary occupation to the cultivators during the slack season. The schematic budget provisions for the programme of Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries are a sum of Rs. 65,000 and 50,000 in stage I and stage II a Block respectively. Thus the Government's programme of expenditure, if we take the 307 Blocks so far established, is quite a colossal amount (about Rs.35,305,000) in course of about ten years beginning from the year 1952. Besides large sums are being spent from the Khadi and Industries Board and the Industries Department of the State. Another important aspect of the programme of small scale industries is the establishment of Industrial Estates with a view to providing built-up factory-units on hire to industrialists to save them heavy initial capital investment. So far seven Industrial Estates have been set up : (1) Cuttack, (2) Jagatpur, (3) Kendrapara, (4) Jharsuguda, (5)

Rourkela, (6) Berhampur, (7) Baripada. But consequent on the introduction of Panchayat Samiti Industries in the State, the earlier programme (under Industrial Estates Programme) was dropped except in case of the Rural Industrial Estate at Sambalpur (The Third Plan : Mid Term Appraisal P. 133). The emphasis has now shifted to the Panchayat Industries and Panchayat Samiti Industries Scheme taken up during 1962-63. Besides these, there are the two other schemes namely the Pilot Project Scheme and the Pilot Project for Intensive Development of Rural Industry. Under the Pilot Project companies scheme, 40 industrial units were started, but 7 of them went into liquidation. Two Pilot Projects, namely Jajpur Project and Barpali Project, under the Pilot Project for intensive development of Rural Industry have been selected on the recommendation of the Planning Commission.

Orissa's greatest experiment to day is in Panchayat Industries. The scheme of setting up Panchayat Industries has been put into operation during 1962-63 and it is linked with the prize competition scheme. In the year 1962-63, the new scheme of awarding prizes to the best Grama Panchayats of the State for their all-round

performance was started. That year, apart from 17 first prizes and 17 second prizes, the first Grama Panchayat of the state got a cash award of Rupees one lakh. Similarly, another group of Panchayats got the Industry prize during the year 1963-64.

A prize competition scheme among the Panchayat Samitis has also been introduced. According to this, three Panchayat Samitis, one from each Division, get prizes for their best performance. The prize is in the shape of a medium sized industry at an estimated cost of Rs.1 crore to be located within the area of the Panchayat Samiti. The recipients of prizes in 1963-64 were Jeypore in Koraput District, Basudevpur in Balasore District and Jamankira in Sambalpur District, and attempts are being made to establish a Power Tiller Industry, a Card Board Factory using rice-straw as material and an Engineering Workshop in these three Panchayat Samitis respectively. These new experiments have created an industrial climate in the rural areas by developing among the people their artisan skill, enthusiasm and entrepreneurship.

As stated earlier a number of small industries on co-operative basis has been started under the Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries Programme in a Block. Mention may be made of the following industries started under this programme, but in many Blocks, programmes had not been finalised and in several blocks, money had been left unspent till stage II. These industries are—mainly :

(i) Sugar Units, (ii) Tile Unit, (iii) Blacksmithy, (iv) Carpentry Unit, (v) Saw Mill, (vi) Leather, (vii) Rice Huller, (viii) Rice-cum-oil Mill, (xi) Oil Mill. Government policy now is not to have any more training-cum-production centres in the State and the existing T.C.P.cs are being converted into production centres as quickly as possible. A few small industries stated below will give an idea of the source of capital and management.

Dhankauda Tile Unit

There are 34 members in this tile co-opera-

tive society Sambalpur District, of this 30 are worker members. These potters live near by. The Block has given Rs. 15,000 as share capital, working capital loan has been sanctioned by the Orissa State Financial Corporation. Machinery will be installed by the Orissa Small Industries Corporation.

To Tile Co-operative Society at Titlagarh in Bolangir District has been formed and share capital to the extent of Rs. 230 has been collected from members. This unit has received a share capital of Rs. 15,000 from the Titlagarh Panchayat Samiti. Orissa State Financial Corporation has sanctioned a loan of Rs.30,000.

In the district of Sundargarh, three schemes have been sanctioned under the Panchayat Samiti Industries—One Tile Unit at Rajgangpur, one Carpentry unit at Bonaigarh and one Blacksmithy unit Birmitrapur. These industries are started as Industrial Co-operatives and share capital to the extent of Rs. 760, Rs. 100, and Rs. 297 is realised in the Rajgangpur, Bonai and Birmitrapur respectively. The Orissa Financial Corporation has sanctioned a loan of Rs. 26,000 for the Raipgangpur Tile unit.

Rs.2428 have been collected from 100 members as share capital for the Uppalada Sugar unit in the District of Ganjam. The Government have paid the share capital of Rs.33,500 and the Panchayat Samiti will invest Rs. 50,000 as share capital in the Unit. The buildings will be constructed through Orissa Small Industries Corporation.

The Boriguma Sugar unit in the District of Koraput has already gone into production. Attempt is being made to get a loan of the working capital from the State Bank of India. The Co-operative Tile Factory at Kotpad has received the Government share capital of Rs.12,000 and the Panchayat Samiti has subscribed Rs.15,000.

It is interesting to note how the schematic provision of Rs. 65,000 and Rs. 50,000 in stage I and stage II is being spent under the Rural Arts, Crafts programme in a Block.

(1) Jhumpura Block (Keonjhar District).

This block entered stage I on the 1st October 1960. The unspent balance was Rs. 64,000 in 1963 May. The following programme as drawn up is approved.

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| (a) Mahilla Samiti | Rs. 2,115. |
| (b) Investment in share in the prize winning P.S. | Rs. 40,000. |
| (c) Jhumpura Weavers C.S. | |
| (i) godown and office | Rs. 4,000. |
| (ii) working capital | Rs. 2,000. |
| (d) Gumura Carpentry Society | |
| (i) Working capital | Rs. 1,000. |
| (ii) managerial subsidy | Rs. 1,000. |
| (e) Balibandh Blacksmithy C.S. for workshed. | Rs. 2,000. |
| (f) Tukudiha Poultry Co-operative Society. | |
| (i) Workshed | Rs. 4,000. |
| (ii) Purchase of implements and managerial subsidy. | Rs. 2,000. |
| (g) Training of artisans. | Rs. 3,885 |
| (h) Assistance to mat making artisans. | Rs. 2,000 |
- (2) Goundia Block (Dhenkanal District)

It entered stage I on the 1st of October 1961. Nothing has been spent up to May 1963. The following programme was approved.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| (a) Mahilla Samiti | Rs. 15,000 |
| (b) Four Rice Hullers. | Rs. 41,280 |
| (c) Managerial Subsidy to Industrial Co-operatives, | Rs. 2,195 |
| (d) Training of artisans. | Rs. 5,025. |
| (e) Improved tools | Rs. 2,000. |
| (f) Aid to Industrial Co-operatives. | Rs. 500. |

(3) Sundargarh Sadar Block—Sundargarh Sadar Block is stage II from the 1st October

1962. The balance amount available is Rs. 19,000 of stage I, Rs. 29,000 of stage II and Rs. 35,000 of T.D. This was the position in May 1963. The following programme was approved.

Share capital in the Panchayat Industry at Kinjirma.

Carpentry Production unit at Sundargarh

Rs. 15,000.
Rs. 30,000.

Supply of improved hand tools to artisans

Rs. 3,000.

Brick Kiln unit at Bhedabahal Rs. 40,000.

(4) Kalahandi Sadar Block

The Block has entered into stage I from the 1st October 1960. An amount of Rs. 56,000 is available for expenditure under the head 'Rural Arts and Crafts'. It has been proposed to contribute a sum of Rs. 50,000 as share capital investment in the crystal sugar unit being started under prize winning Grama Panchayat Industry Scheme at Medinipur. The rest of the amount is proposed to be given for establishment of two rice hullers and implementation of Mahilla Samiti programme.

Some of the general difficulties found in the implementation of the Rural Arts and Crafts Programme are :

(1) The societies complain of non-receipt of funds in time from the Board, while the Board complains that proposals are not received in time and consequently there is accumulation of funds in their hands. It is necessary that each district Industries officer should see that the Blocks are surveyed through the Block level extension officers (Industries) and a minimum programme of four village industries per Block is drawn up and sent to the Orissa Khadi and village Industries Board. The All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission is prepared to grant additional funds for a minimum programme of four Village Industries per Block including a village Fibré, Leather, Pottery, Carpentry and Blacksmithy.

(2) It is felt that the scheme of grant and loan to village Industries has not been widely publicised. In areas when the problem of unemployment is very acute or where the people are very poor, steps should be taken to start small scale industries.

(3) Under the programme, Mahilla Samitis can avail of loan and grant for village industries. It is felt that instead of spoon feeding the mahilla

samitis, paying and commercial propositions should be undertaken by them. Arrangement may be made for marketing their produce. Four months training in crafts for Mahilla samitis is not adequate and the salary of Rs. 75 for craft Instructress is not attractive and so the qualification of the craft Instructress appointed are very poor.

(4) The construction work for the Blacksmithy, Carpentry units in many blocks has been held up for want of A.C. sheets. The tile roofing may be considered in the absence of A. C. sheets.

(5) It is also seen that in some blocks (Ghasipura in Keonjhar District) people are losing faith in Production-cum-Training centre. The products in the centre cannot compete in quality with those produced in the villages. A number of Training-cum-Production Centres are not working either due to lack of staff and machinery or power. In certain rural areas there has been too much pressure of population on land. Rural Industrialisation is the only solution. But no appreciable progress has been done in this regard. Private industries are going ahead while Panchayat Industries are lagging behind.

(6) In some blocks the chairmen are under the impression that the Panchayat Samiti work is a departmental scheme of the Industries Department and they did not have to play any important role in the scheme. In case this impression is there, nothing can be more unfortunate. The development of the Panchayat industries will depend more on the elected representatives to the extent they take initiative and interest not only in the proper keeping of the machineries but also in the construction of the building, machine installation and running the units on economic lines.

The above review shows that a programme of rural industrialisation has been drawn up all over the State. The Block headquarters become the focal point of this industrial development in the rural areas. Three primary objectives are to be aimed at under the programme. Firstly, the

pressure of population should be reduced by providing opportunities of employment in industries. Secondly, minimum amenities of life should be provided to all. Thirdly, a large or medium industry started under the programme should help the growth of small industries in the Panchayat areas.

We are making in our state the greatest experiment in Panchayat cum-Industrial co-operatives. Those officers who are in charge of managing and organising these industrial concerns should make all efforts to see that they are run on sound commercial lines and enkindle among the members and the people a burning faith in co-operation and panchayats. This new industrial co-operative movement in Orissa sponsored by large scale Government investment now should soon be made a people's movement with larger investment from the members. When the initial stage is over, both the working capital and fixed capital should come from the Panchayat's own resources or from the members' greater participation in the share capital of these industries. When such industries are paying concerns, the Government should withdraw its share capital to be invested in other such industries needing financial help.

The Government of Orissa has introduced the Prize competition scheme among the Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. The prizes received in cash by the winning Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis will be invested for promoting medium and small industries at the block and Panchayat level. The introduction of the prize scheme from 1962-63 has created a healthy competitive spirit among the blocks and Panchayats for development work, but sufficient care should be taken in the selection of industries to be set up. Many tile units have sprung up in the countryside. For purpose of house building, no doubt the tile factories are immensely useful, as the problem of rural housing is very acute. Although there is the great need of housing, is there any sufficient effective demand? People are very poor and they have not the means to build

houses with tile roofing. There is therefore an imperative need of setting up House Building Societies. A part of the block fund for Rural Housing both for Stage I and Stage II may be subscribed as share capital to these societies. The most important work of the societies would be to take up the construction of houses on Government land which has remained fallow, and they may be let out to members on hire purchase system. A target for construction of houses in a Block should be fixed up during stage I and Stage II periods.

To-day a number of industrial co-operative societies are functioning in the State, but their condition of working is highly unsatisfactory. Efforts should be made to revive these societies on sound commercial lines. Industrial co-operatives like the agricultural societies are not taking root in the soil and these newly started industrial societies will remain for a long time under Government management, control and finance. This can not be regarded as a healthy sign. Under the garb of co-operation, the Government is expanding the public sector and inviting private capital to co-operate with it. We may properly call it a mixed sector more

dominated by the Government and in future the place of the Government may be taken by the Panchayat but such possibilities are very remote. Without creating first a proper climate for the growth of co-operative sector, large scale capital investment in the co-operatives is extremely risky, but even then such gigantic experiment is worth making for the creation of a climate for co-operative enterprise. But extreme care is to be taken by the officials to see that money invested is not wasted as such failure will shake the very foundation of the co-operative structure.

Each scheme of industrialisation should see that in the course of modernisation the traditional craftsmen are not rendered jobless or useless rather they are absorbed in the schemes of development. But we must not lose sight of the fact that in our great zeal for encouraging the Panchayat or co-operative sector, we are neglecting the place which a small entrepreneur can occupy in the industrial economy of the rural society. A small entrepreneur or enterprise lacking in finance, technical know-how or raw materials and for lack of marketing facilities to-day should receive as much attention as the co-operatives or Panchayat Industries receive from the Government.



INDIA AND THE WEST ASIA CRISIS

R.K. SRIVASTAVA

It is true that India had its moment in West Asia in the mid-fifties, but, while with the collapse of the Baghdad Pact, the period when New Delhi tried to set the pace in the Arab world was largely over, the critics of India's West Asia policy showed signs of growing impatience at the attempts of Arab States to remain either uncommitted or to take an anti-Indian stance in the disputes in which India was involved. Over these years, this embittered mood has been shaped against a double backdrop of pan-Islamic sentiments and consequent pro-Pakistan feelings of some of the West Asian countries, and the belief of a large section of Indians in the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign reality.

To judge from what the national press and some of the leading opposition parties had to say about India's stand on the recent Arab-Israeli war, it would seem that there was a conflict of outlook between the Government and the opposition, with the exception of the Communists. This is not to suggest that the opposition to Government's stand was uniform. In fact, the opposition views reflected different ideological orientations, motives and calculations of the respective constituents. But whatever may have been the differences of the opposition, the majority was against commitment to initiatives which were not backed by a national consensus.

The Official Position

An examination of the Government's policy before, on and after the outbreak of war, shows that its line on the Arab-Israeli question was already made up. On 21 May, while recognizing that the situation in West Asia was "explosive" Prime Minister Indira Gandhi assured the Congress Parliamentary Party that "India would

not say or do anything which would have the effect of aggravating the situation". At the same time, she endorsed UAR's request for the withdrawal of the UNEF from Sinai and Gaza strip. She added, "we would like our friends to know that India-UAR friendship is firm and abiding". It is worthwhile to recall that earlier on 19 May, Mrs. Gandhi, in reply to a message from President Nasser, had already conveyed her Government's appreciation of the "reasons why UAR has had to institute precautionary measures."

In spite of various evidences to show where the sympathies of the India Government lay, ex-Foreign Minister M. C. Chagla's statement in the Lok Sabha on 25 May, came to a majority of the opposition as partisan. Chagla opened his statement by saying : "The creation of Israel has given rise to tension between Israel and Arab countries". Then, he proceeded to endorse "the reasons which have impelled the UAR" to demand for the withdrawal of the UNEF from her territory, and to interdict the Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba on legal as well as political grounds. Although Chagla's statement was consistent with the earlier stand of the Government of India on the Palestine problem, and on the legal position of the UNEF and the Gulf of Aqaba, the opposition did not find this reiteration of the old stand as particularly helpful in the relaxation of tension.

The critical outburst, which Chagla's statement in the Lok Sabha evoked, revealed the opposition's unwillingness to share the Government's position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Quite apart from Parliamentary reaction, the national press, too, refrained from endorsing the Government's stand. No doubt, the Government did find some comfort in the Communist support to its line, but that was not enough. Though in

face of internal pressure the Government did not deviate from its original stand, the official statements subsequently made did bear out the moderating influence of opposition's thinking.

Symptomatic of the deference to opposition's feelings was Chagla's next statement in the Lok Sabha on 5 June, that is on the outbreak of hostilities. Without apportioning any blame on the disputants, he merely expressed the hope that peace should return to West Asia, for the continuation of war would be a calamity for both the UAR and Israel. However, on 6 June, as the picture of war became clearer, Mrs. Gandhi, in a categorical statement on West Asian situation, blamed Israel for having "escalated the situation into an armed conflict". Though the term "aggression" was consciously avoided, Israel was accused of "deliberate", "cowardly" and "wanton" attack on the Indian contingent of the UNEF. It is significant to note that Mrs. Gandhi refrained from endorsing President Gamal Nasser's allegation against the United States and Britain for having given an air cover to Israel.

Chagla's next statement on the West Asian situation on the floor of Lok Sabha on 8 June was likewise cautious and less controversial. He gave an account of India's efforts towards restoration of peace in the United Nations. Commenting on the simple ceasefire resolution of the Security Council, he made it clear that India "would have preferred a resolution which along with ceasefire called upon the Governments concerned for a withdrawal of all armed forces to positions held prior to the outbreak of hostilities." The rest of the statement was concerned with the details of Israeli attack against the UNEF's Indian contingent in Gaza Strip.

However, embarrassing might have been the criticism of most of the opposition and the English language press against the content and style of India's West Asia policy, on 18 July Chagla came with a spirited defence of India's position on Arab-Israeli question by explaining India's objectives in West Asia. He emphasized that from India's point of view it was essential

that west Asia with which it had trade of over hundred crores of rupees and from which it imported most of its oil, the Suez Canal, through which most of India's foreign commerce passed, and the Persian Gulf, because of strategic reasons, should remain in friendly hands. And above all, he reminded that India stood by Nasser, "because he represents those forces in the Arab world which we must support". Chagla also made it clear that India was not averse to a discussion between the Arabs and Israel on such vital questions as recognition of Israel, navigation of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, the question of refugee etc., but what was most important was that Israel must withdraw from occupied Arab territories before negotiations between the two could begin. This involved, he said, the principle "that no aggressor should be permitted to negotiate from strength derived as result of military conquest."

Although India delegation's performance in the UN during the days before, during and after the outbreak of Arab-Israeli war was not unattended by criticism in India, a large section of opposition found India's role in the UN as constructive and diplomatic. Before the start of the six-day war, the Indian delegation concurred with Secretary General U Thant's request for 'a breathing spell', and reactivation of Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission as a deterrent to the outbreak of hostilities in absence of the buffer earlier provided by the UNEF. However, when the news came in at the UN Headquarters about the Israeli artillery and aerial attack on the Indian contingent of the UNEF, the leader of the Indian delegation Mr. Parthasarthy did not try to conceal India's disappointment at Israeli action. He condemned the "irresponsible and brutal action by the ruling circles of Israel". In the first stance, India opposed the US draft resolution for a simple ceasefire, for it did not link the ceasefire with a *status quo ante bellum*. However, on 7 June, India voted with the rest of the members of the Security Council for a simple ceasefire resolution

as a first step towards restoration of peace in West Asia. Parthasarthy's speech on 9 June was extremely critical of Israel for having deliberately turned a juridical dispute on shipping rights into a full-scale armed conflict. He described Israel's pre-emptive strike on 5 June as "war, stark and naked". A ceasefire resolution without mentioning a simultaneous return of the armed forces of the belligerents to the positions held by them prior to the outbreak of hostilities, he warned, would mean the endorsement of a dangerous precedent whereby the aggressor is allowed to enjoy the fruits of aggression. Also in the Fifth Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly, which was convened to find a way out of impasse in the Security Council, M. C. Chagla, who led the Indian delegation, reiterated India's stand for restoration of peace, cessation of fighting must be followed by evacuation of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied after 4 June 1967.

Opposition Criticism

During the latest West Asian Crisis, Government's support for the Arabs vis-a-vis Israel was indefensible in the eyes of its critics. If the Government was determined to justify its censure of Israel and support for the Arabs, the four important constituents of the opposition, namely, the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh, the Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP) and the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) were equally eager to discredit and fail, if possible, the official line. However, the Government was not completely isolated in the Parliament. Besides the Communists, two smaller opposition groups, namely, the Bhartiya Franti Dal (BKD) and the Muslim League gave the support to the Government's policy on the Arab-Israeli dispute. A close analysis of the ideological orientation and the positions taken by the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh, the SSP and the PSP would reveal that behind the facade of opposition to Government's policy lay, at times, contradictory motives.

The Swatantra Party, normally regarded as India's liberal party, with its close ties with industry and business, has pronounced ideological affinities with the West and suspicion of the Soviet Union. It was natural for the Swatantra Party, which feels that India's interests could best be served by joining the western alliance, to be critical of India's support to Nasser, who, it thought, not only relied heavily on Soviet support but also helped to bring the Soviet influence in West Asia and the Indian Ocean. Moreover, Nasser's socialism threatened to undermine the credibility of pro-western regimes in the area. Swatantra's opposition to Government's pro-Nasser attitude has to be viewed in this context.

On 25 May, Professor N. G. Ranga, leader of the Party in Lok Sabha, criticized the "over-anxiety of the Government to please UAR", which, he felt, was "not directly involved" in the dispute between Israel and Syria. Moreover, he asked, if the UAR could maintain neutrality "during the Sino-Indian dispute and also the Indo-Pak dispute, how is it not possible for us to maintain the same neutrality, especially when it will promote the cause of peace?" The Party also supported the western contention that the Gulf of Aqaba was an international waterway and the UAR had no right to block it. If this was made a precedent, observed Party's General Secretary M.R. Masani, someday, even the Suez Canal might be subjected to blockade. On the outbreak of war, Ranga took exception to Mrs. Gandhi's assessment of Israeli role in escalating the crisis; for, he said, such "remarks are not likely to help the situation at all or help our national interest". And after the end of war, Masani absolved Israel for any aggressive act in the Lok Sabha on 15 July. Rather, he felt, that the UAR was guilty of aggression against Israel. He also criticized India's support to Soviet resolution in the General Assembly, and warned the Indian Government not to follow Soviet policy too closely, for "we may find ourselves all alone in the end".

The Bhartiya Jan Sangh has been a consistent supporter of Israel, and in its 1967 election manifesto had promised to establish full-fledged diplomatic relations with Israel". Its line is simple. It believes in the policy of reciprocity. It advocates building up of closest Indo-Israeli relations as a necessary counter-balance in a predominantly Muslim region, extending from Morocco to Pakistan. This policy was reflected in Jan Sangh's support to Israel during the recent crisis.

On 25 May, speaking in the Lok Sabha, Atal Bihari Bajpai, now the President of the Party, strongly objected to the opening sentence of Chagla's statement that the birth of Israel had given rise to Arab-Israeli tension. He enquired whether the Government thought that liquidation of Israel alone would remove this tension? And on 6 June, when Mrs. Gandhi charged Israel with escalation of the situation, Bajpai criticised the Prime Minister for being unduly hasty in ascribing blame on Israel. He wanted India to declare that it would not be party to and would not tolerate the idea of liquidation of Israel. However, he admitted, that he found himself nearer to the UAR than to Jordan or Saudi Arabia which were puppets of western imperialism. Earlier on 4 June, Balraj Madhok, the then President of the Party, addressing a press conference, advocated the policy of reciprocity towards individual Arab countries, opposed Government's encouragement to Arab bellicosity, and declared that the Gulf of Aqaba was an international waterway. And after the war, Madhok opposed in the Lok Sabha the Indian proposal for return to June 4 lines as the basis of peace talks. He went to the extent of saying that Sharm-el-Sheikh "should not be given back to UAR lest UAR should be able to blockade the international waterways again.". Perhaps, as a corrective to its extreme views, the Jan Sangh at its Simla session (30 June—2 July 1967) passed a resolution which asked Israel, amongst other things, not to allow itself to be used as "instrument of western diplomacy", to cooperate in the rehabilitation of the Palestinian refugees, and to withdraw from occupied Arab

territories.

The close ties of the PSP with the Mapai Party, the leading constituent of the ruling coalition in Israel, its long time advocacy for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, its distrust of communism, and its stress on reciprocity in India's external relations were largely responsible for PSP's opposition to the official stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict. PSP's dispute with the official line, as was expressed by Nath Pai in the Lok Sabha on 25 May, was on two points. First, the PSP did not disapprove the Government supporting the Arab but it deplored Government's lack of concern for peace in West Asia. Second, the PSP considered the Government's stand as biased, for it had levelled charges against Israel without "finding out their side of the case." While the war was still on, PSP's leader Surendranath Dwivedy told the Lok Sabha his Party fully supported the Indian resolution in the Security Council, and expressed the hope that other peace loving countries would extend their support to it. Nath Pai also reiterated his Party's support to the Indian position which called for a return to 4 June lines as a condition for peace talks. But he criticized the Government for having given way to Russo-American pressure in the UN. This, he described, was Government's "monumental ineptitude" and an "incredible abdication of its self-respect".

Unlike the PSP, the SSP has been disillusioned with the Israeli socialists. It has been critical of Israel for having put up a facade of socialism, while it was theocratic in ethos and constituted an "oriental" wedge of European society into the heart of West Asia. However, Madhu Limaye, leader of the Party in Parliament, made it clear in Lok Sabha on 25 May that his Party did not stand for Israel's liquidation. He resented the posture of neutrality adopted by the Arab states in India's international disputes, and criticized the Government for having given only the Arab version of the crisis. He also wanted the Government to declare that the creation of any state, based on religion gave rise to tension, and not to

make Israel an exception. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, too, intervened to say that Israel could import all its requirements from Tel Aviv. In subsequent debate on the West Asian situation in the Lok Sabha, Dr. Lohia appreciated Indian representative's performance in the Security Council, urged the Government to support Pope's plea for making Jerusalem a free city, and criticized Nasser as well as Israeli rulers for having become arrogant. On the conclusion of the war, Limaye suggested a federation or confederation of Israel and Jordan as the only way which could solve the refugee problem and eventually bring peace in the region.

Opposition Support

The two Communist Parties of India fully backed the Indian Government's West Asia policy before, and after the six-day war. Both groups felt that Israel acted only under the direction and at the dictation of certain outside imperialist powers, while the Arab countries, particularly those like the UAR and Syria, represented forces of peace, nationalism and anti-imperialism. They felt it was their duty to strengthen Government's hands against the internal and external pressures to which it was subjected. Another group to support the Government's stand was the newly formed BKD. On 6 June, Anand Narain Mulla, speaking on behalf of the Party, made it clear that he did not share opposition's thinking which was "a projection of the anti-Pakistan bias". Similarly, the Muslim League and few independent members, too, expressed their satisfaction with the stand taken by the Government on Arab-Israeli dispute.

The Indian Press

The Press comments do not necessarily project the public opinion always and everywhere. But if comments in India's English language press on the West Asian crisis of 1967 were to be

taken as representative of the Indian opinion, it can be safely said that the Government's line on Arab-Israeli conflict was not shared by the majority. A survey of six national dailies during May-June 1967 shows five of them assailed the Government's policy with varying degrees of emphasis.

To begin with, in the analysis of the West Asian situation, for all its explosive possibilities, the Indian press agreed on two points: that Syrian commandos ought to be checked, and that there was an urgent need for swift UN action in West Asia. The dissenting note came from *Patriot* (20 May) which accused Israel of serving as an agent provocateur almost entirely maintained by the American monopolists to threaten the Arab people whenever necessary".

The Indian press did not review the question of the Gulf of Aqaba and the position of the UNEF against a legal background. There was a general appreciation that the blockade would seriously impair Israel's political and economic interests, and that Nasser's request for the withdrawal of the UNEF might spark off an armed conflict in West Asia. It was advocated that the Aqaba question should be referred to the International Court of Justice and Israel should be allowed the use of the Gulf until such time the World Court gave its final verdict. A section of the Indian press wanted India to use its influence with the UAR to reconsider its demand for the UNEF's withdrawal, and also to investigate the possibilities of a UN force being posted on both sides of the frontiers.

There was almost a collective disapproval of Chagla's speech on 25 May to explain what Indian policy on the current Arab-Israeli dispute was. *Hindustan Times* (27 May) not only doubted the veracity of Chagla's statement, it also criticized the Government for ignoring "the critical actualities of the present situation" on which hinged the issues of peace and war. *Times of India* (27 May) considered Chagla's

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Current Affairs

The Olympic Ideals And India.

The Olympic ideals are quite simple and easy to understand. If all the nations of the world assembled once every four years in a Common Competitive arena and engaged in a trial of strength and skill to discover the best athletes of the world in the various branches of games and sports ; human standards of sportsmanship, international amity and the ideals of unity of all races would be developed and improved. That being so all nations send their best sports men and athletes to the Olympic Meets which are considered to provide a forum for fellowship to the nations of the World. These meets also give the sportsmen of the World a chance to experience the best and the hardest competition and to improve their own standards through this experience. Medal hunting has never been the objective of the Olympic Meets. Every nation participates in the Olympics for improvement of athlete standards and to know the best sportsmen of the world in a near and intimate manner. That is a material and moral gain which no nation can afford to throw away for saving a few Rupees or Dollars.

India has been behaving in a most peculiar manner in her participation in the Olympic. First of all the selection of a Team in point of size is decided on the basis of the foreign exchange resources of India. However small India's resources may be in terms of foreign currency, one knows that these funds run into hundreds of crores, that is thousands of millions of rupees annually. One or two million rupees out of 7000/8000 million rupees would be a small fraction of one per cent of these resources. That being so, if the Government of India cut down the Indian Olympic team down to absurd proportions, leaving out persons representing almost all games

and sports, they make a farce of India's participation in the Olympics. The Indian Olympic Association too make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the sportsmen of the world agreeing to such interference from the Ministry of Finance of the Government of India. The Indian Olympic Council would say that they have to cut down the size of their Team as their Government have no money. If that is a fact and the Government of India cannot give a million rupee worth of foreign currency to India's Team once in four years, India should stop sending a team. The idea that all sportsmen who are sent must earn medals is a totally unworthy idea as far as Olympic ideals are concerned. All young sportsmen and sportsmen who can be winners in future Meets, should be sent to the Olympics to gather experience.

Robert Kennedy

Robert Kennedy represented certain human ideals which are accepted everywhere as ideals but are not lived upto. Non violence, a truthful evaluation of Right and Wrong without reference to political or economic advantages and establishment of justice unblemished by influence or vested interest are some of these ideals. The murder of Robert Kennedy has shocked and grieved all civilised men and women. But has it changed the outlook of all those top ranking politicians who decide the destinies of humanity ? We do not think so. For top ranking politicians are always quite detached from ethical or human considerations. When Mahatma Gandhi was shot down everybody hoped that his death would give shock treatment to all those who advocated violence and cure them of their desire to solve national and human problems by the use of force. But nothing happened in that way. Gandhiji's martyrdom was infructuous as

far as the crimes of making were not reduced in size, intensity or frequency but criminals have not changed their ways. The assassinations that have darkened the political skies of the U.S.A during recent years have culminated in the killing of the young Senator Robert Kennedy, who advocated justice and fair play to the Negroes of that country. His brother John Kennedy, who was President of the United States of America was also killed by a gunman for his uprightness of outlook. The Rev. Martin Luther King who was a Negro intellectual also gave his life for his dreams of brotherliness and love among warring factions.

Greatmen die but lesser humans remain unaffected by such deaths. Human religious history has given us many instances of martyrdom of saintly persons. We have not seen that such martyrdoms have done any good to anybody in a wide human sense. Wars have been fought too far establishing high principles and millions have died in such wars. Revolutions have racked the Earth for achieving greater freedom and liberty. But the world has neither been made safe for democracy nor have we finally earned full liberty, fraternity and equality. Violence, strife and wars have not ceased; rather we find more of such cases of the use of arms and explosives to settle matters of disputes or differences than ever before. Robert Kennedy has given his life for his ideals. He knew that his life was in danger and that he might be killed; but he did not into the field of politics, the more would there be that steadfastness he set an example to others who would come after him. The more such men come into the field of politics the more would there be a chance for world politics to be clean and sound from the angle of righteousness. We cannot say whether world politics will ever be fully based on truth, justice and fairplay; but if such a thing ever happened, the credit for that would belong to the pure hearted men like Robert Kennedy who gave their lives for their cause. We feel however that there are too many men in this world who are inclined to commit in-

human crimes in order to arrive at their objective. There is therefore no immediate hope that world conditions will be any better than what they are at present.

Medical Services

Nobody speaks well of hospitals in which people are treated without payment or paying very little money. There used to be very good free hospitals at one time in Great Britain; but to-day, even in that country, one cannot obtain proper medical aid in any of the free and chief hospitals. In India such hospitals had always been quite bad and they are far worse now. The doctors do not treat any body carefully, they say, the nurses do not pay any attention to the sick persons, the food is just awful and a source of great profit to contractors and the medicines have to be bought by the patients or they are never administered. On top of all this the sanitary and hygienic conditions are quite offensive; and nobody can do much about anything because of red tape and illmannered officials and menials. That is how hospitals are described by those who go to them. If these are exaggerations, whatever truth there is in them does no credit to the managers of our medical services. They say it is not only the catering contractors who cheat and make money; but all purchases and expenses have something wrong with them. Yet we spend crores and crores of rupees on these services which terrorised our poor people at one time and which exploit the same people now by making them pay for everything heavily, though our national health services are free or very cheap!

They say one gets better treatment if one went to a private medical practitioner or to a nursing home. This is perhaps true but there is another side to this picture of good service. The private medical men, they say, are so specialised now a days that a sick person has to go to many places and pay money bills before his treatment is begun. The doctors may send the patient to one place for X'ray, to another for clinical tests, to a dentist

to be sure about the condition of his teeth and to a psychotherapist too if there are suspicions of incipient lunacy. Quite often the clinical tests are so varied that more than one set of experts come into the picture. The nursing homes are very good and the charges are high. Private nurses are expensive and there are extra charges for special amenities. In fact a visit to a nursing home under the watchful care of one or more high ranking physicians or surgeons may quite often land a sick person into insolvency.

Health services are deteriorating and private treatment is becoming more than a luxury. People are expected to pay very high taxes, so that health and other services can be made available; yet they have to pay heavy charges for medical treatment as well as for the education of their children and for maintaining private watchmen for the safety of their persons and property. Some say that taxation should be cut down to a much lower level and all expenses of medical aid, policing and educational arrangements should be given on a pay as you get its basis. As things are everybody is paying for all kinds of services that nobody is really getting without payment. The funds obtained through taxes are being wasted. State managed institutions are not giving the services they are supposed to give. Some remedy must be found so that the tax payers are not exploited.

Snobbery In India

Persons who think they are superior to their fellow men and act in a manner which makes it obvious that they think so, are known as snobs. It is also well known that very few snobs are really superior persons and very few superior persons are blatantly snobbish. In Western Countries snobbery was born of social position or wealth. In India we had many more kinds of snobs than there were in Europe or America. We had our Rajahs, Nawabs, Amirs, and Omrahs and thereafter we had the monied seths, the learned Pandits, the priestly Brahmins,

the Saiyads, the Mollahs, the high officials and all others who could grant favours. In recent times new types of superior persons have come on the stage. They are political leaders, the ministers and others who could influence persons in authority. During the British regime persons were decorated with foreign awards of rank and such awards enabled them quite often to feel superior to other ordinary mortals. These decorations and awards are no longer available to Indians but others have been created by our political leaders which now enable the recipients to feel superior in the same old way. Things which make people feel superior usually do not make them any better than what creator made them. Distinctive titles therefore are no sure proof of real superiority. And in any case no outward symptoms nor traits of quality should justify anybody assuming any airs of superiority. In a country which calls itself a socialist republic and proclaims the equality of all men, there should be no special arrangements for ascribing any superiority to any persons by artificial classifications. India is not only a socialist republic but it has a classless society too. In the circumstances snobbery should flourish with difficulty in India. But the desire to make other people feel small is such an urge with persons who are not really superior in learning, strength of character or social standing; that there are never any dearth of snobs in this country. The presence of vast numbers of ignorant and poor people in the country makes it easy for relatively ordinary men and women to feel superior. But with the growth of literacy and earning capacity in the country the self styled superior persons will have to make an effort to acquire at least semblance of distinction.

What Do Students Want

There is great student unrest all over the world. Some say this is the sign of a social revolution, others say the students feel frustrated with present day systems of education and the

inability of Governments to give them suitable work and a standard of living in keeping with their attainments and outlook. Yet other speculators think that Mao t'se Tung or the CIA have some thing to do with all this unrest. In fact students are always willing to subscribe to a new craze and they can therefore be made use of by all craze mongers among whom one can put all revolutionaries, political creed wallahs and other masters of queer notions and fantastic ideologies. We have experience of students of the last fifty years or more and we have to say that at no time during these long years have we found students failing to respond to new urges wherever they came from. During the Swadeshi movement more than 60 years ago, students of all ages went out selling India made clothes and making bonfire of foreign goods. They also joined the revolutionary groups that Sri Aravinda led and began to organise groups which would fight the British. The British tried repression and students got a big share of the oppressive measures indulged in by the rulers of the country. Among the thousands who went to jail and were flogged, tortured, hanged, banished and kept in detention the majority were students. In some upheavals many students were shot down and many more injured by the British forces. In the Civil Disobedience, Non-Cooperation and other movements students took a leading part. In the armed risings at Chittagong and the '42 revolution students were right in the front line.

In the post independence period students did not stay behind when ideologies developed and parties were formed. During the last few years Political Parties have acquired everchanging new outlooks and students have not lagged behind. The economic instability affected the students very badly and unrest among them increased. World students unrest has not been uniformly the same in all countries. In India too there have been various demands and declarations not all of which came from the students. Some at least were inspired by political parties. Generally speaking one may say that the times are not of

stable thoughts or feelings. Students also are not thinking, feeling or acting according to any set plans. Mentally all people are in a flux. So are the students. They have looked for stable and solid ideals and sound leadership and have not found what they wanted. That has increased the unrest among them. Students therefore are on a rampage everywhere. They are pro and anti everything as occasion arises. They support or oppose all points of view with an abandon that is entirely their own. They can be Left, Right or Centre as may happen with the flow of emotional currents. In the United States students have fought for and against the colour bar. In Britain for or against separation of races. In Europe for or against Communism. In India against all authority including their own unions. This comprehensiveness of outlook is truly the prerogative of Youth and it shows that the students of the world are not suffering from any hardening of their emotions into set channels. They do not wish to be driven or disciplined and the modern tendencies in the political, economic and social fields of regulating and organising everything in elaborate perfection, do not suit the temperament of Youth.

New Weapons of War

Since the first World War when many strange and unknown weapons were used by both sides, the nations of the World have made much progress in the development of new ideas of destruction, killing and incapacitating. The first World War saw the introduction of a new arm of the fighting forces, viz the air arm, which had become quite formidable by the time the second World War began. After that war fighting planes of the manned or unmanned types of propeller, jet or rocket driven varieties, achieved fantastic potentials in the sphere of speed, ceiling and manoeuvrability. The speed of sound has now become quite ordinary compared to the speed of the jet fighters or the rockets. These planes now climb to great heights where air resistance is reduced to a minimum and cover distances with

amazing speed. In the development of the air arm rocket driven satellites now roam the upper space and present a new danger to the defences of all nations. With the development of air power went the inventions in the field of explosives and bombs assumed such might as defied all steel and cement fortifications. Armour plates for ships of war or tanks could be pierced with ease with the help of modern explosives, not counting those of the nuclear group. The nuclear bombs and war heads for shells, torpedoes and other projectiles have now covered an entire new range of weapons. These have not been tried out in actual warfare, but their destructiveness and indirect evil effects are now quite well known to all who possess them or are prevented from acquiring or manufacturing them for humanitarian reasons. Unless all nations acquired these weapons or developed utility to make them, the dangers of nuclear weapons would remain a standing menace to the nations of the world. This danger however has been studied in great detail and various defences and protective measures have been worked out. In India the people have not been trained nor even taught about such defences. The reason for this negligent attitude towards something which may destroy large sections of the nations with its property and economic assets appears to be an ideological dislike for nuclear warfare among our top political leaders. China having aligned herself with Pakistan and the relations of those two countries with India being what they are, this reluctance to handle the nuclear aspects of our national defences in a rational manner seems to be utterly mental and irresponsible. The top political leaders have no business to foist their ideosyncracies on the nation and the nation also should not tolerate this attitude of the leaders. The nations which have a history of fighting each other every few years in a widely destructive manner have kept up their efforts at inventing newer weapons of war. Gas war, germ war and other kinds of war are planned and thought of which will render entire nations dazed, unconscious or suffer from lunacy ; or destroy

their food supplies causing widespread starvation. plague, cholera and other diseases can be disseminated among the peoples of enemy countries in various ways which could be uncontrrollable for a sufficient length of time to damage the attacked nation's defences dangerously. Researches are going on in many countries to invent ways of attacking other nations and great progress has been made in some laboratories. We do not know if India is trying to find out what is going on, and to arrange at least for defensive measures. There are, we believe, scientific research stations in India for purpose of increasing our offensive and defensive abilities ; but we do not know how far we have progressed in our work of development in these lines.

Forcing Hindi On The People

Recently we were trying to put through a trunk call. The operator whose mother tongue was obviously not Hindi spoke to us in what we had to accept as Hindi. When we answered the operator in English and insisted that English should be spoken by both sides for the sake of easy exchange of ideas, the idea was accepted with bad grace. Another time we rang up the railway enquiries and when we put our question in English, we were answered in very incorrect Hindi. We again insisted on the use of English and were reluctantly granted that privilege. All this happened in Calcutta where the State language is Bengali or English or Hindi. Of these three languages Bengali was best known and understood among the people who took part in the dialogues ; but no one could use that language as both the Telephones and the Railways are managed by the Central Government, whose staff have been evidently instructed to force the use of Hindi on those who had any dealings with them. Otherwise why should a Bengali clerk speak to a Bengali member of the public in Hindi in the heart of West Bengal ? The members of the tax paying public have not yet agreed to converse in

Hindi everywhere in India. The States must insist that their State languages are used by Central Government employees within their States.

Food Control

The production of food grains in India go upto about 100 million tons. That gives an average of about 16 to 18 seers per capita per month. That is more than half a seer per day per capita. More than three kilos per week per head. But the rationing is always much less than that. Less than half of the average we have arrived at. Even allowing for food grains other than rice and wheat, one would think that the rations should be more than one and half kilos per week. For if rations were not adequate, the urge to buy food anyhow and anywhere would remain as a permanent feature of national buying and selling, which means the maintenance of the Black Market. It will also mean great hardship for such persons as cannot or would not go to black sellers. Published statistics are hard to go by; for the estimates are quite often pure guess work particularly for areas which are not easily approachable for want of road or railway connections. Even then one may assume that rice is produced in India to the tune of about 45 million tons. This will certainly justify an allocation of $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers per head per month to all able-bodied adults. So that rice alone can be allotted to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kilos per week per head. Wheat, Bajra, Jowar, Maize and other millets are grown in large quantities everywhere together with gram and various pulses. Assuming that the total of all farinaceous grains in that group would be about 25 million tons, one can consider giving 1 kilo of wheat, Bajra, maize and millets to the entire population, leaving out pulses. This would make $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilos of rice and flour per capita per week. That is more than 6 chhataks per head per day. This mixed with gram and barley, *sattoo*, of which the people who eat *sattoo* can procure what they want, should provide ample nourishment to the people concerned. Those who are used to eating

meat, fish, eggs etc. and those who have the means to procure milk, fruits and other edibles of a high nourishment potential, of course, can do without much rice, wheat or *Sattoo*. Their numbers are increasing in India, with industrialisation and the growth of a middle income group having the ability to afford a high calory diet. As industries grow and cultivators improve their yields by scientific agriculture, attempts should be made to increase the number of properly conducted dairies, fisheries, piggeries, poultry farms and ranches for the breeding and sale of sheep and goats. Fruit orchards should be developed too. As these happen, the necessity for rationing in urban areas should disappear. This need, we have seen from our analysis of food production figures, is a product of the criminal activities of our trading classes to corner food and to put up prices by artificially creating shortages where none should exist. This sort of abuse of trading rights must be handled with a strong hand. Many government employees participate in this work of exploitation too. Such men must be dismissed from service and the traders abusing their freedom to buy and sell must be sent to jail for long terms. The creation of a ramiferous department of food and supplies is no solution of the problem. As far as we know, cultivators and other food growers are doing their best to increase supplies. Only the traders are not changing their moral outlook, nor are government servants giving up their evil habits. Action must be taken to improve the position in these spheres.

That's Where The Money Goes

India believes in establishing foreign connections. It helps India to understand foreigners and the foreigners to know the Indians. There are therefore foreign missions, delegations and various other things by which contacts with foreign lands are created and developed. There are for instance 97 resident missions or posts abroad on which our annual expenditure is more

than 1000 lakhs. Other important items of expenditure of the External Affairs Ministry are related to the U.N.O., Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Foundations, Entertainment and Hospitality Grants, Indo-China Commission, Kutch Tribunal and losses incurred in Exchange. All these various items many of which involve expenditure in foreign currency would total up to more than 2000 lakhs over and above the expenses for running the Missions and Posts.

It would appear therefore that India can afford to spend 3000 lakhs on things which improve her relations with foreign countries. But when it comes to sending a proper size team of Indian Sportsmen and Athletes to the Olympic Meet the Indian Finance Ministry cannot find another ten lakhs more or less to improve our international contacts in a very fruitful manner. The reason for this is perhaps because there are very few sportsmen among Indian politicians nor are there any scope for securing well paid jobs or making undeserved profits by sending a team to the Olympics. Whatever the reason it is great loss of opportunity for creation of good feelings and friendship in the international field. A fully representative team of sportsmen could improve India's foreign relations quite perceptibly.

Railway Accidents

Accidents continue to occur on the railways. Enquiries are held and scraps of opinion of experts are handed to the press. We now know that the human factor is more guilty for causing accidents than are mechanical and electrical defects and failures. One may ask to what extent are these defects and failures the result of human negligence and action? The one thing that has come out of the enquiries made by experts is that railways employees are careless, irresponsible and callous. They do not carry out instructions as they should and their grossly negligent ways cause accidents leading to death of and injury to members of the public; not mentioning the extensive and costly damages to public property.

These enquiry are not carried out merely for the intellectual satisfaction of the public. Their main purpose is to put a stop to such accidents by removing the causes of the same. One may therefore ask what steps the Railway Authorities have taken to make the railway employees more conscious of their duties. How many persons responsible for accidents have been demoted, dismissed, prosecuted and sent to jail? Causing deaths is no minor offence and one may demand that those, who by their negligence and irresponsible conduct, cause deaths and serious injuries to people, should be sent to prison. We would therefore request the Railway Authorities to publish the figures for demotions, dismissals, prosecutions etc. connected with accidents on the railways for the last three years.

Are We Similar To Russians?

When we say we are similar to the people of another country in outlook and ideals, we indulge in a little self admiration. For to claim that similarity is also an admission of our faith in the excellence of our own outlook and ideals. So, when Dr. Zakir Hussain said Indian and Russians had a great similarity in outlook and ideals, he no doubt meant to praise the Russians. Whether the Russians reciprocated his feelings could not however be ascertained from what the President of India said. We suppose some bad Russians must have sniggered and denied that the Indians had any similarity with the Russians. But the more diplomatic types must have agreed with Dr. Hussain. The question however still remains whether Indian's have any similarities of outlook or ideal with the Russians. When we look in to the history of the countries we certainly find some similarities, in so far as historically both had affluent aristocracies and powerful priests. But India never had any serfdom of the sort that the Russians had. Modern history of course follows entirely different paths in the two countries. In Russia the people sought and successfully followed the path of

armed revolution and wiped out the nobility along with the members of the Royal family. In India, there was no great public support for armed revolution and freedom was achieved by non-violent non-cooperation. The idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat as developed fruitfully in Russia, did not have any parallel in India. In India, again materialism could never answer the basic questions relating to human existence as it did in the case of the Russian people of the post-revolution period. The Indians always believed in a spiritual background to all material things. Individualism has also been recognised by the Indians as the basic thing of human civilisation and progress. It is therefore not correct to say that there are any great similarities between the Russians and the Indians. Nor do we find any great signs of friendly feelings between them.

Indians had been trying to achieve independence for a long time previous to 1947. During this period Indian revolutionaries had obtained assistance from many countries, such as, the U.S.A., Germany, France and Japan. The Russian people however have never been very eager to help the Indians. When Subhas Chandra Bose escaped from detention during the Second World War, he first went to Russia to get assistance. This was not granted by the Russian

leaders. Subhas Chandra went to Germany and Japan thereafter. As things are now taking shape, the Russians are being friendly to India only to the extent that their self-interest directs them to be so. A few years ago they supported India in the matter of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir. At Tashkent they treated Pakistan and India on a footing of equality in point of aggressiveness and made them agree to live peacefully. To-day the Russians are supplying arms to Pakistan knowing that Pakistan has an aggressive outlook. They say they are teaching Pakistan to break away from China; but in fact they are adding to the armoury that Pakistan is building up with assistance from China and the U.S.A. We therefore do not see what bounds of sympathy and fellowship bind India and Russia together. This is one more of those illusions that some of India's leaders suffer from in their eagerness to develop international relations. We know that Russia has given certain economic aids to India; but so have many other countries including Britain. We can not say that Britain has been a traditional friend of India. The Russians too cannot be considered to be friends of India just because they have given us loans or sold us capital goods. Friendship goes much deeper than economic exchanges. Psychological affinities are deeper still.



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statement in conformity with the policy of supporting Nasser in toto. So long as India justified the demand for the UNEF's withdrawal and blockade of the Aqaba Gulf on merits of law, it was understandable, but endorsement of Nasser's motives to do so had little justification.

As the crisis was reaching its climax, the press struck a note of optimism. While *Times of India* (1 June) and *Indian Express* (2 June) felt that increasing Soviet commitment in the area might serve as a deterrent to war in West Asia, *Hindustan Times* (1 June) believed that oil producing Arab countries might restrain the more volatile Arabs from precipitating a war with Israel. Even *Patriot* (1 June) hoped that Soviet fleet's presence in Mediterranean would force Israel to change its provocative course. *Indian Express* (2 June) and *Hindustan Times* (2 June) were also critical of India's partisan attitude. "It is most regrettable", noted *Indian Express*, "that on this occasion New Delhi's support to the UAR has been given without reference to the merits of the dispute."

When war started in West Asia, the press, while urging moderation and cessation of fighting, gave benefit of doubt to Israel. However, varying and changing views were perceptible. Though *Times of India* (6 June) noted that Israel had "committed aggression against the United Arab Republic", it added, the Israeli leaders could not be blamed for acting as they did in face of mounting Arab pressures. *Indian Express* (6 June) and *Hindustan Times* (6 June) also took identical line, but were more emphatic in their support of Israel's pre-emptive strike. *The Hindu* (6 June) and *The Statesman* (6 June), while recognising Israel's right to hit back in face of the Arab provocations, showed cessation of fighting—however uneasy—was welcomed by most of the Indian press, but only as first step towards durable peace. The press, long so critical of the Arabs, pointed out that for a lasting peace the Arabs and the Israelis, and their friends "wherever they are, can help matters by not

taking the partisanship which took the world so near disaster."

On the efforts to find a basis for a stable peace in West Asia, the Indian press did not come out with any original formula. Nevertheless, there was a consensus on, what *Times of India* (23 June) said: "Israel has the right to expect a specific guarantee of its security as a nation." Likewise, there was an agreement that Arab refusal to accept Israel's existence went against their own interests. To quote *Indian Express* (16 June): "To acknowledge the political existence of Israel is to establish a point of return." *The Statesman* (15 June), on the other hand, maintained that a peace solution in West Asia was contingent on settlement of Palestine refugees, but for this "the initiative must come from Israel."

Before, during and after the six-day war, *Indian Express* and *Hindustan Times* were most critical of India's complete identity of views with one of the disputants. They resented the loss of an opportunity to play the mediatory role between the parties to the dispute and their respective benefactors. Even after the war, *Indian Express* (16 June) felt: "If between them, Moscow and New Delhi, can persuade Cairo to acknowledge this reality and fact (of Israel) the first major hurdle will have been cleared." On the other hand, taking the clue from studied moderation of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, *The Statesman* (6 June) and *Times of India* (7 June) concluded that the Indian Government was cognizant of its interests, responsibilities and influence which it could use to promote a reasonable settlement. However, at a later stage, *Times of India* (23 June) doubted whether the Government had the willingness and capability to play any constructive role in the direction of a West Asian solution.

Though there were many theories as to why the Government allowed itself to be pushed in or deliberately opted for a position which offered little chance for manoeuvrability, the paramount consideration later shifted to a subject which

affected Indians more directly, that is, reopening of the Suez Canal. The Indian press made it clear that if the UAR kept the Canal closed for long, to be used as a leverage in peace talks, its friends would suffer more than its enemies. However, the hope that the Canal would be reopened soon have been belied, inspite of the UAR's inclination to the contrary.

A survey of regional press shows that their loyalties were evenly divided amongst the Arabs and Israel. It is not very surprising, for some of those organs which supported the official line are usually identified with the establishment, while others, at least a section of those who took the opposite line, are linked with bigger chains of newspapers.

Conclusion

Whatever might have been the motives of the Government in giving an unqualified support to

the Arabs in their present crisis, an examination of its policy statements shows that in its criticism of Israel, the Indian Government has been more vigorous this time than it was in 1956. But while at the time of the Suez crisis, the official policy was endorsed by a large section of Indian polity, this time besides the Congress Party (although a section of the Party openly expressed dissatisfaction with the Government's policy), only the Communists, of right as well as left persuasion, the BKD and the Muslim League came forward to support the Government line. How far the opposition has been successful in influencing the Government's position on Arab-Israel problem is a moot point. One thing seems clear at this stage that nothing will remain quite the same again between the Arabs and Israel and to that extent the Government of India, too, will have to reorient its policy towards the region, which would mean accommodation of the views of the opposition.



MAHAVIRA

SRI P. RAJESWARA RAO

The Sixth Century B. C., in which Mahavira was born, was a period of great intellectual stir and spiritual unrest all over the world. The centres of great civilizations like those of Greece, Persia, Palestine, China and India, experienced ferment in the realm of thought. The advent of Socrates in Greece, of Zoroaster in Persia, of Ezekiel and Daniel in Palestine, of Lao Tse and Confucius in China and of Buddha and Mahavira in India, all within the short space of a century, helped to revolutionise the ways of life, modes of thinking and methods of approach among the various people they influenced in many lands.

Though morality commands conformity, all moral progress is due to non-conformists. Philosophy, instead of being a mere abstract speculation, became essentially practical and rational dealing as it did with the fundamental anxieties of humanity at all levels, and proved to be stimulating to the mind and soothing to the heart. It was the most germinal period in the annals of humanity. It was protestant but of a latitudinarian rather than of a fanatical kind. Indian Society at this age was passing through a period of moral confusion and spiritual uncertainty. Caste distinctions, priestly oligarchy, and animal sacrifice, had become a source of social irritation and a means of popular exploitation.

Mahavira was born in the Year 599 B.C. at Kundagram which was a suburb of the

flourishing town of Vaisali about twenty miles north of Patna. His father Siddhartha was a Kshatriya and the Chieftain of the place. His mother Trisala was a sister of the Vaisali ruler whose name has been given as Chetaka. According to tradition Mahavira's parents were worshippers of Parsva and followers of Sramanas. The popular belief among Jains is that Jainism is as old as the human race, and it shall remain till eternity; it will be revealed again and again in the endless succeeding ages of the world by innumerable Trithankaras (spiritual guides). In each of the age there would be twenty four Tirthankaras. The first Tirthankara of the present age being Rishabha and the last two being Parsva and Mahavira. It is laid down that a Tirthankara is omniscient, free from anger, pride, deceitfulness, greed, sex passion, and attachment.

The credit of recognising the historical existence of Mahavira, goes surprisingly enough to a German scholar in the field of Indology, Prof. Herman Jacobi, who made an English translation of the first Jain Anga, Acharanga and published it in the series called the "Sacred Books of the East" in 1884 A. D. Mahavira is often referred to in the Jain Agama as Vardhamana because of the increase in wealth and popularity of his parents ever since he had been begotten. The difference between the Svetambara and the Digambara versions relating to his birth may be noted. Svetambara version

speaks of a transfer of embryo from the womb of Devananda, wife of the Brahman Rishabhadatta to the womb of Trisala, but the Digambara sect rejects this legend as absurd.

The early life of Mahavira was characterised by great acts of daring and valour. One day while playing with his friends, he saw a mad elephant rushing furiously towards him. His companions' being shocked and frightened, deserted him and ran away. But he made up his mind to face the danger, went towards it, caught hold of its trunk and mounted on its back at once. Thus he justified his name Mahavira, i.e. the great warrior. Besides, he was handsome and impressive. He took keen interest in outdoor games and martial exercises. He was intelligent and industrious with the result that he soon became proficient in all the seventy two arts. He grew up in an atmosphere of royalty tempered with the healthy influence of a republican character as his maternal relations were ruling princes and his father was a republican chief.

He led the life of householder till the age of thirty in a normal manner and had a daughter. Disgusted with the world and promoted by a desire to search for the ultimate truth, he renounced all secular bonds. He led a severe type of ascetic life for twelve years. He went about naked without outfit of any kind. He did not possess even a bowl for his food. The hollow in his palm constituted the bowl for him. He totally neglected his body, and insects crawled on his person and bit him. He bore the pain with patience. People were shocked at the sight of him. He bore everything

patiently and with equanimity. He used to observe silence for days and months.

According to digambara tradition, he appears to have observed silence for nearly twelve years. By a prolonged course of such severe penance, he wiped out his Karma. By uninterrupted meditation coupled with chastity and simple life he prepared the ground for enlightenment.

Besides, he wandered far and wide. He successfully withstood the evil spirits that tried to tempt him. He spent the Chaturmasya (the four months of the rainy season) stopping at different places from year to year for twelve years. In the thirteenth year on the tenth day of the second month of summer season called Suvrata, in the Muhurta named Vijaya, he attained knowledge and intuition called Kevalagnana under a Sala tree outside Jrimbhikagrama on the northern bank of the river Rajupalika in the field of a householder named Samaga. Even Buddhist texts refer to him as possessing the capacity of seeing the past, the present and the future. He was also called Jina the conqueror. Evidently our sense perceptions are below us, our logical reasoning is with us and intuition is above us.

During the period of time between enlightenment and actual death a person is called Arhat. When he attains actual liberation he becomes a Siddha. Knowing that a big Yagna has been organised by a Brahman Somilacharya, Mahavira went there, and successfully preached his doctrine with the result that the eleven learned Brahmanas, who were there to participate in the Yagna, became his disciples. He succeeded in attracting a large number of converts, both men and women, and organised them into a

well-knit order. Chief among his followers were fourteen thousand monks led by eleven Ganadharas and thirtysix thousand nuns with Chandana as their head. These included three hundred sages who knew the fourteen Purvas and who, though no Jinas themselves, came very, near these, the thirteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi, i.e., knowledge and superior qualities, seven hundred Kevalins, seven hundred who could transform themselves, five hundred sages of mighty intellect, four hundred professors who were never vanquished in debate, seven hundred men and fourteen hundred women disciples who reached perfection, eight hundred sages in their last birth. During Mahavira's own life time nine of the Ganadharas attained Kevala-Jnana. Two survived him—Gautama and Sudharma. As Gautama attained Kevala-Jnana when Mahavira breathed his last and obtained Nirvana, Sudharma became the head of the order. From Sudharma it is possible to trace a whole list of the order right upto the present time.

Mahavira's order contained laymen as well. They were house-holders who did not actually renounce the world, but who could and did keep his rule in a modified form, while their alms supported the monks. The genius for organisation which he possessed is shown clearly in the formation of this order as well as the order of laywomen. The laymen are said to have numbered, during his life time, one hundred and fifty nine thousand, the laywomen numbered three hundred and forty eight thousand. Mahavira attained Nirvana at Pava in 527 B. C, at the age of seventytwo.

* His sangha was open to all irrespective

of caste, colour or sex. He did not consider laymen as incapable of spiritual uplift, and accorded an honourable place to them. He did not encourage acquisition of supernatural powers for the victimisation of the weak. He prohibited the use of such powers even for self-protection. He disparaged social inequity, economic rivalry and political enslavement, and inaugurated spiritual democracy. He delivered his message in the language of the people. There was no need for interpreters. He proclaimed that there could be no right conduct without right knowledge and no right knowledge without right belief.

In Jain Metaphysics there is no extra-cosmic creator or ruler of the universe. The Universe is without beginning and without end. Matter and soul are neither created nor destroyed. Living beings are classified as embodied and liberated. The foundation of true metaphysics, according to Jainism, consists of nine categories: Jiva, Ajiva, Punya, Papa, Asrava, Sambara, Bandha, Nirjara and Moksha. Purification of mind is insisted upon as the starting point of all ethical life. It can only be done by the removal of attachment and antipathy. Besides these meditation and constant self-control are also needed. The Sadhaka has to practise the ten Dharmas, i. e., control of senses, truthfulness, purity, chastity, absolute absence of greed, asceticism, forbearance and patience, mildness, sincerity and emancipation from all sins. His first and foremost command was Ahimsa (Non-injury) in word thought and action.

The original doctrine contained in the fourteen Purvas were taught by Mahavira for thirty years to his disciples. One of his

disciples Arya Sudharma handed them down to his successors and those were preserved for six generations. According to a legend in the 2nd century A. D. there was famine in Magadha continuously for twelve years. Bhadrabahu, the then head of Jain Sangha, emigrated with a host of his disciples to Karnataka in South India. According to another version he took refuge in the Nepal hills during the period of the famine.

A Council was called at Pataliputra to compile a recension of the Canon. At the second council held at Valabhi during the fifth century A. D. the Canon was reduced to writing. His disciples gathered his sermons and discourses into forty six books written in Prakrit. These books called Agamas became sacred scriptures of Jainism. Foremost among their sacred books are the twelve Angas of which the second, Sutra-Kirti-Anga, prescribes the primary task of fortifying young monks in their faith. It also covers a multitude of subjects which reveal and summarise the essential teachings of Jainism. It may also be noted that the teachings of Mahavira have come down to us as a living tradition which grew up and took a complete literary form during the ten centuries after his demise. The landmarks in the annals of humanity are not wars and kings but saints and scriptures. Emperor Tiberius was a contemporary of Jesus Christ. In his day millions trembled at his nod. But nobody remembers him today. In 1786 Warren Hastings recommending a translation of the Bhagawat Gita to be President of the East India Company declared that "The Writers of Indian Philosophy will survive when the British domination in India shall long have

ceased to exist and when the sources which yield wealth and power will be lost to remembrance."

The following sayings of Jainism contain the quintessence of its teachings and deserve to be remembered and heeded :

1. Know what causes the bondage of the soul, and knowing the same try to remove it.

2. The speculation of agnostics cannot lead to knowledge.

3. As those who are guided by a blind man, are they who seek salvation and follow the false law.

4. As imprisoned birds do not get out of their cages so those ignorant of right or wrong do not get out of their misery.

5. There are three ways of committing sin, by our own actions, by authorising others, and by approval.

6. The mind of those who sin in thought is impure.

7. Misery arises from wicked deeds.

8. All living beings hate Pain ; therefore do not injure or kill them.

9. Leave off pride, anger, deceit and greed.

10. To blame others leads to no good.

11. The wise man who can see far into the past and the future will practise indifference.

12. Conceit is a very thin thorn ; it is difficult to pull it out.

13. A wise man never quarrels.

14. A virtuous man regards pleasures as equal to disease.

15. A man considers himself a hero as long as he does not behold the foe.

16. When the battle is begun, the mother will not recognise the son.

17. At the time of the battle, the coward looks behind him for a ditch.

18. A tortoise covers its limbs with its own shell, so a wise man should cover his sins with his own meditation.

19. Those who speak falsely from pride of knowledge are not capable of any virtue.

20. The ignorant are easily led astray.

21. If perfection could be obtained by ablutions, many creatures living in water must have reached perfection.

22. He who is carried away by passion will not get very far.

23. Though fearless be modest.

24. Men of good character and morals are easy to please.

At the present day, Jains in India number nearly a million and a half and are scattered all over the country. They are strict vegetarians and scrupulously adhere to the basic doctrine of Ahimsa. They are very faithful to the teachings of Mahavira. They are prosperous and follow the vocation of banking and business and are kind and charitable by disposition. In ultimate analysis it is not the numbers, but the quality of followers that vindicate a prophet and his teachings. By applying this test, the teachings of Mahavira can be regarded to have been strikingly successful.



Indian Periodicals

About Cooperation

Sm. Indira Gandhi's views about the Cooperative movement as published in the *Indian Cooperative Review* (quarterly) are worth reproduction :

In our strategy of development, we want growth and great equality. We want to prevent concentration of economic power. That is why we must help the public sector as well as the cooperative sector to grow, both absolutely and in relation to the private sector. Cooperatives combine the good points of public sector as well as the private sector. They give a voice and sense of participation to the ordinary man. They are based on voluntary union and democratic control. At the same time, they can take full advantage of modern large-scale management.

The cooperative thus bridges the gap between the small unit and technology. Dreams cannot become realities unless there are material factors by which we can implement them. It is only through science and technology that we can supply these material conditions.

In most European countries as well as in the United States, cooperation is the ruling principle of agriculture. In Japan, cooperatives are a big force.

Whether it is agriculture or industry or the services, cooperatives have made spectacular progress since 1950-51 when we took up planning. I find that the total agricultural credit dispensed by cooperatives was only Rs. 290 million in that year, while last year, the figure rose to Rs. 3,450 million. Over the same period, the working capital of all cooperatives has grown nearly nine times.

All over the world, urbanisation has led to

the erosion of people's ability to live a well-adjusted corporate life. People might reside together in cities but they are isolated and lonely and do not seem to live together. The faster a city grows the less mutual regard and sympathy there seem to be among its people. Cooperation has the capacity to shape groups into communities with shared interests.

The kind of public response which awaits cooperative initiative is supply of consumer's needs as provided by the Super Bazar of Delhi. Its annual turnover, I believe, is Rs. 50 million—even though it does not deal in the essential rationed commodities.

We need much greater participation by cooperatives in banking. In our country, banking has largely remained the preserve of the affluent, at any rate of the middle class and above, not only in its control, but even in its reach. It has cared more for the big man than the small man. Only rarely do we find the common people having recourse to banks. Lately, agricultural cooperatives in some areas advance credit against an approved production programme instead of the security of land.

A well-run cooperative banking programme can finance a large number of small entrepreneurs, such as graduates who want to set up small industries etc. Cooperative banks can also attract small savings, especially if they go to the people instead of expecting them to come to them, waiting long hours and filling forms. I believe some banks in western and southern India have already made a beginning on these lines.

Not all that we hear about the actual working of cooperatives is flattering. There is the general belief, that the cooperatives help the bigger people rather than the small people. Such a state

of affairs would defeat the very purpose of the Cooperative Movement. Secondly, our cooperatives seem to have become far too dependent on financial aid from the Government. This is a negation of the basis of cooperation which is self-help and self-reliance. Thirdly, there is also a widely prevalent feeling that cooperatives are too mixed up with politics. I find that you are discussing how to *de-officialise* the Movement. I wish you would also discuss how to *de-politicalise* it.

Ayubs Third World

Discussing the Foreign Policy of Ayub Khan in the *India Quarterly* Sisir Gupta finds the President of Pakistan advocating a Pan-Islamic development in an area comprising many countries from the borders of Spain to the great islands in the Indian Ocean :

President Ayub himself does not seem to limit his ultimate aspirations to a sufficiently low level to be innocuous to the rest of the world community. In his book, he provides a unique definition of the third world which leaves China and India out of it and where "numerically the most populous is Pakistan with 110 million people". Again, "Commonsense dictates that Pakistan should belong to a major constellation extending from Casablanca to Djakarta.... If we were to speak with one voice, the world would sit up and take notice.... Our safety lies in being able to put up a united front against the outside world of major Powers and hostile 'isms'."

What is more interesting is the real link that the Pakistani President discovers among these countries "from Casablanca to Djakarta" and the contradiction he sees between this constellation and the rest of the world. He says the countries in this region from Casablanca to Djakarta are also suspect in the eyes of the major Powers because most of them profess the faith of Islam. Whatever may be the internal differences among

these countries about Islam, and regardless of the approach to Islam which each one of these countries has adopted, it is a fact of life that the Communist world, the Christian world, and Hindu India treat them as Muslim countries."

Such ideas have existed in Pakistan ever since 1947. For example, in his book *Pakistan and the Middle East* (published in 1948), Mushtaq Ahmad referred to the same constellation and wrote : "A real agreement among these potential allies can alone ward off the menace of Hindu, Russian, American and British imperialisms." Later, another Pakistani writer, Aslam Siddique, elaborated the same theme in his book *Pakistan Seeks Security* (published in 1960). The point that such a fantasy of unity of the Islamic world from Casablanca to Djakarta is contradictory with the style of subdued diplomacy advocated by Pakistan's President is not noticed in this book, as indeed many other contradictions are not noticed.

Mainly about Agriculture

Science and Culture of May 1968 contains six articles from experts on various branches of soil benificiation and crop productivity. The introductory editorial comments give one some idea of the subjects dealt with and we are reproducing portions of the same. The articles are written by Dr. N.P. Dutta of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi ; Dr. S.K. Mukherjee of the Calcutta University ; Dr. S. C. Mandal of the Directorate of Agriculture, Patna ; Dr. T.D. Biswas of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi ; Dr. A. P. Battacharya of the Irrigation Research Institute, Roorkee and Dr. S.K. Mukherjee, Mycologist to the Government of West Bengal :

The role of soil in crop production has long been recognised, but its importance does not seem to have been categorically emphasised, perhaps because the soil is so obvious a thing. It is also true that the exact nature of this role is not so easily defined because of the complexity

of soil. One can possibly start by distinguishing the chemical role of soil apart from the physical, allowing for an interaction between the two. The contents of nutrient elements and their availability determine the chemical role, whereas such properties as water retention, aeration, permeability, drainage, soil aggregation etc., constitute the physical role. The soil scientists, including the agricultural chemists and agronomists, are constantly experimenting to find out the optimum conditions for both, and also to ascertain how far the actual state of affairs in a given soil differs from these optimum conditions.

Soil is such a vast material that a proper inventory of its resources is an expensive and time-consuming affair. Added to this is the heterogeneity of the soil, which entails replication of experiments done with it. Consequently, less costly and rapid procedures commend themselves.

The results of soil testing are highly remunerative but are to be utilised with discretion. The recommendations based on these tests are not of universal applicability but are, in fact, often strictly local. The tests must be correlated with field experiments, otherwise they are likely to be misleading. Even then it may be necessary to check the recommendations from time to time depending on variations in the local conditions. Every soil has its individual 'metabolic' pattern and should be treated accordingly.

Even on a very modest estimate the quantity of fertilizers we can use at present is far less than the requirements calculated in terms of self-sufficiency in food. Out of this quantity again a substantial portion, particularly phosphate and potash, is imported. The day we hope to be self-sufficient in fertilizers is remote. No simple solution exists for this miserable situation.

The estimate of fertilizer requirement whether made on the basis of agronomic recommendations, or on the total food grains needed for self-sufficiency, or on the average calorie need of the population, or on the basis of nutrient removal by crops is faulty. None of these estimates take any account whatsoever of the quantities of nutrients

already available in the soil and the nature of crop response in the particular soil. This is simply an instance of the neglect of the soil factor in determining crop production. If the soil source is scientifically assessed there is surely going to be a reduction in the estimate of fertilizer requirements. Balancing of fertilizers is another aspect which is often grossly ignored. Unbalanced fertilization is indeed a sheer waste of fertilizers.

Organic manures are now recognised as an essential complement of the inorganic fertilizers. Besides green manuring and ploughing in of crop residues, very valuable manures can be made of wastes, especially of the cities and towns and farms. They can be locally made without much capital outlay, and what is more, can partly replace and/or supplement the more costly inorganic fertilizers. It is imperative therefore that all our local resources, both inorganic and organic, are mobilised if we intend to proceed in the direction of self-sufficiency in food. An increase in agricultural productivity is sure to have beneficial impacts in other spheres of our activities.

The general recommendations are not applicable to 'problem' soils which require special treatments. As example, the case of acid, alkaline and saline soils may be cited. The methods of their reclamation and amelioration are broadly known, but each has to be modified, if necessary, according to the characteristics of the soil in question.

Water is one of Nature's bountiful inputs to agriculture but we have not been able to make judicious use of it. Only about 20% of our cropped area is under irrigation, although the overall irrigation potential is quite high. Moreover, faulty irrigation has in many places produced more harm than good. It has been emphasised that the other inputs to agriculture are rendered useless if water is not adequate and of proper quality. Methods of dealing with moisture conservation and economic use of water need to be evolved and adopted, if production is to be stepped up.

Where not exclusively rainfed, crop production has to depend on other water resources, viz., the rivers and streams, the lakes and reservoirs, the dams and barages, and the underground water.

The method of application of water according to crop need from the point of view of optimum utilisation will depend on the source of water, and here the engineering aspect comes in.

It seems a tragedy that the high yielding varieties of crops are usually susceptible to pests and diseases. One reason may be that most of them are of recent origin and have not been

immunised yet. Most of our established varieties, as is well known, are resistant to diseases under local conditions, but under the same conditions the imported varieties are not. The use of pesticides has, therefore, come to stay with the high yielding varieties. A high dose of fertilizers often encourages growth of weeds, and as a result the concomitant use of weedicides has become a part of soil management. They are necessary evils, but the compensation in terms of crop yield is overwhelming. Consequently, efforts are being made to appreciate the use of pesticides and weedicides.

Foreign Periodicals

No Legal Trials In Russia

We do not know much about Soviet laws or their application in actual practice. For all we know Soviet laws may be perfect in print and yet, in practice they may be flouted at every step by an authoritarian executive, or again, there may be provisions for lawless action by the administrative officers as we find in many countries including our own. The following excerpts from a letter written by Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, political prisoner to the editors of *Prauda*, published in the ABN correspondence of May-June provide interesting reading in so far as they constitute an accusation which the Soviet authorities should refute. If no refutation comes, one will have to reorientate ones mind about Soviet freedoms and Human Rights in the land of liberty and equality:

Mankind constantly strives towards improve-

ment of the norms of moral behaviour of people, of their attitude to society, to other people. In different periods of time it bowed before different ideals. Plato idealised goodness, Aristotle—social virtues, Copernicus—meekness, Buddha—humility, Christ—love of one's neighbour, Feuerbach—general love, Heidegger—freedom, and Marx—the will of the proletariat. They all tried to defend human dignity.

Formally it appears that, in accordance with the provisions of the Human Rights Declaration, the Soviet law fully guarantees all human rights. Soviet practice, however, denies and rejects these achievements of the civilised world and proves something quite different. All my life I have lived in accordance with the spirit and the letter of law. This came easily to me because nature itself equipped me with an awareness of social usefulness. As a lawyer I have always treated jurisprudence seriously. Never in my life have I

committed any crime. My only mistake was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda and remained within reach of the hands of the MGB (Ministry of State Security—Ed.). Before the war I was a member of the Council of Advocates in Lviv, during the war I was a judge at the Polish Court of Appeals in Cracow, and after the war I worked as legal adviser at the Ministry of Agriculture of Czecho-Slovakia.

On the basis of a false denunciation Poland proclaimed me a war criminal for alleged collaboration with the Germans. It demanded my extradition and announced that I would be brought to trial. As a result, Czecho-Slovak authorities arrested me on 1st August, 1948 and extradited to Poland. For a year investigation went on in Warsaw. It revealed complete baselessness of the accusation. To the contrary, I proved that I held a critical view of Hitler's political course and was imprisoned as a result. It was easy for me to prove falsification of the material evidence because it had been done in a crude and unskilled manner. Poland found itself in an embarrassing position. But, instead of sending me back to Czecho-Slovakia as a Czecho-Slovak citizen, Polish authorities sent me under escort to the Soviet Union. At the same time their former falsifications in a new, corrected version were also handed over. It must be taken into account that, according to Polish law, the Polish court was entitled to put me on trial. Nevertheless Polish jurisdiction did not allow itself to be led astray. It managed to maintain its dignity and did not wish to condemn an innocent person. This was done by the Soviet authorities. Another year of investigation also passed without any results.

It is well known what Soviet methods of investigation looked like in those times. The accused was considered a criminal by the very fact that he was brought to criminal responsibility. There existed only a one-sided method of investigation of criminal cases, essentially that of accusation. Nevertheless I managed to survive all the horrors of police tortures and rejected all

libellous insinuations. Owing to the absence of the evidence substantiating the accusations I was not handed over for trial by a court, but was sent to forced labour camps for a term of 25 years on the basis of a decision by the Minister of the Interior of the Soviet Union of 16th July, 1949, No 2906—49, in accordance with the Article 54—22k (of the Criminal Code of the USSR—Ed.). Thus my guilt was settled in an administrative, i.e. police manner. As is known the courts do not administer and the administration does not dispense justice. After all, this is the basis of the Soviet constitution, criminal law and international law valid in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the 20th Congress of the CP clearly determined that the OSO (Special Council of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was not lawful organ of justice. Of course, I have knowledge of these matters. Contrary categorical norms of law, I have been languishing in prison for 20 years already, without a trial without a sentence and without an opportunity to defend myself.

A comparison of the humane principles of Soviet laws with the existing Soviet reality brings one inevitably to the conclusion that all the grandiloquent articles of Soviet laws are generally and totally a mere fiction and have a purely propagandistic purpose. The practice is a striking contradiction of all the camouflaging tricks of the Soviet official equilibration and proves demonstratively that lawlessness and arbitrariness are organic and inalienable attribute of the Soviet system. Thus, the Soviet constitution and Soviet laws have been raised to the present level of civilisation. It is all the more unfortunate, however, that the executive organs are unable to rise to the level demanded by their tasks. For instance, cannot understand that political imprisonment are there only for the criminal. They do not wish to take into account the state of the citizen who happens to fall in vicious circle. There arises a sorry paradox: the *camarilla* violates the laws in full consciousness of it and enjoys the freedom of move-

impunity, while honest people are suffering imprisonment, although true social morality is the contrary.

It should be pointed out that I have been deprived of the right of correspondence and of receiving parcels. I am also unable to order and receive medicines and orthopedic instruments prescribed for me by a Soviet doctor. I must state that I behave correctly, for I cannot behave otherwise. The severe regime applied to me has no legal basis. The determination of the regime is essentially the determination of the punishment. Normally, the proper organ to determine the punishment is only a court and not administration. The latter is also worth noting that only robbers, thieves and hooligans enjoy the general and stricter regime in the Soviet Union, while decent people are punished with the severe or especially severe regime.

I happen to look through the pages of the Soviet press. Governments of Spain, Portugal and other countries are often condemned there. Soviet leaders are indignant at the inhuman and unlawful imprisonment of people without trial. Those leaders demand that human rights be applied to the inhabitants of Africa and Asia. What is all that idle talk worth when compared with Soviet reality? Do those leaders not realise that the world is diligently studying Soviet law and knows that many innocent people are languishing in prisons and forced labour camps here, without trial, without sentence and without opportunity to defend themselves.

It seems then that to violate the right of a weak person is bad, while to do the same thing on our people is good. What sort of ethics is it? It hears a lot of idle talk about overcoming the public of personality and restoring legality. What is the worth of all this chatter when reality contradicts such twaddle? Essentially, nothing has changed. Only more refined forms of hypocrisy of human dignity have replaced the old forms.

What has been said above bears witness to the fact that restoration of legality in this country is

an intimate spontaneous need of the citizen and he must be helped. I cannot do it, because I have met the fate of a martyr in the Soviet Union. I can only watch with sadness and breathe the evaporations of the Soviet reality. It is the press in the first place, as tribune of public opinion, that is called upon to uncover and reveal the shortcomings in the work of the security establishments of the state and to help the society to rise to a higher level. The press calls the tune of the moral behaviour of the citizen and strengthens at the same time the respect for his rights and dignity. In cases of the violation of legality it takes measures to bring it back to a healthy state. Of course, this can be achieved only by the chief organ of the country—the Central Committee of the CPSU. For this reason, to send this letter to the Prosecutor's office would be tantamount to the burying of the question touched upon in it. One can realistically reckon on the restoration of legality in the Soviet Union only in that case if your organ on its own behalf takes up a position and presses for its implementation. History does not know an unending mockery over the dignity and rights of man, because it is an essential attribute of human nature to strive towards goodness, truth and self-preservation.

Undoubtedly, this urge reigns also on the Slavonic soil. The press can, to a considerable extent, contribute to the acceleration of this process. This is a demand not only of true journalistic morality, but also of responsibility before history.

Dubrovlag, Spring 1967

Beware of Russians

The following are taken from the Anti Bolshevik Journal ABN Correspondence:

The year 1968 promises an acceleration of the pace of liberation activities of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialists and Communists. An increasing number of reports on the internal decomposition processes in the imperial power structure is coming from

Ukraine, Caucasus, Turkestan, Byelorussia, as well as from the "satellite" states in Central Europe. The colonial despots are unable to check the anti-imperial and anti-totalitarian trends, Nikita Khrushchev was ousted from the imperial throne mainly because of his inability to master these opposing trends. Successors of Stalin instituted the so-called de-Stalinization. Prominent activists of the non-Russian enslaved nations talk freely of the need to de-Brezhnevize and de-Khrushchevize. Ukrainian journalist and poet-translator S. J. Karavanskyi (serving a 25-year slave-prison term in the Mordovian ASSR), Ukrainian jurist Ivan O. Kandyba (serving a 15-year sentence in the Mordovian ASSR) or journalist V. Chornovil (sentenced in Lviv last November to 3 years in a slave labour camp)—indict the present colonial regime for the same criminal policies that have been perpetrated by Stalin. The time is drawing closer when de-Leninization will have to take place.

In the Free World two factors may serve notice of the quickening pace of activities directed against the Russian empire, namely, the establishment in 1967 of two international organizations—the European Freedom Council and the World Anti-Communist League. From Korea and Japan through Ceylon, Israel and Greece to Denmark and Canada people are becoming convinced that the main enemy of mankind is not Marxism or the "Soviet Union" but Russian imperialism as the real dynamic driving force behind the facade of Marxism, "Socialism", Communism and Sovietism. The trend to place Communist China as a number one enemy of mankind, noticed during the last few years, has been reversed and now a more realistic view

is emerging: that all Communists, be they Russian, Maoist, Titoist or Castroist—the enemies of national and personal freedoms.

In 1968 as in previous years the Russian imperialists will try to forestall the dissolution of the empire by terror, persecution, mass deportations, misinformation, nuclear blackmail and the overtures of peaceful co-existence.

One method of disarming the anti-Communists in the free nations is to let such persons as Svetlana Alekuyeva "escape". They advocate the need to do away with some compromising injustices and brutalities in the Russian empire while urging the free people not to attack the source of all evil—Russian imperialism itself, for allegedly the Russian people are also enslaved and the free men should not combat the Russians—only "Communism". Thus, the Free World's eyes and hearts are turned to the problem of the "suffering and poor" Russians while forgetting the subjugated nations—the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire—and the need to assist their national anti-imperial liberation struggle. Now more than ever the free peoples should influence the growing conflict within the Russian empire with the intention to enlarge this conflict between the Brezhnev-Shelepin-Rudenko tyrants on the one hand and the non-Russian intelligentsia, student workers and peasant forces demanding national-social personal freedoms on the other hand. This can be accomplished by publishing the works of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Baltic and other writers, scholars and artists, whose works are prohibited or censored by the enslavers and by expanding liberation broadcasts into the captive nations.

with, moreover, jurists, scholars, PEN-Clubs, journalists, artists, women, students, workers demands that they should conduct international campaigns in defence of their counterparts.

A broad informational and protest campaign should be conducted in the United Nations and affiliated organizations. This year the 20th anniversary of the U. N. Declaration on Human Rights is being observed. It should be pointed out that presently Russian chauvinism is the main enemy and obstacle to the human rights and liberties. It endeavours to destroy millions of people by Russification of their languages, discrimination on nationality grounds and glorification of the Russian culture and historical achievements and its mission to dominate and Russify the whole world.

The coming internal developments in the Russian empire are difficult to project. The Russians possess technical power by means of which they can physically crush the liberation forces, or they can resist the advance of the freedom forces by limited means. The first course is possible, but the second is more probable. The decomposition of the empire has gone so far that the return to "war Communism" of Lenin's Chekist adventures or to Stalinism would generate such a reaction among many Communist parties and various Leftist groups, particularly the Russophile co-existentialist circles, that Moscow would probably not resort to direct extermination and genocide. The second

course means resistance to the march of national liberation forces by sophisticated means. Therefore, we can predict that liberation nationalism will register advances and victories. Where and when and how it will happen is impossible to know. The ways of national liberation revolutions are rationally unpredictable; they are like waves of an onrushing flood: nobody can determine when and where they crush through the barriers. The rise of the revolutionary wave is evident from the increasing number of armed skirmishes between the revolutionaries and the occupation forces, from the growing number of people who are not afraid to criticise and expose the empire, from the political trials which are becoming more frequent, from stiffer sentences aimed at terrorizing the enslaved people and from many secret trials, indicating the fear of making martyrs.

The free people have an opportunity to strengthen the liberation processes behind the Russian Iron Curtain. The responsibility for this rests to a large extent with the World Anti-Communist League, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the European Freedom Council. They should convince the information media not to propagate the co-existence with the Russian empire and not to incline to the Leftist pro-Russian views and not to discriminate against the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. These anti-Communist organizations should bring the heroism, martyrdom, persecution and terrible living conditions of the freedom fighters to the attention of world public opinion. The weakening of the Leftists (read: pro Russian elements) and co-existentialists in the Free World will strengthen the national freedom fighters by isolating Communism and Russian imperialism.

Book Reviews

For A United India—Being Speeches of Maharashtra Legislature and the subordi-
Sardar Patel delivered during 1947-1950 and Legislation Committee. He is also an act-
published by the Ministry of Information and Social worker. In this book he has made a critic-
Broadcasting, Government of India, Price Rs. analysis of the Mahajan Report on the 'dispu-
7 50. Royal Oct. VIII+200 pp. Art Plates 13 between the States of Maharashtra and Mysore and
pp. The book will be welcomed by all admirers Mysore and Kerala over their boundaries. The
of Sardar Patel who was a person of rare political book is very well written and helps the reader to
wisdom and ability. About the Partition of understand the intricacies of the problems involved
India Sardar Patel held very clear cut and realistic in a clear cut manner.

"To-day the partition of India is a settled fact and yet it is an unreal fact. The partition, I hope, however removes poison from the body politic of India. This, I am sure, would result in the seceding areas desiring to reunite with the rest of India.

"India is one and indivisible. One cannot divide the sea or split, the running waters of a river. The Muslims have their roots in India. Their sacred places and their cultural centres are located here in India. I do not know what they can do in Pakistan and it will not be long before they begin to return."

Sardar Patel also had ideas of restoring lost territories to Bengal, but did not live long enough to give shape to what he wanted to do. He had high hopes in the sphere of national integration and expected the politicians of several states to control their lesser desires for the realisations of higher national ideals; but, after his death, the politicians acted contrary to Sardar Patel's expectations.

Mahajan Report Uncovered: By A. Rahaman Antulay, M.L.A., Published by Allied Publishers Pr. Ltd., 15, Graham Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay-1, Demy Oct. pp VIII+192 with 9 maps in colours, Cloth bound jkt. Rs. 14.00. Mr. Antulay is a youngman still in his thirties. He is a scholar of good reputation and is a Barrister (Lincoln's Inn). His Parliamentary career has been noticeable too in so far as he has been Chairman of the Estimates Committee of the

The Image of Nehru: Edited by G.S. Jolly, published by Prabhu Book Service, Gurgaon Haryana. Obtainable from 2, Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Panna Bhavan, Delhi 6. Demy Oct. pp XIV+130 1 plate cloth bound, art jacket signed by Rajendra Agarwal, Rs 15.00. Mr. Jolly has collected several contributions from important persons like Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, V.K. Krishna Menon, Harold Wilson, Fenne Brockway and Averell Harriman, who have dealt with different aspects of the late Jawaharlal Nehru's character. Altogether there are fifteen pictures. Some are reproduced from various journals and others are from Radio talks and speeches delivered at memorial and anniversary meetings. The book provides interesting reading for people who wish to get a clear picture of the many sided character of Pandit Nehru.

Report 1967-68: Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Food, Agriculture Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India.

Report 1967-68: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

Report 1967-68: Ministry of Education, Government of India.

Report 1967-68: Ministry of Education, Government of India.

Report 1967-68: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

We have received the above Reports and have found much valuable and informative material in them. The Reports are well printed and got up.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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